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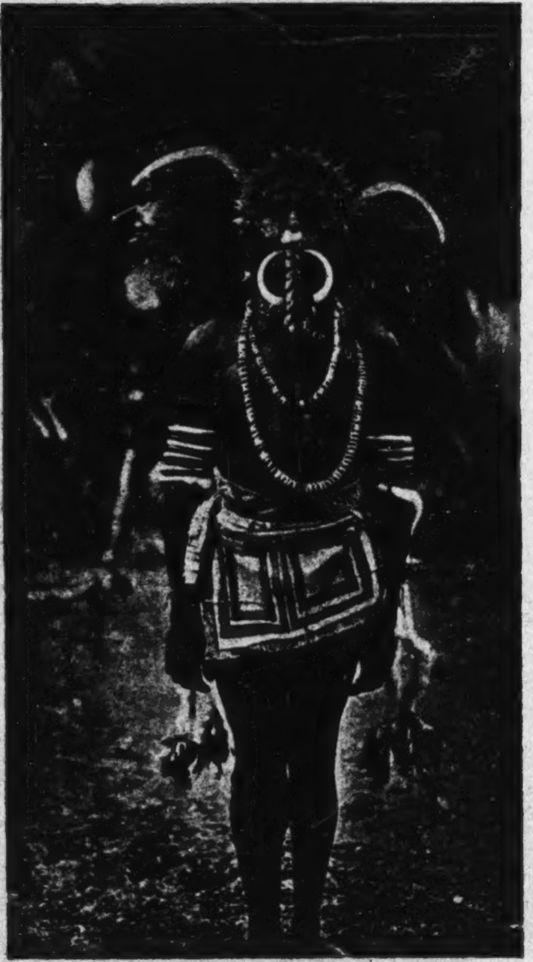

An Orokaiva Youth wearing
Head-dress and *Hono*

[Frontispiece]

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OROKAIVA SOCIETY

BY

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F. E. WILLIAMS, M.A.

Government Anthropologist, Territory of Papua

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR HUBERT MURRAY, K.C.M.G.

Lieut.-Governor of Papua

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[P. iv]

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the tenth published report of the 121
Papuan Government on anthropology. It was also accepted and approved by the University of Adelaide as thesis for the Honours degree of M.A.

The aim of the book is primarily ethnographical. Interpretations of native customs have been essayed only in passing, and no attempt has been made to criticize them from the practical view-point. A Government anthropologist, however, must make some show of being a practical one. If those who have dealings with the Orokaiva—perhaps those also who have dealings with other native peoples—are helped by reading these pages to know their men better, then even pure description is not devoid of practical usefulness. Anthropology, if not necessarily a full-time job, is at least a slow business; and the magistrate, amid a multitude of distractions, cannot always find time for it. But knowledge of native custom is admittedly essential to good government; and books of this kind, in so far as they do something to supply this knowledge, can fairly lay claim to a practical value.

The information presented here was got together during 114
two sojourns in the Northern Division, the first from September 1923 to February 1924, the second from July 1924 to March 1925—a total of about fourteen months. During these two periods I visited most parts of the Orokaiva country. For various reasons I concentrated mainly on the central Aigã tribe, and secondarily on the Binandele and Wasida. But all the other tribes were visited for shorter periods, and as the result of a general survey I found it possible to embrace the whole people in one ethnographic account.

Although the various tribes speak dialects of one and the 124
same language, there are considerable differences between them, and I never gained a fluent speaking knowledge of any one of them. Several very good English-speaking inter-

124 preters, however, were available—especially one Ihipa, a man of fine intelligence and character, who had spent his childhood in the service of white men, at a time when the Northern Division was a scene of great mining activity; and another Bapia, who had been one of the best students of the Anglican Mission. Furthermore there was no lack of returned labourers, ex-police, and so forth, who spoke that simplified version of the Motuan tongue which is something of a Papuan *lingua franca*.

123 On the plains of the Northern Division working conditions are comparatively favourable, especially by reason of the general accessibility of the country, and the distribution of its inhabitants. It was my practice to make camp for longer or shorter periods in the Government 'rest-houses' which are erected for the convenience of officers on patrol. These houses are usually placed in the more important villages, and actually within the limits of the settlement; so that one was enabled week in and week out to follow the course of village life as it went on around one's habitation.

But every ethnographer expects to be able to do this. The special advantages which one enjoyed in the Northern Division arose from the fact that the plains were well populated, and this by tribes who were more or less homogeneous in language and culture. Being quartered for some months in the Aiga village of Korisata, for instance, I found fifteen villages within easy reach—so easy that, visiting the most distant of them I could spend several hours at work there and return to my camp in the afternoon. A good walk to one's destination; a few hours' work; an *al fresco* lunch spread out on a banana-leaf table-cloth, and beguiled by some reading (always, I confess far removed from anthropology and Papua); then a second session; and finally a good walk home—such was the routine of those little excursions which have always been the pleasantest part of field-work as I have attempted to carry it out.

Where this frequent visiting of not-too-distant villages is possible it carries with it several distinct advantages. In the first place one is likely to get wind of the social happenings of the district, near or far. Sometimes through secretive-

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ness, but more often perhaps through an exasperating forgetfulness, those who know of such happenings fail to pass on the news. But in the course of a fairly constant round of visits one is likely to pick up the scent somewhere, and then of course there is only one thing to do, to pack up and follow it.

Secondly, one is able to hear various views on every new subject that crops up—and various enough they prove to be; for how often does the unfortunate ethnographer, with his ears aprick for verification, sadly jot down the words of contradiction! Obviously investigation is made none the easier—far from it; but in such circumstances one is bound to resist the temptation of a facile reliance on a few eloquent informants.

Lastly there is this third advantage—by no means to be despised—that one's welcome does not grow stale. While a talkative man in our midst may become a bore, the talkative visitor will at least be tolerated; and among those closely-set villages of the Orokaiva which I visited from time to time, but always with intervals, I found not only toleration of the inquisitive stranger, but an almost flattered anxiety to be communicative.

Altogether the Orokaiva country was a good one to work in, especially for these reasons that I have named. Many other districts of Papua are by no means so kind to the field worker.

A 'Government' anthropologist may possibly labour under certain difficulties, but I doubt whether these weigh against the compensatory advantages. I have always had the advantage of an Armed Constable as escort. I use the word 'advantage' deliberately; though about the word 'escort' I feel less confidence. In practice the Armed Constable usually proves to be a fellow of very good company, and makes himself useful in a variety of ways, even rising to the occasion as a cook. But in so far as 'escort' implies protection, it is superfluous in places like the Northern Division. The policeman's principal duty is to wear his uniform, and thus to stamp one's retinue, consisting of a cook and one or two local interpreters, as one of Government importance.

123 Needless to say this makes a world of difference in the matter of transport, for without the blue serge and red braid of the policeman's uniform one might sometimes be left, as they say, 'in the air'. But it also does much to ensure a welcome; for the Orokaiva have long been thoroughly under Government control, and a series of intelligent and sympathetic magistrates have succeeded in developing a general feeling of confidence and friendliness.

It is certainly true that there are some things which the native is anxious to conceal from the Government. But he quickly comes to realize that one is a Government officer with a difference; that one is not equipped with any authority; and that one has no intention of playing the spy. On the whole I do not think, when an investigator has been at work in a district for any length of time, that information is intentionally withheld because of his connexion with the Government. Indeed six years' experience has taught me to think that the ethnographer's most serious obstacle is far from being deliberate concealment on the part of his informants. Nor is it principally the native's difficulty in explaining his meaning. The great trouble is, I believe, that it *does not occur to him* to tell.

A word on the ethics of ethnography. The situation sometimes arises in which the investigator is favoured with doubtful confidences. Now no enlightened person thinks that anthropology, whether under Government or any other auspices, is to be identified with espionage; and provided the investigator makes his reports in an impersonal manner, there is no danger of inculpating his informants. What subsequent action may be taken, either by Government or Mission, in the light of his revelations (if he has made any) cannot be a concern of his, *qua* ethnographer. It is his business to record in general terms the facts as he finds them, trusting that those who govern or educate the native will make the best use of the information. In so far as that information leads to a fuller understanding of native life he has done the natives a good turn. If it leads to a harsh, unsympathetic suppression of customs newly discovered in his reports, then it will be a bad state of affairs for which he will be sorry, but not to blame. Happily, however, an anthropologist in Papua need have no fear that those in authority will so misuse the information he gives them. 123

As a general description the present book should logically have preceded the treatment of certain specific subjects which appeared as 'Orokaiva Magic'; but I have endeavoured not to trespass unduly on the ground of the former work. There remain a collection of fables and legends, some linguistic material, and a quantity of miscellaneous information which I hope may be published in a further report. 000

It is by courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute that the substance of an article, 'Plant Emblems among the Orokaiva', which appeared in *J.R.A.I.*, vol. lv, 1925, is included in chapters VII, VIII, and XIII.

The earlier records of the Orokaiva are embodied mainly in the Annual Reports of Papua, which contain a wealth of information about the exciting early days, and the first-hand observations of men like Sir Wm. MacGregor and Mr. W. E. Armit. Latterly there are three names that stand out: those of the late Wilfred Beaver, of E. W. P. Chinnery, and of L. A. Flint.

F. E. W.

PORT MORESBY
Sept. 1929.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

IT is a great honour to be introduced by Sir Hubert Murray, and my thanks are due not only for the generous foreword to this book, but far more for the continual inspiration of one who has done so much to advance the knowledge of Papua and achieved so much in the field of applied anthropology.

Mr. C. T. Wurth, the Resident Magistrate, together with the other magistrates, Messrs. F. J. Berge, R. L. Dick, and L. E. Ashton, were always ready with their assistance while I was in their Division. So also were the members of the Anglican Mission, Messrs. F. R. Elder, S. R. M. Gill, H. Thompson, C. Saunders, and H. Holland; and Mr. F. Hoyles of Buna Bay Plantation.

I have also to thank my sister, Miss Mabel Williams, for reading the proofs of this book, and my wife for her help in what might have been the boresome task of indexing.

Lastly—and perhaps some day an Orokaiva will open here and read this somewhat unusual acknowledgement—I would thank the natives of the Northern Division for their friendliness and hospitality, and not least for their patience.

F. E. W.

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INTRODUCTION

THERE has been a great change of late years in the attitude of the civilized world towards what are known as the native races. We find sympathy where we used at the best to find indifference, and a regard for native custom, which threatens at times to become exaggerated, but which is a welcome change from the undisguised contempt which prevailed not so long ago.

One of the results of the change has been an increase in the number of books that are published upon the manners and customs of primitive folk. And especially has this been the case with regard to Papua; anthropologists, missionaries, government officers and others have vied with one another in the production of books on Papua, so that the *terra incognita* of the last generation must now be one of the best known dependencies of the Empire.

Most of the books on Papua are good—some are even first class—but I think that this work of Mr. Williams should be the most successful of all, by reason of the great variety of readers to which it will make appeal. The professional anthropologist may revel to his heart's content among the details which Mr. Williams supplies of the domestic and social organization of the Orokaiva, and the most eager student of what used to be called 'Realien' should be more than satisfied with the information given him on the construction of houses, canoes, and other articles, and with the precise description of the parts of each, and of the names applied to every one of them. Such particularity and precision may deter the general reader, but let him take my advice and persevere, and he will find his reward in much intensely interesting information concerning the daily life of these strange and rather attractive people, and especially in the anecdotes and the personal experiences of the writer which are scattered through the book.

Thus it may be that the Chapters on 'Arts of Life' and 'Individual, Family, and Clan' will appeal only to the scientific investigator, but it is certain that those on 'Marriage', 'Warfare', 'Initiation Ceremonies', 'Dance and Drama', and 'Medicine and Magic' will be full of interest even to those whose scientific equipment is as meagre as my own. To some, Chapters VIII and XV on 'The Plant Emblem', *Heratu*, and the 'Spiritual Substitute', *Asisi*, will be the most interesting of all, for they give a good illustration of the almost insurmountable difficulty there is in getting any real knowledge of these people—a difficulty which is commensurate to their apparent difficulty in forming an appreciation of ourselves. All who have had any experience of native administration must have found how very difficult it is to establish any real contact with the native mind; and how very dangerous those people are who have persuaded themselves that they 'have a thorough knowledge of the native'.

Very interesting as an instance of the great gulf which seems to be fixed between the primitive and ourselves is Mr. Williams's account of the untranslatable *Meb*—a feeling of shame, humiliation, and contrition, which we, of the superior white race, are mercifully spared. The Orokaiva who has been wronged is naturally very sorry for himself, but, according to Mr. Williams, he also 'wants others to be sorry for him, and particularly the man who has wronged him. His attitude is not so much "I'll make you sorry for what you have done" as "I'll make you sorry for me". Accordingly we find a person under a sense of wrong going to extraordinary lengths of self castigation, from merely fasting or running away from home for a while, to delivering himself up to an enemy tribe or hanging himself from a tree.' And Mr. Williams gives a case that he knew where a dozen water melons were hacked to pieces by the owner because one had been stolen, in order to create a feeling of *Meb* in the man who had stolen it. With us the thief would regard the destruction of the other dozen with complete indifference; but with the Orokaiva he would be overwhelmed with shame and remorse. All this is to us as difficult to understand as the Japanese custom by which the creditor puts an obstinate debtor to confusion by committing *hari kari* on his doorstep, but it is probable that some similar motive accounts for many Papuan suicides. Suicide is not uncommon in Papua; 114 it is generally connected with a love affair, and is perhaps often prompted by a desire to create some such feeling as *Meb* in a faithless lover or a successful rival.

Mr. Williams fortunately combines the scientific spirit with exceptional literary gifts. Probably no one could make the enumeration of the component parts of a canoe particularly exciting to a reader who is not a trained anthropologist—is not the Catalogue of Ships itself a rather tedious episode?—but Mr. Williams can give those very dry bones at least a semblance of life, and even the most unpromising passages are illumined by a variety of interesting and appropriate stories, as that of the giant woman *Bobokoia*, as big as an island, who rescued the children from the flooded lake, and the treacherous 'crocodile man' who volunteered to buoy up one side of the raft. These two stories are of course native legends, but Mr. Williams makes a skilful use of actual happenings in order to elucidate the points which he is discussing. For instance the reference to Mr. Flint's account of the man who could not fell a tree for fear of cutting his baby's throat, and of the interpreter who, by washing his clothes, caused the death of his child, illustrate an association of ideas hardly comprehensibe to us except by direct instances.

Other interesting stories are those of the *Aiga* natives who mistook the miners' boys for women, of the boastful Handaupa, and of the practice of assuming the name of the man whom you have killed. It is, I believe, the custom not only of the Orokaiva but also of the Western Papuan, as far as Dutch New Guinea, to collect the names of slaughtered foemen, and to distribute them among the children of himself and his friends. A very famous warrior on the Mambare, renowned throughout the Territory for various more or less mythical feats, was always known as *Busimai*, and I think there are very few who ever suspected that this was not his real name; but he told me some years ago that it was not—it was the name of a man whom he had killed on the *Opi* River.

Mr. Williams mentions some other curious resemblances

114 between the customs of the Orokaiva and those of the Gulf of Papua and the West. He is careful to avoid any definite expression of opinion upon a possible common origin, but on the principle that 'fools rush in', I may venture to suggest that some such connexion is quite possible, for, so far as I understand these matters, Dr. Haddon's theory that the culture of the *Purari* Delta came from the North, across the main Range, from the former German New Guinea, is now generally accepted. There is a further coincidence of custom, which I think is not mentioned by Mr. Williams, in the prohibition against eating the man that one has killed oneself. This custom exists both among the Orokaiva and in the Purari Delta, subject in the latter case to one strange exception which I have mentioned elsewhere.[1]

Incidentally Mr. Williams has done good work in refuting the idea that the native lives a life of idleness and makes his wife do all the work, and in exposing the fallacy that the native is a child and not a man—a false analogy which seems to be generally accepted almost as a matter of course. Mr. Williams points out that a native is a man with the same groundwork of passions as an European; and it is a neglect of this very obvious fact that is responsible for much of the trouble that has arisen between white women, in various parts of the world, and their native servants.

It will be seen, from what I have said, that this book offers a many-sided attraction, but to an administrator the most interesting part is the last chapter. For in that chapter Mr. Williams deals with a phenomenon which has always appeared to me to be very difficult to understand, though it is common enough in Papua, and that is the well-ordered regulation of a peaceful society with apparently no government and no administration of justice to support it. There are no chiefs with any authority worth talking about among the Orokaiva, and the same is true of nearly the whole of Papua, and there are no Courts and no recognized method of enforcing native law or custom, and yet within the community, within what Mr. Williams calls the 'sympathy group', life is probably as peaceful and as orderly as it is

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[1] See *Papua or British New Guinea*, p. 130.

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with us. How this result can be obtained in the absence of any objective sanction is one of the puzzles of native administration.

Various explanations have been given of this phenomenon, most of them very ingenious, but none of them, to my mind, at all convincing, though I think it may be fairly said of Mr. Williams's effort that it is the most promising and the most reasonable of them all. The practical administrator can perhaps afford to leave the problem unsolved, for it seems clear enough that, whatever the explanation of the mystery may be, it can offer nothing upon which one can work or build upon as a foundation. Sorcery is mentioned by Mr. Williams, and has been mentioned by others, as a deterrent to law-breakers, and doubtless the fear of sorcery is at least as effective as the fear of physical violence or anything else, but we are surely not justified in assuming that sorcery is used only against evil-doers, and that the dread of it is confined to them. In any case the most ardent advocate of indirect rule could not approve of an administration of justice founded upon sorcery, and sorcery, 'the most hated of crimes' as Mr. Williams calls it, is, in fact, the chief cause of disorder in the villages of Papua even to this day.

The practical administrator may therefore leave the problem unsolved, but every one interested in the government of native races should read this last chapter, for it contains many suggestions of interest and value. In what the Orokaiva call *Meh* the Papuan has developed a feeling which is foreign to the ordinary European; it will be strange if we discover that he has also developed a sense of civic duty which enables him to secure tranquillity and good government without all our administrative and judicial paraphernalia.

J. H. P. MURRAY
Lieut.-Governor.

PORT MORESBY,
19 *Sept.* 1929.

I

THE OROKAIVA PEOPLE

Territory

[3] THE Orokaiva occupy the major part of the Northern Division of Papua. From Oro Bay, some little distance below Buna on the north-eastern coast, a line might be drawn westward, skirting the foothills of the Hydrographers and the Lamington group and passing over the small divide of the Kumusi and Yodda rivers, to the neighbourhood of Kokoda; thence, curving round the Ajura Kijala, it would proceed northwards, keeping on its left the uninhabited mountains which are merely eastern appendages of the Main Range, and passing through Ioma would continue on to the border of the Mandated Territory. This line, together with the territorial boundary which coincides with the 8th meridian, would enclose the demesne of the people whom we call Orokaiva. One cannot do better than follow the distribution given by E. W. P. Chinnery and the late W. N. Beaver, both of whom travelled the Northern Division more widely than the present writer,[1] and the actual boundaries of the Orokaiva country which appear in the map are approximately theirs.

It must be understood, however, that while marking the limits of those people who are distinctly and exclusively called Orokaiva, these boundaries are nevertheless somewhat arbitrary. In a general treatment it would be permissible to include, for instance, the people of the lower Waria and beyond, although they go by a different name. Similarly in the south the specified boundary beginning at Oro Bay cannot be regarded as a rigid limit, for along the coast of Dyke Ackland Bay almost as far as Cape Nelson, there are settled several groups of people who are virtually identical with the Orokaiva although commonly named Okeina. The present report, however, will observe the limits already set down.

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[1] *Papua Annual Report*, 1914-15, Appendix III, p. 161.

The Name 'Orokaiva'

101 There has always been some mystery as to the meaning of 'Orokaiva'. By now, however, the name has established itself in the Territory, and appears more suitable than any other. W. N. Beaver wrote:

> '. . . we are at a loss to find a generic term to describe all that group of tribes who are considered to belong to one stock and who speak affiliated languages. It seems to me cumbersome to be continually referring to geographical boundaries or to places which are less than mere names to most people, and consequently I have been in the habit of using "Orokaiva" as a general term. . . . I would welcome a more correct general term, could one be found.'[1]

It is doubtful whether any more correct general term could be found. It is common experience that a very large group of primitive people will have no distinctive name for itself. Among the people we are about to discuss both clan and tribal names are definite enough; but when we seek one generic name for all the tribes we must not expect to find it actually in use among them. Small differences of custom and the friendships and enmities of his own immediate group with its neighbours bulk large in the eyes of a native. It may be only the outsider who sees those comprehensive similarities which join all the tribes in one people. With regard to the Orokaiva, a more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people, it may be fair to assume that they never possessed that sense of unity which would necessitate or justify a common name. One thing at least is quite certain, that they did not themselves use the name Orokaiva. This, however, is by no means a disqualification, and we may conclude that the name has come to stay.

An alternative in common use is the rather clumsy phrase 'Binandele-speaking'. This is justified by the fact that all the tribal groups speak kindred dialects, the best known of which is that of the Binandele tribe in the north of the Division. The name 'Binandele' alone is sometimes applied to the whole people, and so again is the name 'Mambare'—because the Mambare river happens to be the home of the Binandele proper. But neither of these latter names should

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1918–19, pp. 96, 97.

be retained. A southern Orokaiva would be indignant to 101
hear himself described as Binandele or Mambare.

When Sir William MacGregor ascended the river Mambare 101
in March 1894 he was greeted with cries of *Orokaiva!*
from those who wished to be friendly. 'On the Mambare', 689
he wrote, 'the password is "orokaiva", which seems to 576
mean "man of peace". It, at all events, puts one on a friendly footing.'[1] Then apparently, as now, the native of the north was given to vociferous welcoming of his friends. Nowadays, when a party of travellers enters a village, men, women, and children will send up an irregular chorus of cries which may be almost deafening and disconcerting to a European, though it fails entirely to affect the *sangfroid* of a well-bred Papuan. Strangely enough the cry of *Orokaiva!* is heard now comparatively seldom. It has been supplanted by *Oro, oro!* which will be heard in almost every village.

It appears, however, that *Orokaiva!* was never the universal 101
cry of the whole people. Different tribes had their 689
distinctive cries of welcome. Among the Binandele it was
commonly *Tepo Tepo!* which, as the word means 'empty' 576
or in pidgin English 'for nothing', may be taken as a cry of 192
reassurance from the villagers to their visitors. The conventional cry of the Aiga was *Javau javau!* with the second syllable of the word prolonged into a cacophonous shriek. Those who used it could give no interpretation of this startling mode of salutation. The 'Salt Water' People sometimes used the cries *Pesau!* and *Savesau!* I am told that at Bakumbari on the coast, for instance, visitors from the north would be hailed with *Pesau!* and those from the south with *Savesau!* and it was suggested that the former was the name of a certain fish, and that the latter meant 'swimmers', though in neither case was the appositeness of the words made at all clear. It is plain then that, prior to the coming of the whites, *Orokaiva!* was not universally used by the Binandele-speaking peoples.

The fact appears to be that the first explorers who penetrated the Mambare heard this cry, which they interpreted as one of peace or welcome, and accordingly took up as a

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 33.

181 useful password. It is evident that they used it in prosecuting their explorations in parts where the cry was not even
609 known, for an old man of the Aiga tribe told how on the
576 first coming of the whites to his village they had entered
192 shouting *Orokaiva, orokaiva!* and he, then a youngster, not knowing what they meant, had joined with the others in answering *Evari peka!* 'Sleep in peace!' To be short, however, the characteristic cry used by some of the people has been adopted as a name for all of them. Even now, it is true, a native of the north may refuse to acknowledge the appelation, and I know a diminutive armed constable who threatened assault on a Kiwai corporal solely because the latter had referred to him as an Orokaiva. But none of this need deter us from using what is a useful and happily chosen name.

The actual meaning of the word remains in doubt, though it is interesting to note that in modern speech it stands for native tobacco. Here again, however, a similar difficulty arises: is the name anterior to the coming of the whites, as some informants have maintained it is; or is it a comparatively modern transference of a name from the people to one of their distinctive possessions, viz. the inferior kind of tobacco? It may be worth adding that *oro* means 'men's house', and *kaiva*, a mysterious word, is the name of one of the principal kinds of taro.

Ethnic Neighbours

101 The ethnic neighbours of the Orokaiva may be briefly enumerated. (1) On the sea coast immediately to the south are a branch of the Okeina[1] who are in every respect closely akin to them. Beyond these are the Baruga people of the Bariji river who speak a different language and are culturally distinct, though generally similar in appearance. (2) In the Hydrographer Range and on the southern slopes of Mount Lamington are found the group of peoples commonly named 'Managalasi'. Between these and the Orokaiva the distinction is immediately apparent, not only in culture but also in physique. The Managalasi are as a rule lighter in

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[1] Another group of this people occurs near Cape Nelson, North-Eastern Division.

colour, shorter in stature, and somewhat sturdier in build. 181
They have not the lean and well-marked features of the plainsmen, but broad faces on which their more vivacious temperament shows itself in broad smiles. (3) At its south-western corner the territory of the Orokaiva abuts upon that of the Biagi peoples. These are typical mountaineers of the Koiari type, with whom Capt. Barton strikingly compared the plainsmen, as 'dark-skinned, lanky, naked people, with their hair worn in long tags, in marked contrast to the stalwart, be-petticoated, light-skinned mountaineers'.[1] They have not been examined with any great thoroughness hitherto. (4) Along the western flank the Orokaiva plain is bounded by a wide belt of uninhabited mountains separating the Yodda valley from the plain. It would hardly be right to speak of the Chirima people (i.e. those who inhabit the valley of the Chirima, the second great affluent of the Mambare) as neighbours of the Orokaiva, because prior to the penetration of the Chirima valley by Europeans there was apparently no existing contact between the two peoples. (5) On the north-west, inhabiting the Upper Waria, are the group of peoples whom Chinnery and Beaver called Tahari. Except for a branch which has extended to the Upper Gira, it might be said that they also were virtually out of contact with the Orokaiva. (6) Along the lower reaches of the river Waria are a number of tribes, Mawai, Yarawi, and Jia, who bear some resemblance to the people with whom we are concerned in physique, culture, and language. Contact with these, friendly or warlike, has evidently been fairly close before as well as since the coming of the white man. With them we may class the Yema who are found on the middle Gira and the Eia. These latter, however, are becoming merged in the Binandele population.

Tribes and Cultural Differences

The Orokaiva are divided into a number of large tribes 619
which may be named at this point. The classification rests mainly on a basis of language and follows, with a little amplification, the list made by Chinnery and Beaver. It must

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1904–5, p. 7.

619 be understood, however, that the present is a very rough-and-ready statement of the case; for there is far more blending and complexity than appears in a bare list of nine tribes. A fuller treatment of the classification of tribes will be given in Chapter X; in the meantime the principal of them are:

1. ✓ Binandele and Jeva Buje.
2. ✓ Tain-Daware.
3. ✓ Aiga.
4. Yega.
5. Sauaha.
6. Sangara.
7. Dirou.
8. ✓ Wasida.
9. Hunjara.

Their disposition may be seen on the map.

The native roughly classifies these tribes according to their environment. The River People are called *Umo-ke*, lit. 'water-language'; they comprise the Binandele of the Mambare and Gira rivers and the large branch of the same tribe called Jeva Buje, inhabiting the lower Kumusi. The coastal Tain-Daware and Yega are called *Eva-Embo*, 'Salt-water Men', and the inland tribes are collectively known as *Autembo*, 'Bushmen', or more often as *Perebo* (*Berepo*), a word which has the same general meaning, or more specifically stands for the 'little bush-pigs' that are captured wild in the forest. There are naturally some environmental differences between these large groups, but it appears that such differ-
619 ences are not essential. There seems to be no good ground
619 other than group-conceit for the opinion of an Aiga that the
186 Bush People were *momoseja*, attractive and 'pretty' (the same word would be applied to a brilliant croton leaf), while the River People were *kamoseja*, ugly and unattractive, with black skins like Kiwais, ringworm, and elephantiasis.

619 Apart from certain cultural differences which are prob-
619 ably the direct result of environment, as e.g. in methods of
184 fishing and their appliances, there are others of greater
534 significance which are probably due to some contact influ-
534 ence. The most important of these consists in the religious
536 and social ceremonies involving the use of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute. These objects are known in the southern part of the Division, but their use is discontinued with some abruptness when we reach the Aiga, the Binan-

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(*a*) An Aiga Native (*b*) A Wasida Native

(*c*) An Aiga Native

PLATE I [facing p. 6]

619 dele, and the Tain-Daware. They then reappear on the river
184 Waria, to the north of the last-mentioned tribes. Their
distribution excludes in the main that of the small dramas
534 for which the Orokaiva are famous, these latter belonging
536 especially to the Aiga, Binandele, and Tain-Daware.[1] Thus
bull-roarer and flute on the one hand, and drama on the other tend to be mutually exclusive. It is noteworthy that the miniature drum, *saunda*, is confined to those three tribes who practice the drama.

619 Another significant distribution may be mentioned, viz.
that of the yam. This vegetable is grown over the whole of
184 the plain, but far less commonly in the north than the south,
244 though it is not, as far as I know, debarred by climatic
causes from flourishing in any part. But the yam-house and the extensive cultivation of yams disappear north of Divina Kovari, so that their distribution seems to correspond in some degree with that of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute.

619 Save for these few distinctions between South and North,
the exclusive presence of bull-roarer, flute, and yam in the
184 one, and of the drama and the *saunda* in the other, I have
not been able to see any really important distinctions between the various component tribes of the Orokaiva. It may be stated with some confidence that the groundwork of their customs and institutions is the same throughout.

619 It is on the assumption of general uniformity among the
tribes that the present report claims to refer to the people as a
121 whole. The tribe with which I am best acquainted is that of the
Aiga, who seemed to offer the best opportunities for research because they are fairly central and as yet less contaminated by European influence than most of the others. Out of
[161 a total Orokaiva population of some 9,000, this tribe num-
bers approximately 1,300, who are scattered in nearly fifty
361] villages on or between the Opi and Kumusi rivers. To
avoid confusion it will be the rule of this report to use the Aiga dialectal form for native words.

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[1] I am not ready to say that the drama never appears among the Southern tribes. At any rate I cannot speak with any certainty about the Hunjara.

Provenance

174 It is only by wide research among the near and distant neighbours of a people that we are likely to form a correct opinion of their provenance. The present writer cannot claim to have made any such research, and therefore no definite hypothesis will be attempted. The internal evidence (as we might call it) is not altogether straightforward. The legends for the most part (though not invariably) point to the Waria and the Gira as the original home of the people; and the general similarity between the Orokaiva and the present inhabitants of the country immediately north of the boundary is quite in keeping with such a theory. But the historical evidence—if so we may call the more recent memories of tribal feuds, dispersals, and migrations—would seem to indicate a movement from the opposite direction. While it is evident that tribal affairs have been involved in a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration, there is nevertheless proof that certain large groups have pushed or have been pushed steadily northwards.[1]

It may be that both these movements southward and northward have taken place. As a purely tentative suggestion it may be that the original Orokaiva population occupied the plain from the direction of the Waria and have since been subjected to a pressure from the south which has driven them back over their tracks. The presence of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute in the south and their gradual progress northwards would seem to indicate that a new culture at least, and perhaps some new people, had entered at the southern end of the plain and caused an ethnic backwash towards the north.

Rather against such an hypothesis is the presence of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute on the Waria itself, which might make it appear that the Binandele, Aiga, and Tain-Daware constituted an intrusive element who had driven the bull-roarer people out of their way. The general uniformity of custom and language, however, gives some ground for assuming that the exceptions, viz. especially the bull-roarer and sacred flute, are later introductions. 174

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[1] See Chinnery and Beaver, *Annual Report*, 1914–15, Appendix II, p. 158.

The present report, which aims at describing the Orokaiva people alone, may proceed without pretending to solve this question. 000

Physical Characters

It remains to give some idea of the physical characteristics of the people with whom this report is to deal. To any one who has overcome the antipathy of mere strangeness the Orokaiva may well appear a handsome and prepossessing race. The best example will be a man of medium height, clean-limbed, muscular, and spare. The colour of the skin is predominantly darkish brown, though there is variation in both directions. The hair is of the woolly texture common to natives of Papua, and black in colour. The features are fairly clear-cut. The nose, usually straight, is not unduly broad in appearance and is often well defined. The brow ridge is somewhat marked and the jaws strong. The lips are sometimes full but not specially so. The mouth is commonly firm, and the face often shows deep lines. 142

In general appearance the Orokaiva may stand midway between the typical Papuan and the typical Melanesian. He has neither the prominent convex nose and the narrow forehead of the former, nor the broad and somewhat smooth countenance of the latter.

The results of measurements upon 81 individuals are given below. Of these 36 belonged to the Aiga tribe, 28 to Wasida, and 17 to Sangara. 141

Cephalic Indices.

General average: 74·2 . . .	Aiga	74·7
	Wasida	73·8
	Sangara	73·9

Extremes: 66·6–81·9.
Modes: 72–3 and 74–5.

Nasal Indices.

General average: 91·4 . . .	Aiga	89·1
	Wasida	92·7
	Sangara	94·2

Extremes: 70·4–110·6.
Modes: 88–9 and 100–1.

141 *Height.*

General average: 159·7 cm.	Aiga	159·7
	Wasida	159·8
	Sangara	159·6

Extremes: 148·5–170·5
Mode: 160–1.

Chest.[1]

General average: 83·7 cm.	Aiga	83·75
	Wasida	84·2
	Sangara	82·5

Extremes: 73–92.
Mode: 80–1

Weight.

General average: 112·5 lb.	Aiga	124·7
	Wasida	111·6
	Sangara	105·7

Extremes: 90–150.

142 I am unable to refer the skin colour to any standard, and can only describe it as darkish brown. But an observer will note three fairly distinct categories, viz. (1) the usual darkish brown, (2) a distinctly darker shade on the one hand, and (3) a lighter shade on the other. The darker colour approaches that of the Gulf native and the lighter is commonly seen among the Eastern Melanesians of New Guinea. In measuring the natives I have noted whether they are Medium, Dark, or Light:

Skin Colour (75 cases):

Medium	54·7 per cent.
Dark	29·3 "
Light	16·0 "

The typical Orokaiva nose is straight in profile; but many cases show more or less marked degrees of convexity and concavity. The marked convexity of a true Papuan nose is seen, but not commonly.

Nose Profile (80 cases):

Straight	47·5 per cent.
Convex	36·25 "
Concave	16·25 "

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[1] Taken at the level of the nipples with the arms raised above the head.

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(*a*) A Woman of Wasida

(*b*) An Orokaiva Profile

(*c*, *d*) Two Orokaiva Profiles

PLATE II [facing p. 10]

II

ENVIRONMENT

The Country

133 THE homogeneity of the Orokaiva in language, culture, and physique may be due in some degree to the nature of their country and its boundaries. The plain of the Northern Division is bordered on the west by the Central Range with its spurs and foot-hills—considerable mountains in themselves; on the south by the Hydrographers and the cluster of which Mount Lamington is the centre; and on the east by the sea. Its northern boundary is roughly speaking the river Eia. But between the Eia and the northern neighbours of the Orokaiva there rises a succession of small but difficult ridges, the last of which descends almost precipitously to the narrow valley of the Waria. In fine it might be said that the country of the Orokaiva was more or less completely encompassed on the landward side by mountains, and was thus effectively fenced off from its neighbours.

Near the southern border of the plain there stretches out a process towards the west, a well-populated valley, watered by numerous tributaries of the Kumusi, and extending towards the Government station of Kokoda. Taking this into account the total extent of country whether plain or piedmont, in which the Orokaiva have established their homes, might be set down at about 1,800 square miles. A certain proportion of this is no more than trackless swamp; but by way of compensation there are wide border areas of mountain and hill which, though uninhabited, are visited by hunting parties and thus make their contribution to maintenance.

The great majority of the Orokaiva are plainsmen. Their country has been built up by sediments borne down from the mountains and now consists of a wide plain which slopes towards the sea coast at a barely perceptible gradient. A few lonely hills on the western side, like islands in a calm

133 sea, break the almost absolute level of the plain; and from the old German boundary down to the mouth of the river Opi a low irregular range marks the line of the coast. But except for these features the plain is remarkable for its flatness. Seen from the summit of one of the bordering hills, basking in the haze and sunshine of the eighth meridian, it yields a peculiar impression of placidity which proves to be somewhat oddly at variance with the character of its inhabitants.

Along its western margin the hills stand up rather abruptly from the plain; but in the south they are approached by long sweeping slopes, scored by ravines and rivers, yet affording extensive areas of fertile land. This piedmont area, formed by the northern slopes of Lamington and the Hydrographers, is closely populated and, in comparison with others, closely cultivated; and here the innumerable garden clearings, relieving the close monotony of the bush, make it possible to take in the beauty of the surroundings. With its comparatively bracing climate and the charm and opulence of its scenery, this region may be counted among the most fortunate of Papua. A somewhat discouraging contrast is found in the forests of the plain proper, which are sometimes gloomy and water-logged. In many parts the land degenerates into sheer swamp; in others it is low-lying and of wholly inferior quality. In fact it is a matter for wonder that an environment so depressing to the European sojourner should produce so small a trace of depression on its native inhabitants.

The Rivers

Through this wide alluvial tract of the Northern Division there flow, pursuing a north-easterly course with a noticeable curve towards the sea, some half-dozen very considerable rivers. Among these the Mambare is the greatest and the Kumusi the next. Both of them have their sources far up in the mountains and bring down huge volumes of water, flowing steadily up to their very mouths. Swift and wholesome in their middle reaches, they become sluggish and meandering when once they have left the hills.

133 505 The Mambare and Kumusi are navigable by launch, the latter as far as Bogi, where in mining days the stores used to be put ashore some fifty-five miles from the mouth. But here already the flow of the stream is too strong for native transport, and canoes are rarely seen among the people of the neighbourhood.

133 While the Mambare and Kumusi are both powerful and impressive rivers they do not possess the same charm as the lesser Gira and Opi. Of the Gira Sir Wm. MacGregor, having admired the landscape of scattered hills and the elevated and fertile banks with their frequent villages, concluded that it was 'the most populous and certainly by far the most pleasant of our north-east coast rivers'.[1]

Sir George Le Hunte was sufficiently charmed by the lower Opi to write:

> 'I do not recollect ever being on a more beautiful stream. The banks lined now with the handsome dark-leaved nipa palms springing from the water, now with the spreading sago palm with its curious candelabra-shaped flowers rising straight above it, here a village landing-place with a group of tall graceful areca palms, across which a leaning coconut would curve above a cluster of red and golden crotons. . . . The water a deep brown, on which the reflections were so vivid that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish the real from the image. . . .'[2]

Had it been possible for Sir George to ascend the river further than 'about six miles', he would have found a strong flowing stream whose rocky bed is visible through its swift transparency, and which is alternately overshadowed by tall forest or exposed to the sunshine in some broad expanse of rapids; and he might well have been tempted to write with equal vividness and still more enthusiasm.

133 731 The northern rivers, however, do not always bear this idyllic aspect. They are subject to sudden rise, and the clear stream of yesterday is transformed overnight into a brown swirling flood, sweeping down masses of forest wreckage and rising over its banks to cover the surrounding country. At such a time it is hardly possible to stir abroad except on canoes or rafts, and some time after the subsidence of the water one may not be surprised to find one of these stranded high and dry among the trees.

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1896–7, p. 31.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1898–9, p. 21.

133 731 The experience of a Government official in the early days will show to what extent these floods may go:

> 'From the date of our arrival (Oct. 12) until the end of May we had one long series of floods in the Mambare River. Scarcely a week passed without a flood, and sometimes we had five or six consecutively at night. On six or eight occasions the floods were exceptionally heavy, and the water rose from two to three feet above the level of the banks. The highest ground is immediately adjacent to the river, for in the forests a short distance back the water was many times 6 and 8 feet deep.'[1]

The rapidity with which the flood-waters sink is somewhat surprising when we consider the very gradual fall of the ground. Sometimes, it appears, the damage to native gardens may be serious, but this is not often so; and the pile-built village, although often enough within reach of the flood, sustains no permanent injury.

The Seasons

132 The floods belong to the 'North-West' season, i.e. they occur roughly speaking between October and March, when the north-west monsoon is blowing. This is the period of greater rainfall throughout the territory.

Reports published in 1922 give the following results for the three Government stations in the Northern Division.[2]

Station.	*Period.*	*Mean Rainfall (Annual).*	*Three Wettest Months.*
Buna	12 years	113 in.	Nov., Dec., Jan.
Kokoda	12 „	131 „	Nov., Jan., Feb.
Ioma	11 „	161 „	Dec., Jan., Mar.

The difference between the 'North-West' and the 'South-East' seasons is fairly well marked, though it is one of rain, temperature, and humidity, rather than one of wind, as the names would imply. Whatever winds may fly overhead there is an almost dreary stillness in the forests of the plain, varied, indeed, by occasional squalls that may do considerable damage among the luxuriant but flimsy vegetation. 132

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[1] John Green, Government Agent, in *Annual Report*, 1895-6, p. 77. The writer adds: 'The natives during the heavy floods had to sleep in their canoes.' It may be remarked that such a situation would be entirely exceptional, for the flood-water very rarely reaches the floor-level of the house.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1921-2, p. 87.

The South-East season is perceptibly drier and much more pleasant than the North-West. This becomes especially apparent to the traveller who in the former season can make a good pace over excellent native tracks, but in the latter must do more than a little wading. A former *Annual Report* gives the following account of the Aiga country: 'The track between Bogi and Tamata has the reputation of being in bad weather the worst in the Possession. The greater part of it passes through flat country, intersected by sluggish creeks and pandanus swamps. After heavy rain it is flooded for miles waist deep.'[1] One may reasonably doubt whether the Aiga country is often deserving of this description; but making allowance for a little pardonable exaggeration on the part of one who had evidently met with unpleasant conditions, we may take his word for it that in bad weather the tracks are very wet. 132 487

The contrast afforded by the drier months of 'winter' may be striking. Sometimes a long spell of sunny rainless weather, with refreshing, almost chilly, nights may lead to a serious dearth of food, and compel the natives to supplement their diet with a variety of leaves, roots, and fern-fronds from the bush. Although such scarcity never reaches the point of famine it may nevertheless be serious enough. The drought has in fact far more terrors for the Orokaiva than the destructive flood. 132 731

Conditions of temperature remain fairly equable. The following are figures for the official year, 1924–5: 132

Station.	*Dry Therm.*	*Wet Therm.*	*Maximum.*	*Minimum.*
Buna	82·2	77·5	87·3	68·4
Kokoda	74·5	72·3	88·5	67·5
Ioma	77·4	74·4	91·5	72·9

Vegetation

By far the greater part of the Northern Division is covered by forest. Some of this has at one time or another been 137

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1904–5, p. 5.

137 cleared for native gardens, some is still virgin, being distinguished by the presence of giant trees with spreading
flanges or buttresses. The forest presents an infinite variety,
with this important characteristic, that the variety is for ever
repeating itself, so that a man who requires any particular
product usually has not far to seek.

137 With few exceptions the trees are soft-woods, and these
supply easy material for canoes and much of the house-
313 building. One or two varieties of hard-woods are used for
[411] spears, but these weapons as well as the wooden 'sword'
are usually made from the tough and springy *Koropa* palm.
Other palms provide the slats used in flooring; and the
137 pandanus, most useful of all, is valued for its fibre which is
314 twisted into rope, and for its broad leaves which are sewn
together to form the sleeping mat. One variety is prized
[262] for its fruit, a long red seed-cluster, which is boiled down
to a porridge.

One of the greatest natural assets of the Orokaiva is his
137 sago. In the interior the palm is comparatively rare and each
313 tree is carefully husbanded, but along the lower reaches of
the rivers, where they are bordered by swamps of very great
extent, the sago grows in a quantity which, as far as native
wants are concerned, is probably inexhaustible. As a diet it
[262] is secondary to the taro, but among the river-dwellers at
least it provides an unfailing resource in times of scarcity.
The sago leaf thatches the house, and the midrib nowadays
commonly forms the walls of the house. In the dismal
swamps of the coast the *Nipa* palm furnishes another
material for thatching, and the mangrove one of the most
adaptable of native timbers.

Comparatively few fruit-bearing trees are found in the
137 bush. The only exceptions of much consequence are the
262 several varieties of bread-fruit, the *Okari* nut, and the tree
called *Puga*. Mangoes are uncommon and of inferior quality,
and of the numerous varieties of wild fig only one or two
may be called edible. But there are numerous herbs, ferns,
and tree leaves which always lend variety to Orokaiva
cookery, and when scarcity prevails at the height of the
South-East season may even become a stand-by. Indeed,

the various natural resources of the bush would probably 137
enable the native to tide over a period in which the taro 262
gardens failed completely.

Such clothing as he wears is made by beating out the bark 314
of a *ficus* tree; his belt is plaited with thin strips of cane; his
pipe is a tube of bamboo; his cheeks are streaked with a 824
red paint obtained from a seed; his ready-made luggage-strap or the mooring cable for his canoe is a creeper withe or a length of rattan cane. These are only a few of the uses to which the Orokaiva, true forest-dweller that he is, may put the multifarious products of his environment. One cannot fail to be impressed by his wonderful familiarity with the forest—so perplexing to one who is not a woodsman—and with his extempore skill and resource in turning all its products to account.

Wide areas of the plain—though still but a small propor- 137
tion of its total extent—are covered with *alang alang*, or long grass. The apparent spread of these grass patches, and the corresponding deforestation have caused the Government some anxiety. As yet, however, this aspect of the matter has made no appeal to the native. The grass patch, entirely unproductive as it is, and almost invincible to cultivation, yet provides an annual supply of game when it is burnt off by the hunting party. It seems, indeed, as if the grass were regarded in the light of a special asset to its owners.

Fauna

Of the wild animals which these burnings drive into the 136
nets of the hunters most important is *sus papuensis*, that fierce
long-legged animal which abounds throughout Papua. But
there is an unclassified multitude of marsupials ranging
downwards in size from the wallaby, all of which are wel- [262]
come to the Orokaiva, who despises no meat that comes his
way. Of the tree-climbing marsupials the most notable is
the cuscus, with beautifully dappled fur of white, yellow, [301]
and brown, which is cut into strips and worn in long streamers from the armlet of the warrior; and in the hills a larger animal, the tree-kangaroo, whose rich brown fur is used for the same purpose. Most beautiful of all is the

136 delicate little *Hajojo* which resembles a flying squirrel, and which makes the prettiest if not always the most docile of pets. There are many more bush creatures perfectly known to Papuan (if not so well to European) zoology, and all, while they serve the more utilitarian purpose of diet, are especially interesting because their names constantly recur in the Aesopian legends with which Orokaiva folk-lore abounds.

136 Reptiles are not less common than in other parts of the
Territory. Snakes, from the python to the smallest and
825 deadliest, are regarded with a queer mixture of feelings in
which sometimes veneration, sometimes horror, and some-
times hunger gains the upper hand. The lizard is killed,
[251] its flesh dried in the smoke against some future feast, and its
skin stretched over the drum as a tympanum. Crocodiles, the most terrible of the Papuan's natural enemies, abound near the river-mouths, and their attacks have sometimes been so frequent on village pigs and dogs and on women filling their gourds at the water's edge, that favourable settlements have had to be abandoned. Yet even the crocodile is often outwitted in the legends and occasionally caught and eaten in reality.

Flying-foxes or fruit-bats are numerous and destructive. From their camping-grounds, where they hang by day in lazy myriads from the branches, they steadily wing their way at evening to the gardens which they mean to plunder, and after this nocturnal migration may be seen steadily beating back at earliest daybreak. To the Orokaiva as to ourselves there is a hint of the spectral about the flying-fox, and it is not surprising that it should find a place in their legends and theories of the life after death.

136 Birds are of interest to the northern native mainly as
providing the plumes which, fastened together in head-
301 dresses, make him, as they are meant to do, more attractive
231 in love and more terrifying in war. Thus parrots, kingfishers, and birds of paradise supply in their brilliant plumage one of the principal kinds of convertible wealth. The domestic cock is valued for the same reason, being mercilessly plucked and bereft of his sweeping tail feathers in

order to serve the vanity of his owner. The great corrugated 136
beak of the hornbill is valued as an ornament, and appar- 301
ently in earlier times was an emblem of the homicide. The 231
bird is frequently seen as a pet, being accommodated like
the parrot or the white cockatoo in a little house of its own. Sometimes the young cassowary is domesticated, until as he grows up his aggressive manners and sharp claws make him an unmanageable member of village society, when he usually takes to the bush and rejoins his own kind. The cassowary is common in the hills though comparatively rare on the plains.

Even in so sketchy a list of the creatures which as friends 136
or enemies share the habitat of the Orokaiva one should not fail to make a passing mention of the insects. It is well enough known that the most terrible predatory creature of Papua is the mosquito, and parts of the Northern Division, particularly the lower Mambare, deserve the bad reputation which it has given them. A magistrate wrote, I think without exaggeration, of this district:

> 'It is infested by multitudes of the most voracious mosquitoes, so that for that reason alone, one falls to wondering what could induce any one to live there. The native is not by any means immune to the bites of these pests. On my visits to these villages, I have seen the people sitting full in the acrid smoke of large wood fires, or beating their bodies with palm fronds, and they have complained to me that life is unbearable on account of the mosquitoes.' [1]

The scourge of mosquitoes has been bad enough to drive out whole village communities. Manau is said to have migrated from the present site of Bebewa, some distance up the river simply to escape them. Leaving behind the mosquitoes, however, the emigrants have established themselves in a region of countless sand-flies, and it is questionable whether their second state is not worse than their first. These infinitesimal insects (whose irritating bite is out of all proportion to their size) infest the brown sea-beaches of the north-east coast. But while they make life unbearable for a European it would seem as if the natives enjoy a certain amount of immunity from their poison.

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[1] S. A. Greenland in *Annual Report*, 1912–13, p. 127.

136 One might mention other insects that appeal to the imagination of the Orokaiva—the innocent-looking March-fly with its treacherous sting, the carpenter bee that riddles the light timbers of native houses, the warlike black ants [825] with their sudden migrations, the fire-flies in which, floating and luminous, he sees the eyeballs of the dead. None of these have much practical importance, but it is interesting to note that the Orokaiva, making his farewell address to the dead, bids him go to a place where March-flies and mosquitoes will cease from troubling him.

III

DAILY LIFE

The Day's Work

THE villager wakes and rises with the sun. Being at 512 liberty to take his repose at any time of the day, whenever indeed he feels a tiredness in his limbs, he is not likely to be a lie-abed in the morning. If the weather be hot he is early at work in the garden to have his day's task through before the sometimes grilling heat of noon; if the night has been a cold one (for many New Guinea nights are cold to those who live in New Guinea), he issues forth from his house bringing some of the night's fire with him, to meet the sun and to profit by the warmth of its first rays.

There is no bustle of preparation for breakfast. A lump [264] or so of cold taro or a fragment of roast sago left overnight constitutes the morning meal, and often enough a man is content to go with none at all. If he have work before him 512 in the garden he will soon set off accompanied by his wife 462 and children, with his axe and knife in his hand and his rude digging-stick over his shoulder; usually, too, with a long spear against some chance of game. If there be no immediate call for his masculine strength in the garden he allows his wife and children to go to their work alone, to perform the drudgery of weeding and grubbing while he employs his mind and fingers upon some more interesting or creative task—such as the fashioning of a spear, the plaiting of a cane belt, or the chopping of a mess-bowl from a block of wood.

Such employments as these he follows with a deal of comfortable assiduity, for not only does he see the object take shape as he proceeds, but the nature of his work permits of a seat in the shade and, like knitting or hemstitching, does nothing to hinder conversation.

Some women will have remained at home to perform

512 sedentary tasks of their own—different always, for none
of the crafts are shared by the two sexes. So we may see the
462 clay pot growing coil by coil in the hands of the housewife,
the bark-cloth spreading out into a sheet under the blows
of her mallet, or the furnace of green leaves, rolling out
clouds of smoke, from which she will obtain a small residuum
of salt. These and many other such tasks are woman's
province, upon which there is no male encroachment.

Some work therefore will be going forward in the forenoon,
512 but there is not unusually a quietness in the village
during this part of the day. The children may have remained,
but they are as likely to be down by the river-side or playing
at work in the garden with their elders. Of those men and
women who chance to be unoccupied none will think it
shame to sleep, and there will be no loud life about the
village, perhaps no sound but the ceaseless regular whacking
of a bark-cloth maker's stone mallet upon the log.

512 Meanwhile the bulk of the village population is probably
employed in the garden. If it be the mere routine of weeding
462 and of gathering a bagful of taro for the pot, gardening is
241 women's work; but whenever the business of clearing,
planting, or fencing is afoot, then the whole family will be
engaged, or sometimes all the families of a clan, in a somewhat
unorganized and happy-go-lucky working bee.

The heat of the garden clearing, fenced in by a high wall
of forest, may be almost insufferable to a European, but the
native, hatless and streaming with sweat, bears it well
enough. The party may be cutting into the bush to increase
the area for fresh planting. The women and children clear
the undergrowth and trailers and the men deal with the tree
trunks. Amid the sound of axe-blows and those loud expulsions
512 of breath—'*ugh, ugh!*'—which accompany them and
241 with which the Orokaiva seems to convince himself he is
working very hard, may be heard occasionally the clear
yodel-like call, something between a shout and a song,
which shows the workmen to be in his highest spirits. And
when from time to time he brings down a tree, he accompanies
the prodigious crash of its fall with a not less prodigious
Orokaiva hoot, and turns to the next, or throws

1:Williams E.G-5 (1923-1925) 1930

OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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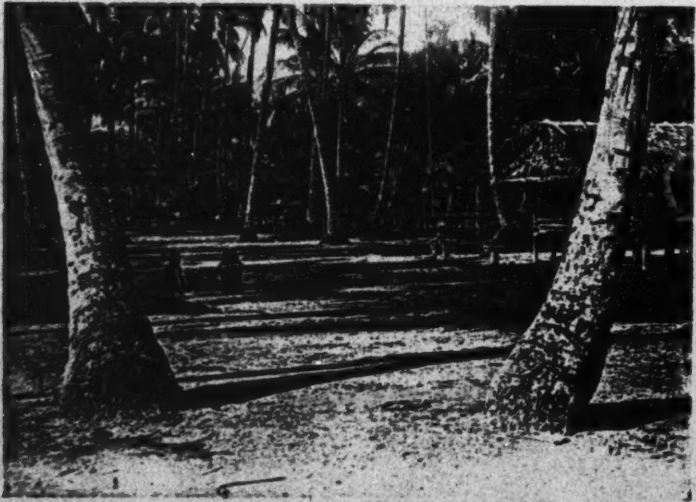
(*a*) On the Middle Opi



361

(*b*) The Village of Poho

PLATE III [facing p. 21]

512 down his axe and turns to his string bag hanging on a stump
241 for refreshment of betel-nut and a breather.

After the felling of timber there is the burning of it, which is hot work with a vengeance, for the hottest day is regarded as the best opportunity for making a clean sweep of the litter which clearing has left behind it. In none of his gardening operations, however, does the Orokaiva display unnecessary haste. He moves hither and thither, gathering armfuls for the blaze, and gives it a desultory poke or raking with his long stick. Meanwhile, the atmosphere is visibly dancing with the heat, and broad leaves are caught and floated upwards by the ascending currents of air.

512 Maybe the work on hand is that of fencing. One or two
men are driving the stakes and laying the rails that constitute
417 the primitive fence. Theirs is the skilled work—if so it may be called—while it is for the women folk to maintain the supply of materials. Among these unskilled labourers the unmarried daughters, strapping young women who have discarded their bark-cloth skirts for greater freedom, move through the garden as naked as Eve through Paradise, supposing the mother of mankind to have worn at least an armlet or two or a flower in her hair for ornament. The children—particularly the little girls, who show an earlier disposition for work than do their brothers—bear their small and irresponsible share. The baby, meanwhile, hang-
[854] ing in a knitted string bag from some convenient tree-branch, sleeps undisturbed.

512 The housewife has probably pulled some taro and
gathered some of the edible leaves with which it is to be
482 seasoned; and now when the morning's work is over she will stow these into her string bag, which has incredible powers of distension, squat beside it to arrange upon the crown of her head the band which serves as handle, and so rise to her feet to plod contentedly homeward. The baby
[854] hangs, still sound asleep, in a second bag upon the woman's stooping back, and her husband, shouldering his spear and digging-stick again, leads the way.

512 So in their own time most of the families will have returned by noon to the village. There may be something to

512 eat, made ready by some woman who has been at home during the forenoon, but, whether or no, the toilers will probably retire into their houses for the siesta.

512 If the day be warm there will be drowsiness in the village
atmosphere and almost universal somnolence among its
513 inhabitants for an hour or two after midday.

The Evening's Recreation

512 The real activity of the village commences at about three
252 o'clock. The women will soon begin peeling the taro, each
seated on the ground before her own house. The diurnal grand repast is in preparation, and what with the peeling of vegetables and the cooking of them a housewife has perhaps an hour and a half of final work to do. Not that this is hard or unpleasant, but rather of a sociable nature, for little groups gather round the pot in which the taro is slowly seething under a covering of leaves. The men have risen from their rest and may foregather to chew betel or will sit before their respective houses renewing some sedentary task of yesterday—for such tasks may drag on unconscionably.
[854] Often a man is content with the society of his immediate
family, playing fondly with his younger children and carrying an infant in his arms.

512 Women and girls will go for water, and youths perhaps
for firewood. Young bloods may appear, with a dash of
301 paint on their cheeks and an ornament of boar's tusk or shell
302 on their breasts. Their hair is glossy and greasy and their
883 fine young figures set off with a sheen of coco-nut oil. In
the most indirect manner and with a somewhat studied nonchalance they are, if the truth be known, bent on courtship, desiring principally to show off their masculine charms in those quarters where it suits them.

As the cool of the evening approaches the village grows
512 more animated. If one game or another happens to be in
526 vogue, youths of all ages will be boisterously engaged in it.
The favourite games of the Orokaiva have something of war or chase about them. A number of players, with darts poised for throwing, stand in a kind of extended order while one boy bowls a disk-shaped section of banana stem along

the ground before them. Then the waiting spearmen discharge 512
their darts at the flying disk, seeing in imagination 526
the wild pig flying past the hunter. This, like most native
games, has no finality and no winner. Whoever lodges his
mock spear in the rolling disk utters his shout of triumph—
maybe his own name or that of his clan—while all rush forward
to recover their weapons and form into line again for
the next attempt.

A more uproarious pastime is the sham fight between
two contending parties, when mock spears are thrown with
great violence and evaded with great address. The spear is
usually the six-feet-long stalk of a large herb weighted with
its rhizome, a very solid knob, which gives power and
directness to the missile and makes it worth one's while to
dodge. The shield is a miniature of light palm spathe.
Armed with these weapons the parties attack one another,
launching their spears or parrying or dodging those of the
enemy with all the cries and actions of true warfare. When 512
the game is played by small boys, the contending parties 526
draw closer and closer, snatching up and returning the spent
weapons of their adversaries with gradually mounting spirit, 857
until the combat thickens and may become a hand-to-hand
scuffle in which the spear is turned into a club. An unlucky
hit may compel one of the combatants to withdraw weeping
from the fray, but one never sees bad blood engendered in
these village games, however warlike, and a stand-up fight
must be a very rare occurrence.

With the approach of dusk the various families of the 512
village will forsake amusement and employment, or the 264
lack of either, for the business of eating their evening
meal. About this there is little or no formality. The housewife
is responsible for the due preparation of the repast,
which is the only regular one of the day. If she be a dutiful [578]
spouse she seldom fails in punctuality, for the hungry Orokaiva
husband is short-tempered and any break-down in the
catering of his household will cause domestic disagreement.
(Indeed, it would appear that neglect of household duties 512
may be as just and potent a cause of divorce as actual infidelity.) 431
There will be a few friendly gifts of food. If a man

512 has made a catch of fish his wife, having cooked it in the
431 evening, will carry portions across to her neighbours; but for
the most part the meal is prepared for the immediate family.

512 After dark there is conversation and the liveliness of the
village will continue. Any happening of the humdrum day
521 will have passed from ear to ear, and one may now hear
518 occasional shouted comments, greeted with yells of laughter
from a distant fireside. Some incident of slighted feelings during the day may lead to an angry outburst in the evening, when the victim pours forth his feelings in a molten stream of indignation, which may call forth fierce retorts, but is more likely to be heard in silence by the rest of the village. Sometimes an individual, either to air his own grievance or express his opinion in an inter-clan dispute, will parade back and forth among the houses, shaking his spear and denouncing his enemy. But happily, though swift to anger, the Orokaiva is content to allow it a verbal overflow, and very seldom comes to blows with his fellow villagers.

512 Often the menfolk of the village will be met in a cheerful
533 company to enliven—or some would say make hideous—
the night with song. The singers assemble in the *oro* or
men's house, drawn into a close circle about a fire or pre-
ferably a kerosene lamp. Three or four drums and a conch-
[534] shell are the instruments of music, the last in the hands of a
smallish boy who, though thrust somewhat into the background, willingly supplies the wind for an instrument which is more exacting of endurance than of musical finesse. When everything is in readiness the drums begin to beat and some precentor strikes up on a high pitch, singing with spirit and not without a certain taste one or two bars of a melody to words that are for the most part meaningless. As he finishes, his song is caught up and repeated in a very full-throated manner by the chorus, accompanied by the drums and the well-timed but not always harmonious blasts of the shell trumpet. The leader sings again and the chorus follows, till, after many repetitions, they all pause from their exertions and refresh themselves with betel-nut. With frequent changes of tune and frequent pauses this singing may go one till late at night; indeed on occasions of festivity

[facing p. 26]

(*a*) A man of the River Gira

(*b*) Woman and child of Wasida

PLATE IV

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512 it is no uncommon thing to see the singers dispersing for
533 their night's rest at break of day. But happily, when a
European is in their village they have the politeness and the
deference to the common European habit of sleeping by
night, to discontinue their concert when he extinguishes his
lamp. Then the older folk and the mere boys will retire to
[883] rest and the young men will follow their own devices,
either turning in or going a courting. No one will see them
creep into the houses of their sweethearts where by prearrangement they are assured of a welcome.

512 The village is now in complete silence. It may be warm
and drizzling rain, or it may be clear and cold. In the latter
374 case the fires will be burning underneath the pile-houses,
513 and now and again one will hear the voice of the father
gruffly rousing one of his children to go down and stir the
embers or add fuel. Then follow the sounds of sleepy and
complaining acquiescence, the fire flares and crackles, the
youngster creeps back to his sleeping mat, and all is silence
once more.

512 At times in the dead of night one may waken to hear a
woman's voice raised in a solitary dirge for dead husband
533 or child—long-sustained, clear notes whose effect is singularly
152 sad. From the standpoint of music it must be confessed that such performances are variable, yet sometimes they are of the purest tone and uttered with an admirable restraint. Long-drawn, and with a suspicion of *tremolo*, the dirge ends characteristically with two or three high-pitched sobs or whimpers. There are now no sounds other than the tireless croaking of the frogs in the swamp, the hooting of owls, or the occasional flapping of a fruit-bat among the bananas, until the tailless rooster on the house-top thinks fit to salute the coming dawn.

Occasional Activities

512 Such is the uneventful routine of the Orokaiva day. Yet although there is undoubtedly a general absence of varied interest and incident in native life compared with our own, it must not be supposed that the typical day which I have endeavoured to describe is by any means invariable. There are

512 in the first place the exigencies of nature: the flood with its opportunities for fishing and the pursuit of small game; the heat of the early North-West season when the grass-burning will go forward and great hunting parties assemble; the long dry spell when the villagers must turn to making sago, or go down to a fishing camp, the streams being then at their shallowest.

512 There are also the many new activities, not always wel-
come, which Government control has occasioned. The
177 village must clear its allotted span of track with every moon;
653 the passing of an officer means a turn out of carriers (and the
482 Orokaiva are reputed to be as sturdy and cheerful as any
in the Territory); and the approach of a patrol means a mild bustle of diligence in which the village must be made to look its best for fear of magisterial wrath. Again the Plantations scheme and the presence of a supervising officer mean labour of a somewhat new kind, which for those who live from hand to mouth seems irksome because unrepaid by immediate returns.

444 Now and again the recruiter of native labour passes, lays
out his trade for those who will bargain to go with him, and
152 leaves perhaps with a batch of young men to 'sign-on' for
European employment. But the sadness of parting, however real, is not more moving than the demonstrative welcome at the labourer's home-coming, when his women folk, who threw themselves down and beat their foreheads on the ground for sorrow at his going, do the same again with equal violence for joy at his return.

000 Apart from these sources of interest, and from events of birth, marriage, and death, and again from the more startling incidents of thefts, quarrels, and occasional murders which are all but necessary to any human society, native life is varied by a number of festive and ceremonial occasions which constitute a very important part of it.

765 Not a few of these are associated with the rites of mourning and with the placation of the beings who survive death. When a death occurs mourners, summoned by long blasts of the trumpet, gather from far and wide to the scene and give themselves with what one suspects to be almost joyful abandon to the indulgence of grief. The house of the dead

is thronged with mud-smeared wailers and the corpse is 765 hardly to be seen for those who are mauling and caressing it for the last time. The funeral, despite the undeniably genuine sorrow of the mourners, even of those who are but remotely connected with the deceased, is not without redeeming features. The mourners disperse with the satisfaction of having performed a necessary rite, of having participated with a crowd of their fellows in an exercise of emotion, and of having been well feasted.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to give any detailed 574 description of mortuary ceremonies, nor of the rites of seclusion and initiation with their spectacular *finale*, when the youths and girls emerge as 'new children' bedecked with feather head-dresses and loaded with crude but magnificent ornaments of shell and ivory. All ceremonies, however, are accompanied by feasting, for the primitive virtue of liberality is not less strong among the Orokaiva than others. Food will have been gathered from the gardens and bountifully displayed on platforms. The guests, arriving in their several parties, come striding single file into the village, each party headed by its man of first importance, befeathered club on shoulder. No smile adorns his face, but rather an expression of fierceness, which, however unsuited it may seem to the hospitable occasion, is nevertheless Orokaiva good form. Tempestuous shouts of welcome greet the visitors, which they accept without a flicker of weak-minded gratification, unless it be on the part of some silly girl; and so they file majestically through the village until they reach the place allotted them, when they seat themselves somewhat abruptly and relax into a more sociable attitude. Meanwhile, the women have been busy at peeling and chopping the taro, and the pots are cooking in rows. If it be an occasion of any importance the pigs are slaughtered and, having been dismembered, lie in reeking heaps on the high platform where the butchering is performed in rather studied publicity. The stench may soon be almost nauseating to a European, though to Orokaiva nostrils it has no doubt a pleasant and promising savour. An onlooker who would appreciate the gaiety and charm of the scene must not be too fastidious.

574 Towards the end of the day comes the formal distribution
431 of food. The master of the feast, conferring anxiously with his friends, has been setting out the taro in heaps, making them correspond by laborious arithmetic with the number of his principal guests. Now that the tally appears satisfactory, he turns, with an enthusiasm bordering on violence, to the distribution. With loud shouts he and his assistants rush back and forth depositing, or often rather hurling down, bunches of taro before the guests, who accept them with a fitting appearance of indifference. In the same way the pig flesh—legs, quarters, chines, and entrails—are bestowed on top of the taro heaps, and the guests are ready to depart. They have been sufficiently regaled throughout the day; the food thus finally distributed is to be carried home.
574 The women pack it into their string bags and prepare to
431 move off. Men and children will bear their part. One remembers the spectacle of a diminutive child bearing away
482 the blood-spattered head of a huge pig, balanced with difficulty and pride upon his own small crown. Thus laden with proofs of friendship the guests depart to await the time when, in a year or so, they will make a similar return of hospitality.

With certain of these festivals there will go the dance and
535 pantomine. The Orokaiva ballet will be described in greater
536 detail in another chapter, but in passing one may claim that its brilliant natural setting, the sudden theatrical entry of the performers into the sunlit village, their paint and feathers and voluminous costumes of dyed palm-leaf, the inspiriting beat of the drum, and above all the swift movements of the dance, full of grace and power, all combine to make a spectacle that one might even call magnificent. The mime comes as a dramatic interlude in the dance, and presents as a theme some legend or incident of village life, enacted with great spirit and humour, and sometimes with considerable taste, upon the most realistic of stages—the village itself, and in the midst of the audience who are on such intimate terms with the actors as occasionally to add an extempore touch of their own to the play.

Such social amusements as these still continue, one is happy to say, to add some zest and interest to native life.

The more engrossing pastime of war, one is still happier to 721
say, is now a thing of the past. The Orokaiva are a high-spirited
and warlike people, and at no very distant date were
frequently engaged in raiding, killing, and eating one [266]
another; and life in those times must have involved an
anxiety, but also an alertness which are now entirely absent.

Nevertheless, the Orokaiva still loves the appearance of 526
battle—perhaps more, indeed, than he ever loved its deadly
realities. No sight is more typical of the people than that
of the constantly recurring *esu*, sham-fight or hostile demonstration,
with its charge and counter-charge, the forming in
line of the warriors, crouched behind their shields and with
spears in readiness. Such a demonstration is likely to occur [574]
whenever one group of clans enters the village of another,
whether to accept hospitality or upon some business such
as that of obtaining the bride-price of one of its daughters.
On such an occasion one may always hear fierce harangues [537]
and altercations, the speaker running back and forth between
the two parties, pausing before his auditors and
brandishing his spear-point at their very throats. When he
retires one of the opposite faction will assume the role of 526
abuse and threatened violence. As a rule this will all pass 579
off in friendliness unless perhaps some man lose his temper
in earnest at the resuscitation of some especially bitter
grievance, or as sometimes happens, the inflammatory
taunts of an old woman, armed aggressively with her long
quarterstaff, set the whole in a blaze. Then the sham fight
turns into a real *mêlée* in which blows of spear and club are
dealt with great freedom and received for the most part
safely on the shield. But still the restraint of modern times
will prevail. The village constable (unless he has forgotten [625]
his office in the heat of the moment and is already wielding
a spear) dashes forward with his jangling handcuffs prepared
to make an arrest—most likely no doubt on the side
opposed to his own, the uproar dies away with nothing
worse than a few cuts and bruises, and the business and
hospitality of the day will even go on as if nothing had happened.
Such friendly bouts as these are all that remain of
the fighting days of the Orokaiva.

IV

PERSONAL ENHANCEMENT

Clothes

291 ONE of the earliest observers of the Orokaiva, John Green, who was Government Agent in the year 1895, reported that 'The majority of the men who live on the Mambare are quite naked'.[1] Sir Wm. MacGregor noted a year earlier that in the neighbourhood of Gona Bay the men wore 'a strip of painted mulberry cloth', but that many wore nothing; and again in the same *Annual Report* he writes, 'On the Ope the men are naked'.[2]

In these times one seldom sees a man without the perineal band of bark-cloth, *bo*. Old men and sick men sometimes go quite naked for the sake of comfort; and boys until they assume the *bo* some time before puberty. The perineal band is a strip of bark-cloth passed round the waist, drawn between the legs, and knotted loosely in front. Because of this method of adjustment it is called *bo-abo*. It always covers the penis, but a native apparently feels no shame about exposing his testicles. When the strip is long enough it is so
[531] arranged that the end will hang as an apron or tail-piece which is painted with rude but effective patterns. This latter fashion belongs to the Bush and Salt-Water People rather than to the River People.

The woman's dress consists of a bark-cloth skirt, i.e. a wider strip passed round the hips and supported by being tucked under a belt in front. At the rear it is not tucked under but hangs somewhat below the belt, and young and attractive women allow it to show a glimpse of their buttocks. These younger women and *atamei*, or unmarried
291 girls, wear the *bo* short, not reaching to their knees, but with older women it is sometimes of an ungainly size. Newly
531 made, the cloth is coarse and stiff, but being painted with

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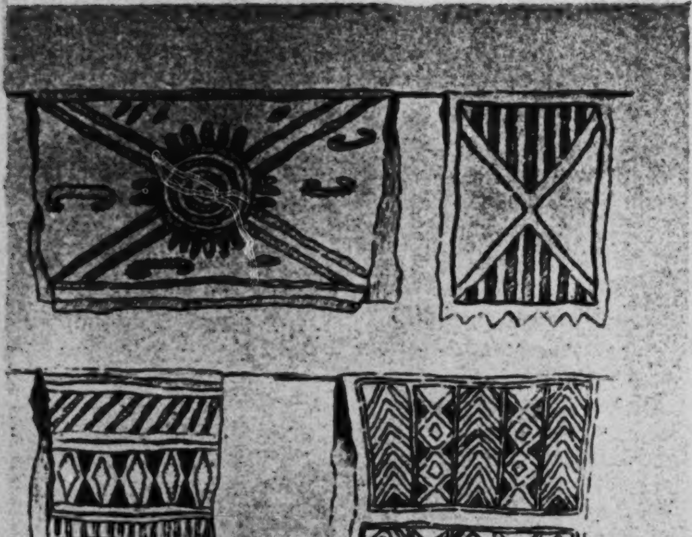
[1] *Annual Report*, 1895–6, p. 76.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, pp. 4 and 33.



Typical Bark-cloth Designs

PLATE V [facing p.32]

291 [537] designs in red, brown, and black is not unbecoming. A good specimen may be regarded much as a party frock, and a woman is fully conscious of being well dressed when she wears it. It is amusing to see an old dame in expectation of a visit dart into her house and reappear in her best piece of bark-cloth. Growing older the garment grows softer and dirtier and loses all claim to beauty.

Among the Bush and Salt-Water People the woman's *bo* is worn from puberty onwards; among the River People only from marriage onwards. Nowadays a new sense of modesty in the presence of white men has altered this, but one may still occasionally see fully-developed young women among the Aiga or Binandele who go quite naked and without any trace of shame. The assumption of the *bo* by girls as well as boys will be referred to in a later chapter. A few examples of patterned bark-cloth are shown in the accompanying illustration. The method of beating the cloth and painting it are described under 'Arts of Life' (pp. 77–8).

[765] The palm-leaf petticoat, commonly known by the Motuan name *rami*, is found as a sign of mourning among the Dirou tribe and on the lower Opi (see p. 222 n.). It is also reported at Lake Koena without any suggestion that it is restricted to mourning;[1] and further as worn by the Yema at Bovera on the Eia, where the older women use it as the proper dress of their people, while the younger have adopted the bark-cloth skirt of their Binandele neighbours.[2]

292 *The Bark-cloth Hat, Pobu.* The heads of old men are sometimes covered with a small sheet of bark-cloth called *pobu*. It encloses the mass of their hair, and falls over the back. Usually ragged and greasy, the *pobu* is no ornament but yet a mark of age and importance. No young man is seen wearing this unsightly rag. He would be at once too vain of his appearance and too modest to assume a headgear that is the prerogative of age.

292 589 *The Widow's Cowl.* Upon her emergence from seclusion the widow wears a cowl-shaped headgear, also called *pobu*. This, as she hangs her head, conceals her whole face and

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[1] Beaver, *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 14.

[2] F. R. Cawley, *Annual Report*, 1922–3, p. 25.

292 covers the curious shame which she feels on this occasion.
It is made of bark-cloth or of string netting, and is embroidered,
589 sometimes completely covered, with the seeds
[531] known as Job's Tears. Being made and decorated with great
care, however, it is later worn rather as an ornament under
which the widow's charms suffer no concealment.

The Widow's Vest, Baja. This is usually a straight sleeveless
292 shirt of knitted string completely covered with Job's
589 Tears (*Coix lacbrimae*). It reaches usually to the waist but
531 sometimes as low as to the knees. *Coix lacbrimae* seeds are of
two kinds, the one a delicate grey, the other fawn, and with
the introduction of black and sometimes red seeds the garment
may be very effectively decorated.

291 *The Bark-cloth Mantle.* This is merely a broad sheet, three
feet square or more, which is wrapped round the shoulders
in cold weather. It is also used very prettily by girls in the
[535] dance. Holding it by two corners, the dancer swings it to
and fro as she moves or allows it to float out behind her
head. The bark-cloth is gaily painted and the girl's movements
[531] are light and graceful, so that in this guise she is not
ineptly called *boriri*, 'the butterfly'.

Bi-kaio, the Apron. This is a small square of knitted string
292 which hangs from the belt in front of the body. It is worn
only by old men of distinction, and is seldom seen even on
[177] them. It may be only a partly assimilated introduction from
the hill neighbours (Biagi, &c.), among whom it is certainly
found more commonly. In the only example which I saw
[531] the string was knitted in patterns of red, brown, black, and
white, and the fabric was decorated with black seeds and
tufts of cuscus fur. W. N. Beaver mentions the *bi-kaio* in his
list of *otohu*.[1]

Hair-dressing

302 The Orokaiva commonly allows his hair to grow long,
and with the frequent application of coco-nut oil the close
ringlets become clogged in a series of tags. The typical
coiffure is therefore a mass of tails about the thickness of a

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[1] 'Notes on Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', &c., *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 97; under *Ve Hajo*.

lead pencil which fall about his shoulders something in the 302
manner of the Chief Justice's wig. Notwithstanding grease
and dirt, it is a distinctly becoming mode, particularly when
to the profusion of his locks he adds the tassels of red-dyed [301]
kapiya, the transparent skin that lines the inner side of the
areca spathe. To an Orokaiva his hair is assuredly felt to be
a crowning glory, though it is often far from being the well-
trimmed and flowing mass that I have pictured. His head is [142
sometimes scraggy and sometimes even bald—a state which 826]
is regarded with curious aversion and attributed to some
early indiscretion or ceremonial neglect.

The hair is cut short in mourning, and sometimes as a last 302
desperate measure to free it from lice. In the former case 765
it is an example of the self-sacrifice or self-castigation which
is so common in sorrow, though a man may allow himself
a little decorative effect as compensation for the loss (*vide*
concentric circles on Plate XXVII). Nowadays many wear
their hair short for mere convenience.

A woman's hair is dressed in the same way as a man's 302
while she is young, i.e. with tags and red streamers. At
marriage she is likely, though not bound, to cut it short;
and when she has borne a child or two she will certainly do
so. This I am assured is a case of modesty: a matron does
not care to masquerade as a 'flapper' (and the same reason
is given for the fact that married women wear comparatively
few ornaments). Some informants have also suggested that
a husband does not care to see his wife make herself too
attractive to other men, and others that a mass of long
hair interferes with the carrying of the *eti*, or string bag
for taro.

Natives are clean-shaven except for some old men and
some who have allowed their beards to grow in mourning. [765]
The beard is never of very strong growth. Nowadays
moustaches are commonly copied from the white man and [177]
especially affected by those who have served in the Armed
Constabulary. Shaving is done with a glass fragment
(formerly one of quartz); with twisted fibres; and by plucking [413]
out the hairs with a bivalve for tweezers.

Deformations, &c.

304 Every child has the ear lobes and the nasal septum pierced; the methods employed are described on p. 98. Raised scars, *pupubo*, are commonly seen on the chests and shoulders of women, where they are self-inflicted, usually in the extremity of grief. [757] Other scars, particularly those on the forehead, are the result of the practice of blood-letting to relieve pain. In some few instances we see keloids on the arms and across the sternum which, hideous as they seem to European eyes, are said to be made with the sole idea of personal enhancement.

There is no deformation of the genitalia. Informants have invariably been both astounded and amused at the notion of circumcision. And yet we have two early notes—both of them from competent observers—which state definitely that the practice existed. Mr. H. O. Forbes made a voyage up the north-east coast in 1885 and got into touch with the natives of Holincote [Holnicote?] Bay, who waded a long way out to his boat. He remarked on the poorness of their houses, the mean description of their ornaments, and the fact that they 'were all circumcised'.[1] Eight years later Sir Wm. MacGregor wrote of the natives about Gona (presumably the same district) that 'some are circumcised, others not'.[2] This was Sir William's first visit to the locality, and I cannot but believe that he was guilty of an unaccustomed malobservation. Nowadays, so far from practising circumcision, [834] the native regards the exposure of the *glans penis* as shameful and ridiculous, and even employs the expression *bi panjari* (bald) as a term of abuse. Probably what the two observers saw was not due to a surgical cause but to nature, or else we must assume a very remarkable change in custom of which I have discovered no hint or recollection.

Tattoo (*Tarero*) is uncommon and, where it is found, wholly inferior. It is seen usually on girls, but is not a general habit of the people.[3] Tattoo is entirely voluntary

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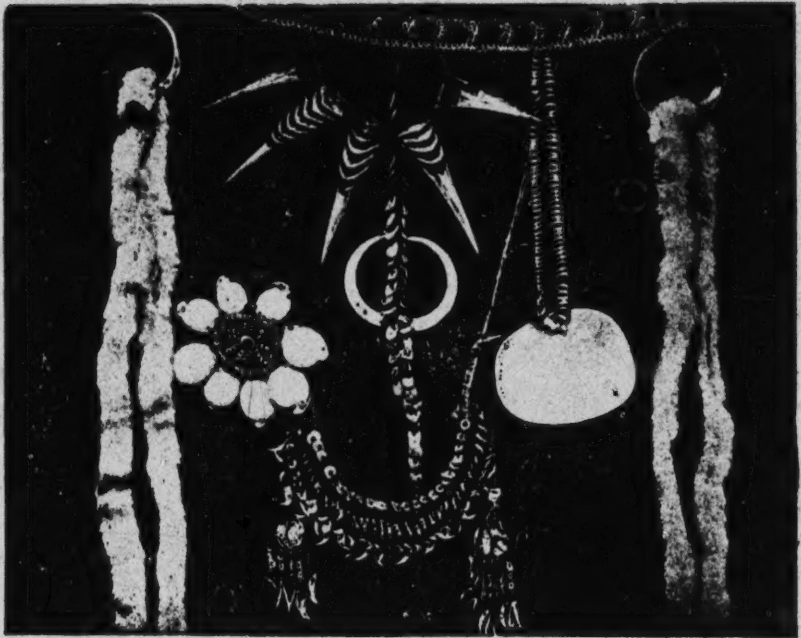
[1] Memo. in *Report on British New Guinea*, 1886, p. 43.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 4.

[3] Nevertheless the habit is evidently of old standing. MacGregor on first visiting Oro Bay wrote: 'A few had some tattoo-marks on the face, but this was neither well done nor deeply marked.' *Annual Report*, 1890–91, p. 16.

[facing P. 36]



Hambo or Ornaments

PLATE VI

304 and has no ceremonial significance. It is made by inflicting innumerable punctures with a thorn over a pattern made on the skin with charcoal.

Personal Hygiene

515 The Orokaiva is as dirty as and no dirtier than the next
native. He hates the feel of cold water unless he is already
hot and perspiring, and he would rather take a bath to get
302 cool than to get clean. After his bathe he anoints his body
and hair with the oily milk of the coco-nut, which he uses
at all times with freedom. The somewhat rancid smell which
one notices at times may be rather the effect of this oil than
a genuine body odour.

The native uses a variety of perfumes which are not
always alluring, and are sometimes even repulsive to the
senses of a European. He wears sprigs of scented leaf in
[832] his armlet which he thinks will increase his sexual attraction.
151 It is interesting to note that the delightful aroma of the lime
tree (an introduction found in every village) has actually
been declared unpleasant by some informants.

Face Painting

302 Faces are painted as a rule on gala occasions alone, but
832 a young man who is intent on the self-display which constitutes
the earlier stage of native love-making may on his
own initiative wear a forehead ornament and decorate his
cheeks. Nowadays he uses a trade mirror; formerly he
poured water into a wooden bowl (*teva*) or one of those
[412] stone mortars which are still to be found in the Northern
Division, and for which this use, viz. that of a mirror, is the
only explanation a native can offer.

302 The paints used are a red seed (*obonda sari*), red ochre (*obonda
386 opasi*), red clay (*niani*), grey or whitish clay (*onu*), charcoal
(*oku*), and a leaf called *sopapa*. The last is crushed and mixed
with lime and spittle, and forms a bright greenish yellow.
I have discovered no trace of clan or tribal markings, the only
approach toward distinctive patterns being found in the one
or two devices employed by sects of the Taro cult.[1]

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[1] 'The Taro Cult', in *Orokaiva Magic*, p. 67.

Feather Head-dresses

292 It cannot be denied that when the Orokaiva is in 'full
301 dress' the *tout ensemble* is strikingly fine. We cannot claim
that he has shown a great aptitude for the decorative arts
in general, but he has shown no small amount of artistry in
the decoration of his own person. The most imposing
feature of his make-up is the head-dress of feathers. It is
seldom worn complete save in the dance; in the warlike
expedition (which I have never seen) it was no doubt considerably reduced.

The head-dress is built on piecemeal. The individual
feathers are fixed in sets on arc-shaped frames, and one after
another these sets are bound upon the mass of hair which is
292 gathered behind the head. The following is a description of
301 a dancer's head-dress which may be taken as fairly typical.
(1) The lowest stratum was a mass of the black hair-like
237 feathers of the cassowary which fell back over his shoulders
like a great mane. (2) Above this came a number of sets of
the large white tail-feathers of the hornbill; (3) a set of
hawk's feathers, dapple grey; (4) three or four sweeping
plumes of the red-brown bird of paradise; (5) and lastly,
several tiers of close-set feathers obtained from the smaller
and more brilliant birds such as parrots, &c.

As I have named the various parts of the head-dress from back to front, the first may be pictured as falling over the back and shoulders, the last, viz. the tiers of parrot feathers, as rising above the forehead. The whole is well set off by a band of shells and dogs' teeth encircling the brow.

Ornaments

301 The ornaments, or *bambo*, of the Orokaiva are by no
means without a certain richness and beauty. They are
321 made for the most part with boars' tusks, dogs' teeth, and
various kinds of shell, which components are set together
in some half-dozen bold patterns or styles. The mellow
colours of old ivory, the white and rose of shell, and the
vivid points of scarlet seed find an admirable foil in the
native's brown skin. The *bambo*, it is true, are often dirty
301 enough to blind the fastidious to their artistic worth; but

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930

OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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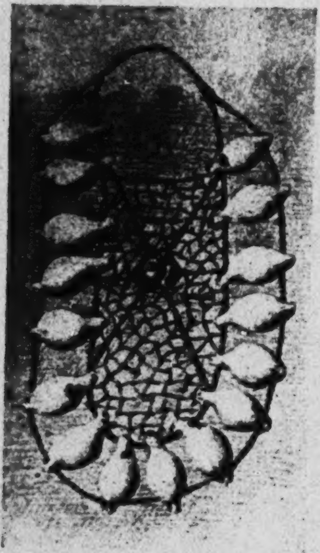
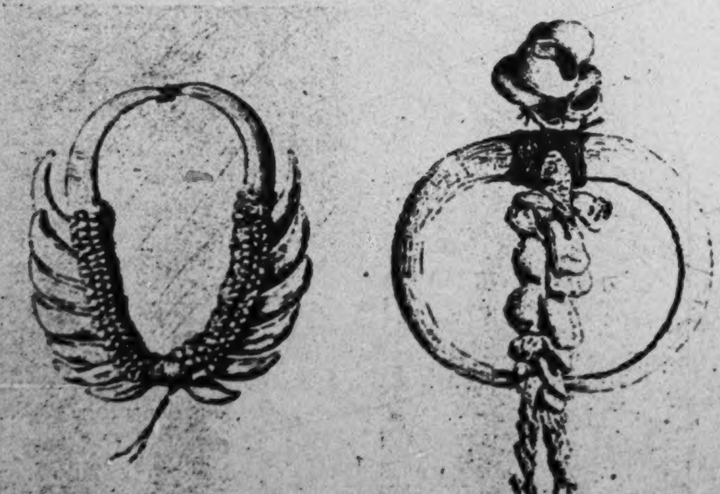
321



(*a*) *Erasso*, about 18 in. long



(*b*) *Gana*, about 8 in. by 7 in.

(*c*) *Hae*, about 6 in. wide

PLATE VII [facing p. 38]

301 as a little grime and age may add to the beauty of a building, so they probably add to the beauty of an Orokaiva ornament. It is certain that a newly-made ornament needs to be worn some time before it looks its best.

301 In the ensuing brief catalogue (which does not profess to be complete) the *bambo* are classified according to their use:

321 (1) *Teeth-held Ornaments.*

These are held in the teeth when dancing or fighting, and at other times are pendent on the breast. There is always some small appendage at the back of the ornament for the teeth to grip.

Hono (Plate VII). Two pig tusks forming a circle and supported by strings of irregular shell slabs. The latter (*ori*) show rich colours of red, salmon, and brown.

Huave. This ornament is similar to *hono* but instead of the pig tusks has two circles of white shell (giant clam), about three inches in diameter. It is supported by a string of *ori*.

Gana (Plate VII). A symmetrical arrangement of smaller pig tusks branching outwards from two main *rami*. It is thickly studded with red seeds, or nowadays often embroidered with trade beads. When held in the teeth at the lower junction of the two *rami*, the ornament forms a frame for the dancer's face.

Jauro or *Pako*. A circle, sometimes seven inches and more in diameter, cut out of the melon shell. It is white in colour and concave, somewhat resembling a china saucer. The couples in the ballet, each man holding one of these in his teeth, will clash them together as they dance. They are held by means of a string passed through two holes in the shell.

Erumo (Plate VII). *Ovulum* shells, called *Erumo*, are usually attached to a cane framework which, when not held in the teeth, is slung over the shoulder. The inner part of this frame may be netted. Another kind of *erumo* ornament is shown on Plate VI.

(2) *Forehead Ornaments.*

Peremo, the Hornbill Beak. The corrugated beaks of the hornbill are arranged on a frame so as to form a halo of

301 spikes about the head. The use of this—as well as other *bambo*—for homicidal *insignia* will be referred to later (*vide*
321 pp. 178 ff.).

Forehead Bands. These are composed in the main of the oblong shell slabs, red-brown in colour, known as *ori*, or of the small red shell disks called *pore* (commonly known in the Territory as *sapsap*). They are bordered with the minute white shells (*saima*), or with dogs' teeth (*bati*). Rosettes of the latter may be fixed at either end of the band.

Forehead bands are of great variety and beauty, and commonly figure as the ceremonial gift or *otohu* (*vide* p. 188). The example pictured in Plate VIII (*a*) (*Nanemo*) is only a dingy and disreputable specimen which happened to be at hand. It shows the shell slabs *ori* bordered with the small white shells *saima*. Plate VIII (*b*) shows a somewhat different style, viz. a tiara of white shell and cassowary feathers. I have not recorded its name.

(3) *Nose Ornaments*.

The usual nose-bone is a plain spike of white shell. Another style, which is found especially among the Binandele, is figured. It hangs from the septum over the lips. Known as *mekia*, this ornament has been aptly described as 'magnet-shaped'. It is not affected by younger men.

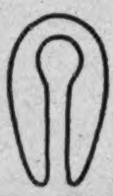


FIG. 1. *Mekia*.

(4) *Ear Ornaments*.

The common form is a small plain ring of tortoise-shell, or sometimes a series or bunch of them. The elaborate pendant shown in Plate IX (*a*) is, however, frequently seen. From a small pearl shell are suspended strings of shell fragments, dogs' teeth, a black banana seed known as *supi*, &c.

(5) *Necklets*.

These are of dogs' teeth or shell; frequently of the small white variety called *saima*. The large black seed *supi* forms a heavy but rather handsome necklet.

(6) *Armlets, &c*.

Two kinds of armlets are fairly distinctive of the Oro-

kaiva. One is *samemi*, the narrow pearl-shell circle obtained 301
from the trochus; the other is *siba*, the circle of coco-nut shell. 321
Armlets of plaited cane or fern fibre are also common.

The skin of cuscus (*pauri*, *koviro*) may be attached to the armlets in the form of long streamers on which tufts of feathers may be tied at intervals. (The tanning of the skin is done, I am told, by powdering with red ochre or lime.)

(7) *Belts*.

These are mostly of plaited cane strips, sometimes with 301
simple patterns made by introducing a darker material. The 531
commonest of these patterns is shown on Plate IX (*b*).

Examples of finer texture are plaited with the strands of 301
a creeper called *angoro*. A belt of another kind is made from 314
the creeper named *sita*. Strands of this are plaited into a fine 283
rope, black in colour, bearing a polish, which passes round
the hips in multitudinous coils. The creeper is obtained only
in the hills and is highly valued.

V

THE FOOD QUEST

Gardening

241 LIKE most inhabitants of Papua the Orokaiva are essentially gardeners. As their methods have already been described and criticized in another report,[1] they may be dismissed rather briefly in this; though it will not be forgotten that gardening is the first and foremost activity of the food quest and deserves more space than it will receive here.

The principal product is taro (*ba*); others of importance are sweet potatoes (*koroja*), yam (*kai*), banana and plantain (*püje*), sugar-cane (*jou*), and a variety of andropogon called *sua*. Coco-nuts (*bu*) and betel palms (*sa*) are cultivated everywhere, and the bread-fruit (*oga* and *esumba*), a food of some importance which grows wild, is also found in many villages and gardens.

Though effective enough the gardener's methods are primitive and wasteful. Fresh ground is continually cleared for new plantings, the crop matures and is harvested, and after that the plot is surrendered to the bush. Thus many areas are cleared and planted in succession, until in course of time the gardener finds himself at work on an area which he or his fathers cleared perhaps a score of years before. The gardens of a number of families, sometimes of a whole village, lie side by side in the same clearing, which will often enough be 100 acres and more in area.

241
313 When clearing is in progress an advance party of wife and children tear or cut away the undergrowth (*andaki*), and the husband follows with his trade axe. He cuts the trees at a level of some three or four feet above ground, and thus leaves an untidy forest of stumps which continue to sprout luxuriantly as the garden grows. An especially large tree may be left standing, but if the clearers have the requisite

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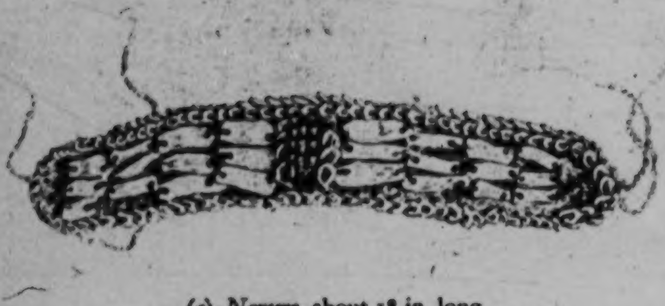
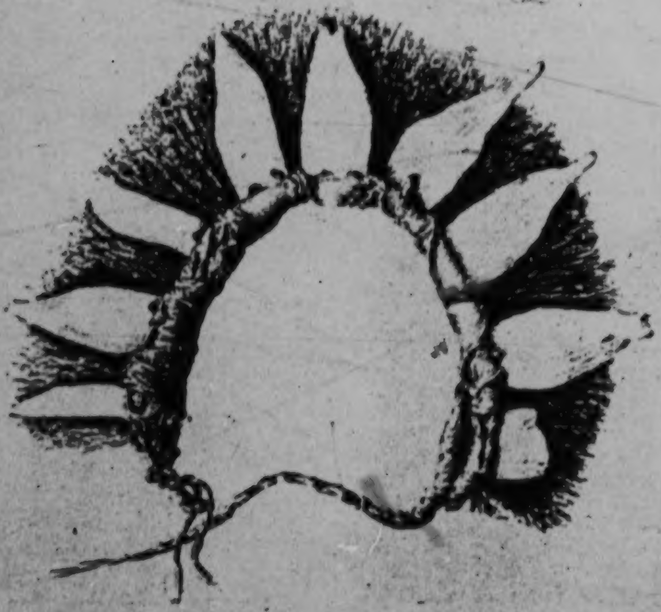
[1] 'Orokaiva Garden Culture' (Report No. 7), in *Orokaiva Magic*.

[p.42]



(*a*) *Nanemo*, about 18 in. long



(*b*) Forehead Ornament of white shell and Cassowary plumes

PLATE VIII [facing p. 42]

241 313 energy they erect a scaffolding around it to enable them to attack the trunk above the wide buttress-like flanges which are characteristic of so many Papuan trees. Of the smaller tree-trunks some are laid out to mark off one plot from another—for the gardens of the whole clan are likely to be grouped in the same large clearing—others are stacked in pyramids to dry for firewood. The litter of branches and leaves is gathered into heaps and burnt. 241 It would seem that the ideal is to have the ground as bare as possible before planting, and an exceptionally neat gardener will even go to the length of sweeping up the ashes from the burning. But the larger obstacles remain, and the garden will inevitably be obstructed with tree-trunks and those knotty roots which lie on the surface in the tropical bush.

There is no tilling of the soil and no manuring save indirectly through the burning of leaves and branches. There is no attempt at drainage or irrigation; indeed, both would be somewhat difficult on the plains, owing to their low gradient. In the sometimes protracted dry spells the taro offsets must be planted near swampy ground.

[412] The only implement used in actual gardening is the digging stick—usually a hardwood stake which may be improvised on the spot. Sometimes it takes the form of a well-finished crow-bar of black palm-wood with a spatulate point. In planting, the digging stick is driven into the ground and levered back and forth so as to increase the size of the hole. Then the gardener, not deigning to stoop, shoots his taro-top cleverly into its place, adjusts it, if necessary, by means of his nimble great toe, and lightly treads in the earth. Yams are propagated from shoots, being kept in the darkness of the yam-house until the shoots appear. The gardener knows how to plant from cuttings (sugar-cane and *ina*), from suckers (banana), and from seeds (tobacco and some minor garden products), and he transplants rooted seedlings of trees (bread-fruit and the *ajimo* or bark-cloth tree).

The garden is weeded from time to time by women, but when once the taro is well established, it is often left to contend with the weeds. A rough fence surrounds the whole

241 clearing and protects it more or less effectively against the bush-pigs. Until the whole circuit of this fence is completed it is necessary for some people to live temporarily in the garden, where a smoking fire and an occasional shout are sufficient to scare away the intruders. Sometimes a man will lie in wait by moonlight hoping to spear a pig among his taro, which is a dangerous game and results in many casualties. The various traps and snares which are meant for pigs and others spoliators of the garden will be described under Hunting.

There is little to say concerning the harvesting. A woman gathers from time to time enough for her family's immediate wants, and the taro tops will be replanted. There are thus a number of plots at different stages of advancement in every woman's garden. Sometimes, however, when all the gardens of a clan are well stocked, there will be a simultaneous harvesting to furnish forth a feast. The products of the garden are then loaded ostentatiously upon platforms in the village before their final distribution to the guests.

251 [714] Coco-nuts are placed under a tabu when a large feast is pending and, as they fall, are accumulated in long lines on the ground, or else strung to poles set up as a tall pyramid in the centre of the village. In the southern part of the division yams are kept in a *berasi* or yam-house, the actual repository being a small dark attic under the gabled roof, while the lower story, merely a raised platform, is used as a sitting-place. Only two other methods of food-storage are worth mentioning. *Tauga* nuts are strung together on poles and suspended over the house fires, where they become black and dry; and *Pugu* nuts are concealed in holes in creeks, where the moving water in the course of several months purges away their poisonous properties.

Hunting

224 262 Although hunting is only a secondary phase of the food quest, the hunter is distinguished by some skill and ingenuity, by a remarkable keenness for meat, and by a very sensible catholicity of taste. Bush-pigs, wallabies—of the bush and of the grass-lands—rats, birds, lizards, frogs, and

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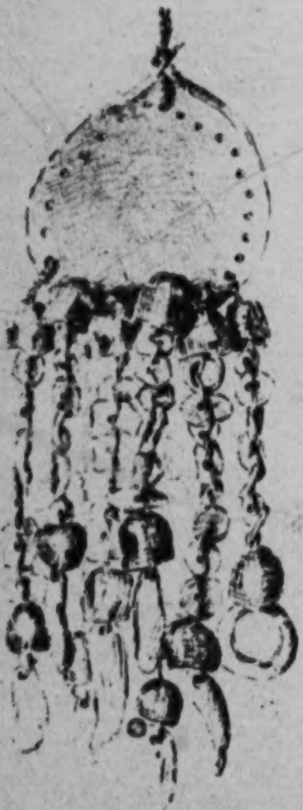
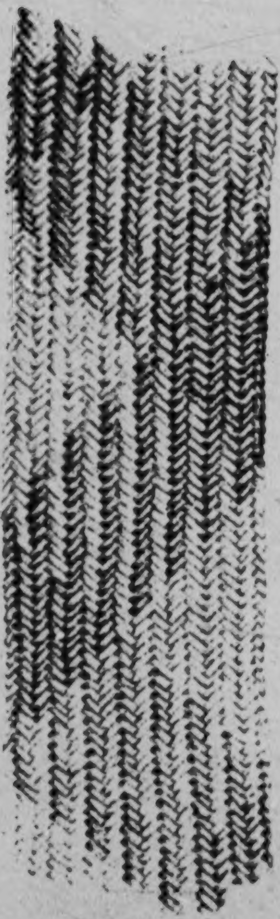


(*a*) *Dende* or ear-pendant



(*b*) Belt of plaited cane

PLATE IX [Facing p. 44]

224 snakes are all pursued with eagerness. If any kind of food
262 is debarred it is more often because of some magico-religious
tabu than through a feeling of aversion.

224 *Individual Hunting*. When an individual travels in the bush
he goes armed with his spear and followed by his dog so as to lose no opportunities. As the floods are subsiding the villagers will prowl about, a man and his wife together, with a fair certainty of bagging some small game which has been driven out of its shelter; and if they can do no better the woman will, at least, succeed in catching frogs.

If his dog puts up a bush-pig a man will not hesitate to attack it single-handed. He will even do so in the perilous uncertainty of the moonlight. The strength and fierceness of the bush-boar, with his tusks ground to continual sharpness, make him no mean enemy, and argue considerable pluck on the part of the individual hunter. Even concerted hunts are not without danger. An old man named Tumai relates how, during a pig-drive (while the river Opi was in flood and the pigs more or less cut off), he speared one of these animals as it rushed into the net. The spear broke and the pig, disengaging itself from the net, 'looked about as if to say, who speared me?' Concluding rightly that it was Tumai it turned upon him, ripped first one thigh, then the other, then his chest, then his knee. (The scars remain on the old man's body as proud evidence of his adventure.) It was at this stage that his son came to the rescue, only to be bowled over in his turn. But now Tumai, despite his four wounds, threw himself bodily upon the pig, and the son was enabled to get to his feet and kill it. Such incidents are common enough. There is no denying that the bush-pig is a formidable beast and the Orokaiva a fearless hunter.

Concerted Hunting. There are two principal methods of concerted hunting. One is the drive through the bush towards a pig-net; the other is that of the grass-burning.

[286] The pig-net (*monga*) is strongly made of pandanus fibre.
The mesh is about four inches wide; the net stands about
224 four feet high; and each section may be twenty yards long.
773 It is propped up by a series of stakes (*tatere*). Formerly these
stakes were the only means of holding up the net, and it was

224 frequently charged down by the pig. But once while the
773 hunters were sheltering from the rain a small boy found
himself cowering in a hollow tree. He was startled by a cry
of *Dove bange, dove bange!* from above his head in the interior
of the tree. He ran out terrified and told the men, who proceeded
to cut out part of the hollow trunk. As they were
doing so a *sovai* or monster came tumbling down and glared
round on the hunters. Some were brave enough to threaten
him, but he told them to restrain themselves as he was about
to make them a present. With that he dragged down interminable
lengths of rope from the interior of the tree, and
passing them through the meshes of the pig-net above and
below, made them fast at either end to strong stakes. The
rope is called *dove* and the stakes *bange*, and since that time
both have been used with satisfactory result. A similar but
224 lighter net is used for wallabies. With either the method of
procedure is the same. Beaters (*dogo*) advance with loud
halloos, and the pig fleeing before them charges into the
net, where he is speared by the *mongo-embo*, or netsmen. A
number of privately owned nets are stretched end to end,
and the quarry belongs to the owner of that particular net
in which it is caught.

Annually towards the end of the South-East season the tracts of grass-land are burnt off. The weather is hot and dry and the grass burns furiously, only to spring up afterwards with renewed vigour. The grass tracts are owned by individual clans, but at this season there will assemble large hunting parties composed of many clans and villages.

At one hunt which I attended there were some sixty people, including a number of women. They assembled from various quarters at one village and left for the scene of the hunt, at about 9 a.m., so as to commence operations in the heat of noon. After a walk of about seven miles they rested in a small village and arranged their campaign. Four firing-parties split off and made their way as quietly as possible to four positions on the edge of the selected grass patch. The remainder distributed themselves around the patch. The men of the firing-parties work in pairs. One goes in front and, holding his spear horizontally, thus

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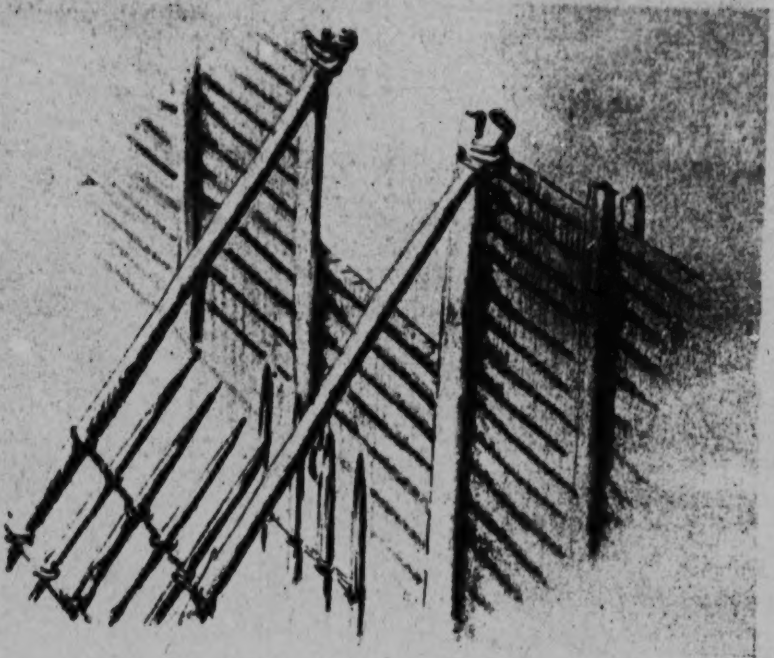
[facing p. 46]



Kombu Bage or Pig Trap
PLATE X

224

224 presses down the grass and forms a path; meanwhile his companion behind him applies the torch to the inner edge of the path. They move as swiftly as they can and the four parties endeavour to set their fires going simultaneously. Thus the retreat of the pig, which is presumably somewhere in the centre of the patch, is largely cut off by the flames. The burning strips are extended, and the hunters move forward close behind them like troops under a barrage. The heat is almost intolerable. The tufts are left red-hot and crackling, and the sparks are still flying. It is almost incredible that bare feet should endure it, but the hunters press on with their spears poised for any quarry that may turn and break through the flames.

But mistakes occur. Too much noise in preparation may warn the pig to make good his escape; or the fires may be ill-timed. On the occasion here described the total bag (when I left late in the afternoon) consisted, as far as I know, of no more than three bush-rats. But the party remained, and subsequently caught many more, with the aid of their dogs, who ferret among the gradually cooling debris of leaves and fallen branches around the edge of the grass-patch, and bring out lizards, rats, and such small deer, alive or already scorched to death.

Traps and Snares. Several traps and snares are in common use throughout the whole of the Orokaiva country. The log-trap (*bage*; Binandele *wau*) consists of two parallel fences (*a*) some eighteen inches apart, made of upright stakes with a weight of heavy logs between them (*b*) held up by a lever (*c*). This lever rests on a fulcrum (*d*), formed by a strong forked stick leaning against one of the fences. The lever is held in position by a line. To this line is attached a short peg (*e*) which, being passed round the base of the fulcrum, is made to meet the trigger (*f*) (*bage-bi*) end to end at the point (*x*). The other extremity of this light trigger bears upon one of the stakes of the fence on the opposite side. If the adjustment at (*x*) is made carefully the trap is set, the string is kept taut and the lever holds the logs in position. But along the ground between the fences and underneath the *bage-bi* there lies a split palm-trunk, which constitutes the bait. The wild pig roots at the pith of the palm-trunk (*g*), enters between the two fences, and made heedless of its suspicious surroundings by its enjoyment of the palm-pith, pushes on until with a vigorous jerk of its snout it disturbs the *bage-bi*, and breaks the all-important contact at (*x*). Then in one instant the peg flies, the lever is released, and the weight of logs is home on the pig's back. The animal is either killed outright or effectually imprisoned.

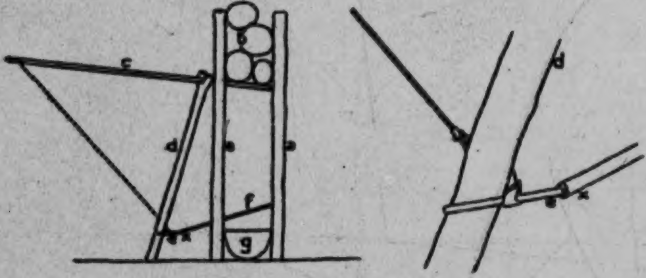


FIG. 2. *Bage* or Pig Trap.

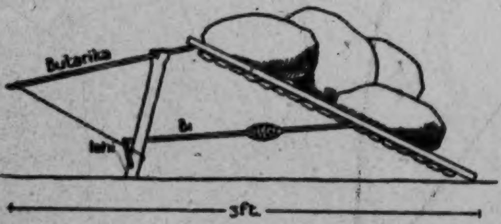


FIG. 3. Rat Trap.

The *bage* is sometimes made to lead off from a gap purposely left in the garden fence, and in this case the bait consists not of a palm-log, but merely of the temptation to enter the garden. The *bage-bi* will be then attached to a small sloping platform or ramp over which the pig must pass in order to enter the garden, so that its weight will serve to set the mechanism in motion. Rat traps are made on precisely the same lines but in miniature. A variant form is shown in Fig. 3. Here a small tilted platform of sticks is weighted with stones and left under the house as a rat-trap, or else

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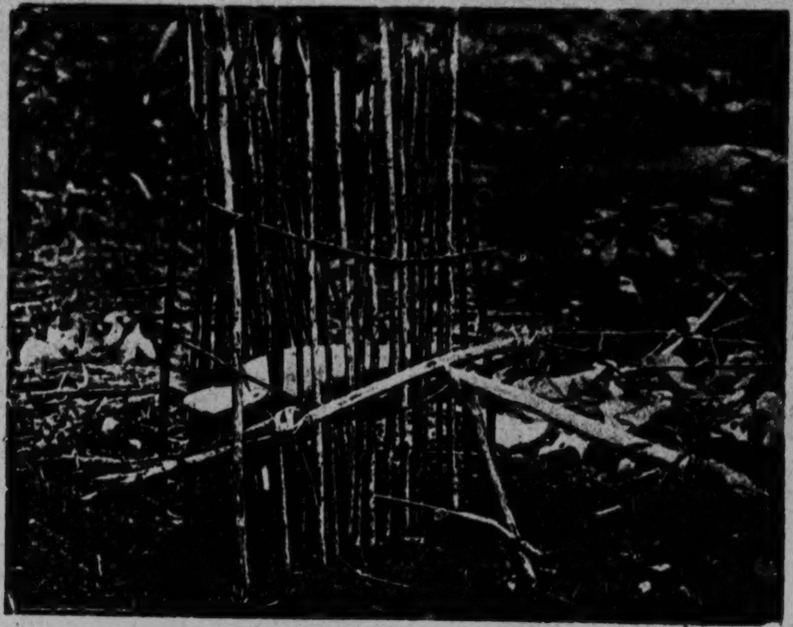
[facing p.48]



A Rat Trap

PLATE XI

224

in the bush, as a snare for small ground birds. The bait is attached firmly to the *bago-bi*. These miniatures are often in the nature of toys rather than serious contrivances.

The pit-trap (*boto*) is common in all parts of the Division. It is placed where bush-pigs are known to pass, and a roughly camouflaged fence, some 30 or 40 yards long, will guide the pig to the fatal spot, viz. a gap in the centre where the pit is dug and concealed with leaves, twigs, and earth. It is about 6 feet deep and the bottom bristles with spikes of hardwood or old spear-points. The pig is not driven, and the only means other than the fence of inveigling it to the pit is the magical one of ginger-root or pig-medicine hidden close by. The *boto* is not without danger to dogs and wandering children, and a number of recent casualties have compelled the magistrate to place restrictions on its use.

The pit is sometimes dug on the inner side of the garden fence opposite an intentional gap. Another kind of trap is similarly placed but consists simply of an array of sharpened stakes set in the ground. It is calculated that the pig, leaping over, will land among the points and be stuck through some vital organ, say the liver; so that in Wasida this device was given the expressive name of *kombu-bage*, or 'liver-trap'.

The miniature pit-trap called *oivo* may be mentioned in passing. It is a shallow hole set with small spikes and covered with leaves. Placed in the garden it was a protection against thieves, and, in the environs of the village, against night-walking sorcerers. I was told that *inja*, or sorcerer's medicine, might be placed on the points to make it something more than a mere burglar-alarm. Several instances of accidental stumbling into the *oivo* were recounted to me, but none in which a real culprit met with his deserts. It appears that one really guilty would lie low in the endeavour to conceal the injuries that proved his guilt. Nowadays, it is said, the *oivo* has gone out of fashion.

An interesting though trivial variety of trap is made by children in rat-infested gardens. A hole is dug with smooth shelving sides, and projecting half-way across it is set a light stick, half-fractured at a point not far from the end. The

224 rat ventures out towards the bait and as it passes the point of weakness the stick breaks, and it is thrown into the hole from which there is no escape. (Plate XI).

The springe (*ibive*) is used for wallaby and other small game. It is set either on a track known to be frequented by wallaby or else by a hole in the garden fence, where a wallaby might enter.[1] A strong pole (*butarika*) to which a running noose (*ivasi*) and a light rod (*bi*) are attached is bent down and held in place by a cross-piece (*iabi*) as shown in the diagram. The wallaby disturbs the *iabi*, over which the

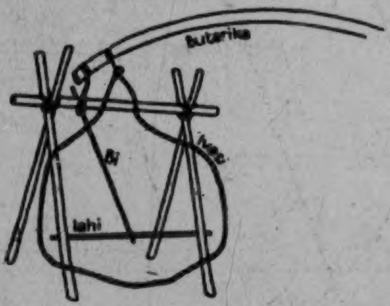


FIG. 4. *Ibive* or Wallaby Trap.

noose is spread, and so releases the spring and is caught. A rather odd transposition of names will be seen by comparing the sketches of the wallaby trap and the rat-trap.

223 [556] *Bird Catching*. Bright feathers, such as those of the common bird of paradise (raggiana), parrots, kingfishers, and numerous small but brilliant varieties, are a definite form of wealth with the Orokaiva, and are preserved with great care. [231] A fledgling may be kept and eventually treated with kindness as a pet, but if a man find a beautiful little bird defending her nest in the hollow of a tree it will not cross his mind to be compassionate. The feathers are too tempting.

The commonest method of catching birds is that of a running noose (*buri* or *ni-sai*) attached to a long line. The noose is spread along the branch of a flowering or fruiting tree which is frequented by bright-plumaged birds, while the snarer, usually a boy, remains in concealment holding his long line. A sudden jerk at the right moment and he has 223 a fluttering captive. It does not occur to him that it would be merciful to kill the bird immediately; he rather enjoys its squeaking and struggling. The bird-snarer is ingenious enough to cover a pool with broad leaves, leaving only a small surface of the water exposed. Close by he sets up a little perch horizontally with his noose spread over it, and then waits till the bird after its bathe will hop on the perch to preen itself.

A large net of loose mesh called *bute* or *goga* is used for catching those birds, such as cockatoos or hornbills, which make their nests in hollow trees. The *bute* may be attached to a handle after the fashion of a butterfly net, and while one man holds it over the hole, another will beat the tree trunk until the bird is scared out and enmeshed. A more primitive method is that of simply knocking a sleeping bird off its perch. For this purpose, I am told, there is a roughly contrived instrument called *utube*, which resembles a highly magnified 'fly-swat'.

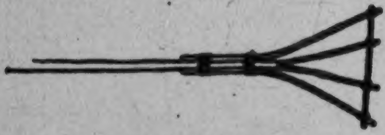


FIG. 5. *Utube.*

Lastly, there is the sling *Taiba* (see p. 83) with which it is said birds ~~may~~ sometimes be brought down; though if one may judge from the amazing inaccuracy of trial shots, the *taiba* cannot nowadays be very effective.

Miscellaneous Traps, &c. In the Isivita district may be seen 224 an ingenious trap for fruit-bats or flying-foxes. This consists of a small meshed bag, roughly made of bark-string, and of the right size to contain a bread-fruit. Attached to the bag are numerous running nooses, which form a general tangle about it. The fruit-bat noses and claws at the bread-fruit, and is probably awkward enough to get itself caught in one of the nooses.

A second method is that of the *asora*. A bunch of trailers

224 of the climbing palm is tied to a long pole. These trailers are armed with sharp recurved thorns, and the bat-snarer takes his stand beside a banana or pawpaw tree, the scene of the animal's nightly depredations. One sweep of the *asora* at the right moment, and the flapping wings are caught in the hooks.

In the caves near Ioma it is, I believe, only necessary to go in and lay about with a stick and the bats may be slaughtered wholesale. Unappetizing as they seem to ourselves, [262] they are welcome enough as food to a native who is perforce mainly vegetarian.

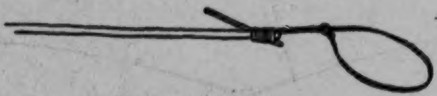


FIG. 6. Lizard Snare.

The large monitor lizard, besides being eaten, serves another useful purpose in furnishing the skin for the drum. If a native catch sight of one, he will leave whatever he is at in order to give chase. The lizard takes to a tree for refuge and the native hastily improvises the special implement required for the occasion. This is a light pole with a running noose of some fairly stiff material, such as split cane, attached to the extremity, and a hook made by binding on a small stick obliquely. He now climbs the tree after the lizard, hanging his pole by means of the hook to any convenient projection as he ascends. When within range he stretches out to noose his victim, which constantly moves to the far side of the branch on which it has taken refuge, only to be driven round again by sticks, stones, and shouts from those who are standing below. Finally the lizard stands as if mesmerized and permits the noose to be gently slipped over its slowly waving head. It seems bent on going forward to escape and the noose tightens hopelessly round its neck or middle.

Having dealt with various methods of snaring animals and birds from *sus papuensis*, the wild boar, downwards, I may conclude by describing two methods of catching the domestic fly. Incidentally it was almost with surprise, considering the all-devouring taste of the Orokaiva, that one learnt the domestic fly was never eaten. The first of these fly-traps is called *orari* or *barara*. The light midrib of a coco-nut leaflet is bent back at one end and tied so as to form a loop with a handle. This is passed through a number of spiders' webs until the space enclosed within the loop is a thick mesh of cobweb. The little boy with a sore on his leg—and there are too many such—is continually plagued with flies. He dabs at them with his butterfly net of cobweb, and the fly is made a secure prisoner. 224

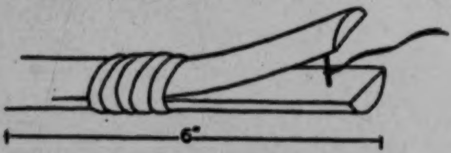


Fig. 7. *Teonda-tabi* or Fly Trap.

The second fly-trap is called *Teonda-tabi*. A piece of sugar-cane is split and bound near the extremity. The two halves, which tend to spring together, are forced apart and kept open by a tiny peg attached to a fine string. The behaviour of the fly and the fly-catcher are obvious, and the device, which is no more than a child's toy, is quite effective.

Fishing

Hand-nets. The commonest kind of fishing contrivance (one which has a wide distribution throughout Papua) is the small hand-net supported on a loop of cane. Among the Orokaiva it is called *eutu* (also *eundu*, *isimbo*, and *angoro*). The mesh is fine and the loop varies in size, but might average 20 inches long by 10 inches wide. It is used as a scoop in creeks and pools, the water having been first diverted by means of a dam and a race, or scooped out with sago branches (*kambo*). This net is used by women. 227

In Koropata and other villages along the middle course of the Kumusi is found a much larger hand-net called *bute*. The mesh is wider and supported on an elliptical hoop of

227 cane, with a handle passing through its shorter axis. The net is used at night when the subsiding flood waters are coursing down to the bed of the Kumusi. The fisherman stands with his back to the current, which flows past

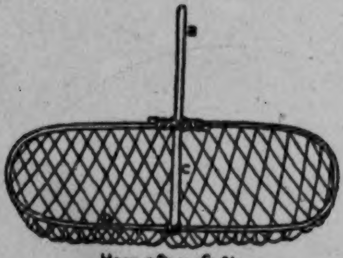


Fig. 8. Fish Net, *Hute*.

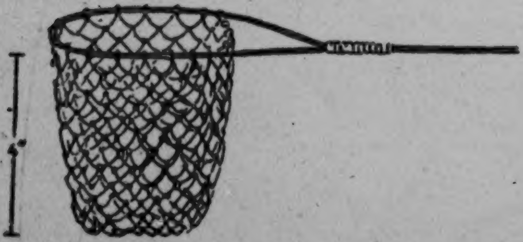


Fig. 9. Fish Net, *Sibo*.

him through the net. He holds the handle at (*a*) and keeps his foot on the loop (*b*) in order to keep the net steady. If he feels a fish enter the net he stoops and grasps the handle at (*c*) and raises the net horizontally in front of him.

Widely distributed among the Orokaiva is an interesting little net called *sibo*. It is often hardly more than a toy, being used by children to capture the tiny, somewhat inert fish of the creeks and pools. The net is very light and frail; the mesh is often made of plain pandanus fibre, while the framework is a loop (about 3 inches in diameter) of the midrib of a coco-nut leaflet. The net takes the form of a small bag, the mouth of which, sliding along the loop, will open and close. It is held face down and then suddenly snatched away. The movement closes the mouth of the bag and the fish is held.

The coastal people have the triangular net (*yako* or *yavara*) (Fig. 10). The actual fabric is almost square, but it is fixed to two poles which form a triangle in the manner shown. The cross-piece is bound on at either end and acts as a handle. This net is used on the beaches. A number of fishermen, each with his *yako*, form two lines and slowly drawing together encircle a small school of fish. They keep their nets under water, and then holding the apex with the right hand and lifting the handle with the left they raise their nets together.

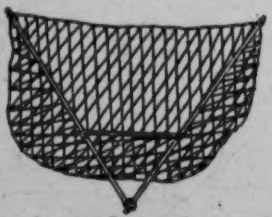


FIG. 10. Fish Net, *Yako*.

Drag-nets. The coastal Orokaiva use small drag-nets. These have a row of light wooden tabs for floats and a row of scollop shells for weights. At certain points along the coast we find a much larger drag-net called *Komboru* which is owned and used communally.

It is about 6 feet in depth and may be 100 yards long. Several villages will be joint owners of the net and must do their share towards keeping it in order. There is a 'chief' or *komboro-topo*, in some cases two—one for either end—and these never go with the canoe when the net is paid out: for some reason not made plain their presence would spoil the catch. There does not appear to be any definite allocation of tasks, and the spoils are distributed among all the villagers.

Stationary Traps. The most characteristic of the fishing methods of the Orokaiva is that of the *sirava* (also called *beturo*). This is common to all the River People and the Aiga, and is used by some of the coastal tribes for creek fishing. It is not found, unless exceptionally, among the Bush People. The trap consists of two cones, one within the other, made of strips of palm-midrib set fairly close together. Both are open at their apices, i.e. at the points (*x*) and (*y*). The net is set in small streams or in temporary courses of flood water. A barrier of sticks and leaves

227 blocks the stream except where one or more of these traps allows the current to flow through. The *sirava* is set with its mouth facing upstream and the orifice at (*y*) is stoppered with leaves. The fish entering at (*x*) is unable to make its way out again, and in due course the net is taken up and emptied at (*y*). There is no kind of bait save perhaps a magical one concealed in the bunch of leaves which acts as stopper. These traps are made by men and used by either men or women. They are constructed neatly and well, and their strength is attested by the tale of the over-confident man who chaffed his brother-in-law as he was engaged in making one. Declaring it was a poor job which a fish of any size would break in a moment he foolishly accepted a good-humoured challenge to break it himself. But having by some means insinuated himself through the hole at (*x*) when the trap was already set in the water he found it impossible to carry out his boast, and so the owner was afforded the triumph (particularly embarrassing to an Orokaiva) of catching and drowning his brother-in-law.

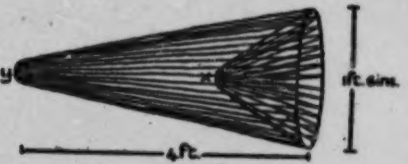


FIG. 11. Fish Net, *Sirava*.

I have heard at Wasida of a stationary trap constructed on a different principle, viz. a conical frame lined with thorns; but never in the course of my stay in the Northern Division have I see one.[1]

226 A simple contrivance is employed for catching eels. In the South-East season many of the inland streams fall low, the water is clear and the large eels (*obiti*) harbour in the

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[1] Mr. Leo Austen, Assistant Resident Magistrate at Buna, has made special inquiries upon this subject and sends me the following verification: 'I have searched through the various tribes of the Northern Division and find there is no such thing as a fish-trap with thorns or spikes on which the fish become impaled.' If the thorn-lined trap is found at all in the division one ventures to think it was introduced by the Kiwai (lower Fly river) police who were employed there in the early days.

dark places under fallen tree trunks. The eel is a heavy-bodied creature with a blade-like tail and fierce jaws. When a number of them have been discovered the village may turn out in force. The younger men will dive and endeavour to dislodge the eels with sticks and spears, while the others, some upstream and some down, take their stand on convenient rocks and wait with poised fishing-spears to catch the eel as it makes a dart for freedom. If the efforts of the divers (who perform remarkable feats of endurance under water, and use their spears at no small risk to one another's legs) prove unavailing, they will have recourse to more insidious methods. The *paso*, a hollow log, some 6 feet long and 9 inches in diameter, open at either end, and furnished with a small window or peep-hole, 2 orches 3 in square, half-way down its length, is brought into use. Two divers will take this down and secure it under water near the hole where the eel is hiding. 226

The harrassed creature being now left alone and seeing a dark narrow hole—a retreat after its own heart—slips into the *paso* and rests secure until one of the young men diving again discovers its presence by means of the peep-hole. Then two men will go down, block each open end of the log with leaves and bring it to the surface, where the eel is ejected and killed.

Fishing-spears. Any spear will serve on emergency for a fishing-spear, but nowadays it is frequently furnished with a point of iron wire. The fishing-spear proper, however (*besaw* or *saita*), which I have seen among the Bush People, has two prongs of palm wood bound on to a long light shaft. In some of the coastal villages is found a long leister or spear (*sagi*) furnished with perhaps ten prongs of hard-wood bound on to a light shaft about seven feet long. 411

Line Fishing. Line fishing is of little practical consequence. The line itself is of pandanus or banana fibre, plain or twisted. Two kinds of hooks may be described. The first of them is hardly more than a toy. The leaf of the pandanus is edged with minute oblique thorns or prickles, and a small boy will attach to his line a little section of this leaf which acts as bait or lure and, by virtue of its little thorns, as hook also. 227 283

227 In the more usual method the hook is made of sago thorns or those of the plant called *sinegi* (apparently a kind of palm). The line is first threaded through an earthworm by means of a thin sharp sliver. Then three thorns (about 1 inch long) are bound together by means of the line itself and thrust into the worm so that the points project upwards, and thus constitute a hook. Line fishing is done by hand and the bait is allowed to dangle in the water.

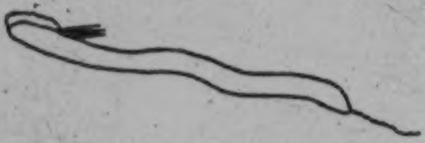

FIG. 12. Worm Bait and Hook.

226 *Poisoning*. The last, but not the least important, of fishing methods is that of poisoning, which is practised by all tribes in the inland creeks and pools. The poison is usually
[278] obtained from the vine *Anisi* (*Kanesi, Ainsi*), a variety of derris; though certain other poisonous plants with the native names *Ondoto*, *Pogera*, and *Imanya* are used, as well as the recently introduced chilli. Water is bailed out of the pool or sometimes run off by means of a race or gutter, and when it is sufficiently shallow the root of the *Anisi* is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.

Sago Making

252 Among the River People sago is a never-failing food
262 supply, for on the lower reaches of the rivers large tracts of swamps are, I believe, not even explored by the natives,
[423] and their resources are but lightly tapped. Inland, where it is comparatively rare, trees are definitely owned and husbanded. Sago, however, is not a favourite food with the Orokaiva, and it is for the most part when his taro gives out that he resorts to it; and since this is likely to be in the midst of a partial drought, when the swamps themselves may have

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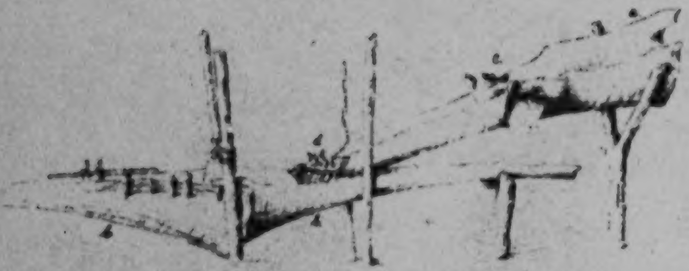

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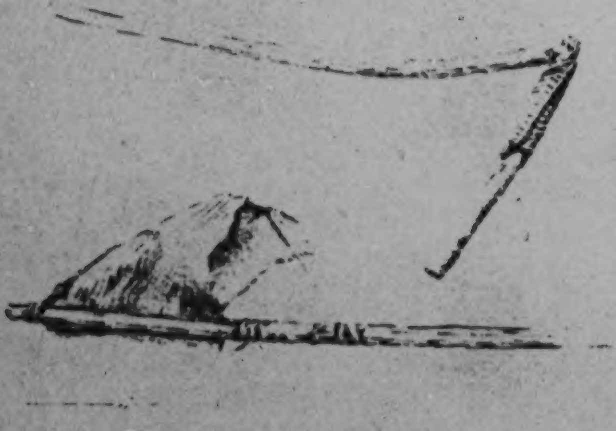
(*a*) *Bee* or Kneading Trough. (*b*) *Ingi Gau* or Settling Troughs. (*c*) *Usisi* or Strainer of Coco-nut Fibre. (*d*) *Kuoro* or Strainer of Coco-nut Leaves.



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Above, *Enai* or Sago-scraper; *below*, *Gopiri* or Water-scoop

PLATE XII

[facing p. 58]

252 dried up, the sago-maker's work, which requires a good 262 supply of water, is not always easy.

The branches or fronds—often armed with the sharpest of thorns—being lopped from the selected tree, the leaves are spread on the swampy ground to make a temporary floor. The broad spathes are peeled off and the tree is felled. Next a section of bark is prised off and the sago-maker, taking his seat astride the trunk, proceeds to use his scraper (*evai*), which is hafted on to a forked branch so as to form a hammer-shaped implement. (The point of the hammer is slightly cupped and hardened in fire.) He accompanies his rhythmical strokes with strange ejaculations and musical cries, *eyeveyeyeyeye*, *o-dego-o-o-o-o o-deg-o-o-o-o*, and suchlike, of which he cannot give any explanation. The pith is transferred from time to time to the trough at which another man is working. The apparatus is shown on Plate XII (*a*).

252 The kneading trough (*a*) (*beo*) is made of a sago branch, 417 so also are the settling troughs (*b*) (*ingi-gau*) placed end to end and carefully adjusted. The narrow ends of these may be 412 raised or lowered, and any leaks are stopped with leaves. The sago pith is kneaded in (*a*) and constantly watered. The real sago is carried down in suspension by the water, and passing through the two strainers at (*c*) and (*d*) settles in the trough. The first strainer, made of coco-nut fibre, is called *usisi*; the second, merely a bunch of sago leaves, is called *kuoro*. If the trough is too shallow its edges are raised by sago leaflets fastened on as if with clothes-pegs. An ingenious water-scoop (*gopiri*) is made from a sheet of sago spathe. The harder surface is chopped away until only a thin leathery sheet remains. This is doubled and bound into the cleft of a sago midrib, and any leaks are patched with leaves. The supports or props for the troughs are often made of sections of the sago midrib, so that it is interesting to note how the whole apparatus, with the exception of the scraper (*evai*) and the coco-nut-fibre strainer (*usisi*) may be fashioned from the sago palm itself.

252 The sago soon settles in the settling trough, forming a pulpy mass. When the kneading is finished the water is run off and the mass of sago is pressed and pounded into

252 lumps of the requisite size. These are rapidly singed in a fire of dry leaves and so acquire a brown glazed surface, a sort of tough skin which preserves the interior against moisture. The work is now finished. The glazed lump of sago is neatly bound with sago leaves, packed into the hollow of a sago branch, and carried home. Under favourable conditions two or three men will easily make 100 lb. in a day.

Collecting

222 The Orokaiva is a collector only by necessity or opportunity. When a prolonged drought in the South-East season causes a scarcity of food, collecting assumes importance, and a reduced diet must be eked out with roots, leaves, and fern fronds. While it is only under such stress that he collects systematically, he nevertheless keeps his eye open at all times for chance blessings when he is working or travelling. For tearing down betel pepper (*bingi*) or the [412] somewhat rare fruits of the bush he will tie a pair of poles together and bind on a small oblique peg at the end to make a hook. This crude improvisation called *kainpo* may have a reach of 30 feet. The native is, moreover, a nimble and daring climber. If, however, neither his *kainpo* nor his climbing are equal to the occasion, he will fell a large tree for the sake of a little honey or even a nest of edible insects.

[262] Frogs, snails, and fresh-water bivalves are collected by the humbler hands of women, but not in any quantity; they amount to nothing more than savouries.

Domesticated Animals

231 *The Pig*. The village pig and the wild pig are of the same species, the latter being continually domesticated. When a wild sucking-pig is captured by hunters, it is brought to the village and gradually tamed. Its roving and lawless nature may be restrained by the constant companionship of a long stick tied to its hind leg; it is fed and petted, its ears are snipped, it is castrated, and finally becomes as nearly domesticated as any other native pig. It is accustomed to forage about the village and to roam the neighbouring bush,

where females are served by wild boars. It is fed every 231 evening, and probably sleeps under the house.

Always a restless and obtrusive creature, the village pig is sometimes aggressive towards strangers, so that more than one visitor, even of magisterial importance, has been compelled to seek safety in the altitude of a house verandah. But, however unattractive, the pig is treated with consideration 231 and even fondness by the villagers. Its owners, man 152 and wife, are referred to as its father and mother. While young it may be washed with a magical infusion to promote its growth. It is given a personal name, and as it grows [552] becomes an identity of importance in the village. As the inevitable hour of parting draws near, its 'mother' will be genuinely grief-stricken; and when at last her pig is bound for the sacrifice and lies groaning and struggling under the house, she will sit beside it, stroking it and shedding copious tears.

The pig is carried in the usual manner, with its feet bound 231 to a pole. For a long journey a pig-litter (*kakate*) may be [482] used. It is a cage-like structure of cane which, as it were, is made to measure and fits closely about the animal's body (see p. 79). The conventional method of slaughtering is with the spear, and at a feast of importance this is done ceremonially, a number of pigs being set in a row and stuck simultaneously. On such an occasion I have seen one of the butchers, more elderly than the rest, fail to impart sufficient force to his thrust, and try again, amid a good deal of laughter, until he drove the point home. Then he levered the shaft of his weapon back and forth like a crow-bar to make his work the surer. On the whole, however, there is no special inhumanity in the treatment of pigs.

The actual butchering is performed on a platform. Two long incisions are made from shoulder to tail, and the skin cut off together with a thick coating of fat. Then the body is dismembered with axe, trade knife, and bamboo knife [412] (the last-named, *ivi*, is still used because of its extraordinary sharpness). The carving is not a pleasing spectacle. The blood drips through between the rails of the platform and is eagerly lapped up by quarrelling dogs below. There may

231 be some delay in the distribution of the meat, and then the scene of the feast becomes a veritable shambles. There is little squeamishness with the native, however, and even the entrails are not despised. As it was explained (whether naïvely or waggishly) on one occasion, fresh entrails are suitable for men; if they stink a little they are suitable for women; and if they stink a great deal they will do for the children.

The Dog. The native dog is small, though better grown than those in some other parts of the Territory. It is commonly not more than 12 or 13 inches at the withers, though some, notably those of the Gira and the Waria, are larger. It has pointed ears and snout, and the tail has a very slight suggestion of brush. In colour it is usually yellow-brown, though sometimes black. It is undeniably a game little animal, an excellent hunter of small game, and equal to bringing a bush-pig to bay.[1]

Dogs are treated affectionately enough by their owners. I have known an elderly man declare his intention of leaving his village and 'signing on' for a year because his dog had fallen into a pit-trap and killed itself. It is true he subsequently thought better of his decision, but he was no doubt sorry to lose his dog. However, the dog does not compare with the pig in Orokaiva estimation. It is always less of a pet than a servant, and is ultimately destined for the pot. In slaughtering it is seized by the hind legs and its body dashed against a tree, a method which seems brutal but is instantly effective. Many specimens are mangy and diseased. They are proverbially susceptible to the cold and are commonly seen crouching in the ashes of a hardly expired fire. Indeed, the dog is said to have a special prerogative over the fire by virtue of the legendary fact that he first brought it to the Orokaiva.

235 *The Domestic Fowl*. Nowadays there are some European fowls in the Northern Division, and many of a native breed. By common consent of many old informants these latter are pre-European. Both are called *bobora*. The native cock is

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[1] The native dog of the Purari Delta (Report No. 5, p. 27) is no doubt a degenerate of the same species. From the canine point of view the Delta must be a very unfavourable environment.

smallish and in colouring resembles a brown leghorn with 235
large sweeping tail-feathers; the hen is a neat little white or brown bird. The wings are well developed and the native fowl is often capable of flying to the top of a coco-nut palm. It is kept for eating or for its feathers; natives do not appear to fancy the eggs greatly. The cock is treasured principally on account of his long tail-feathers, which are shamelessly plucked; though natives realize that a European has queer notions regarding cruelty to dumb creatures, and more than once, inquiring about a tailless rooster, I have been assured that its feathers were torn out by a dog.

Preparation of Food

Fire-making. The indigenous method of fire-making is 372
that of the stick and groove. From their mountain neighbours on the south the Orokaiva have learnt in recent times the saw method, with split stick and rattan. This is said to be more effective, but is not as yet very widely known.

The stick and groove method is called *kaja*, i.e. 'thrust', as, e.g., with a spear. The smaller stick is called *bi-kai* (*bi* = penis; *kai* is the root of *kaiari* or *kajari* = thrust). A shaving is peeled back on the piece of wood which acts as base. The *bi-kai* is grasped in both hands, knuckles up and thumbs down, and worked back and forth with increasing speed, till it is suddenly brought to a stop pressing into the end of the groove, where a little pile of smoking wood-dust has accumulated. If this is smouldering it is gently coaxed and blown and then transferred to a coco-nut husk. Although
signed-on boys bring back matches to the villages, it is by [177]
no means to be imagined that the primitive method of fire-making has gone out of use.

Cooking. There is but one regular meal in the Orokaiva 252
day, viz. in the evening. The housewife peels her taro and
cuts it into lumps with a sharp oyster-shell or a keen-edged [412]
piece of coco-nut shell. She adds various leaves and herbs [263]
for flavouring, among the commonest being that of the taro itself, first carefully freed from its stalk and ribs. She may spray condiments out of her mouth into the pot, and finally covers it with leaves and allows it to seethe. From the

From the

252 [415] earthenware pot (*obu*) the cooked taro is transferred to smaller pots, wooden bowls (*teva*), or coco-nut shells, in which it is served.

264 Food is placed in front of the principal people present, and the others soon group themselves round the various dishes. There is none but a tacit invitation, simply a jerk of the head. The meal goes on for the most part in silence—that is, in respect of conversation, though not always in respect of mastication and swallowing. The only table [412] utensils are coco-nut spoons (*age*), in the form of little boat-shaped scoops, and three- or four-pronged forks (*sagi*) made of bone or wood. The latter, however, are said to be old men's implements. It was suggested that they were needed because of the clumsiness of an old man's fingers, but the fact is that there is something honorific about them. A young man would not feel at home with a *sagi*; he would be, in a manner, exceeding his rights.

252 Nearly all Orokaiva cooking is done in earthenware pots. They are even carried on expeditions. But on emergency there is the method of cooking with hot stones. The food is placed on a layer of leaves upon the hot stones; more leaves and more hot stones are laid on top, and the food slowly bakes. The method of cooking in a pit, with heated stones below and above is known, but I have never seen it put into practice. It is alluded to in some of the legends and is presumably an old fashion. The boiling of water by heated stones is used in fumigation. The medicines are placed together with water in a wooden dish (*teva*), and when the heated stones are thrown in, the steam rises and the sick man stoops over it to be fumigated.

263 [436] *Salt*. The native shows the usual craving for salt, so that among the inlanders it is useful pay for carriers. Visiting the coast, these inlanders will even take calabashes and bring them home full of sea-water. The only means of obtaining it locally is by burning certain leaves and the husks of coco-nut or *Tauga* nuts. Over a layer of dry wood are set a number of large pottery fragments, and over these again are piled the leaves and husks. Ignited, the pile smokes abundantly, and when it has burnt away leaves a residue of

ash in the pottery fragments. For actual use the ash, which 263
has a salty taste, is placed in a half coco-nut shell and watered; and the salty water percolates through the eye-hole of the coco-nut into the cooking-pot.

Stimulants

The habit of betel-chewing is universal among men, 276
women, and even young children. There can be no question that betel, a mild and comparatively harmless stimulant, does much to make the native's life pleasanter, especially by reason of the good-fellowship which is the best argument for all intoxicants. Areca or betel palms grow in every village. The betel pepper (*Piper betle*) called *Hingi* grows wild in the bush and is transplanted into villages and gardens. A superior cultivated kind is called *Hingi petani*. Legends of the origin or discovery of the areca palm and the betel pepper have been recounted elsewhere.[1]

Lime (*O-nasal*) is made by burning shell-fish from the sea [237]
or rivers. A small tower or pyre about 3 feet square and 3 feet 6 inches high is made of layers of dry sago branches laid criss-cross, and on each layer are set a number of shells. The pyre is lit from above in order to prevent premature collapse. It burns and cools rapidly, 'like paper'. The shells, which retain their shape, are transferred by improvised tongs to a sheet of banana leaf, which by being passed once or twice through the flames has become pliable. The shells are gently kneaded with mutterings of *ere ere!* 'Get up, hurry up!', which are meant to expedite the pulverizing process, and are cautiously sprinkled with water. Then the banana leaf is folded and left by a fire, presumably to hasten the slaking. If all this has been done carefully, the result will be a very fine soft powder.

The lime-pot (*O-kigi*) is a calabash with a stopper of 276
closely woven strands of creeper. A somewhat more pre- 415
tentious lime-pot, called *kananga*, is furnished with a shell mouthpiece set in black native beeswax, and encrusted with gems of scarlet seed and white shell fragments. The spatula (*O-te*) is commonly of black wood. The point is thrust into

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[1] *Orokaiva Magic*, p. 123.

415

276 the mouth of the lime-pot and then into the mouth of the chewer, who sucks off the thin coating of lime powder. [531] Usually the spatula is very indifferently carved, for the Orokaiva is no wood-carver; the few examples illustrated are of somewhat exceptional merit (Plate XIII). With the large [431] lime-pot (*kananga*) there usually goes a spatula of bone, and the two together may constitute an *otohu* or ceremonial gift made at initiation, though in use they are both appropriate to old age, and a youth or person of small consequence would not have the effrontery to use them. The old man makes a somewhat ostentatious rattling of the bone spatula against the opening of the *kananga*.

Tobacco is a late introduction in the Northern Division, 276 171 having preceded the European by hardly more than a generation. The evidence clearly indicates that the mountaineers behind Kokoda first brought it to the Orokaiva, and that, travelling from the neighbourhood of Kokoda, it had not reached the Mambare or the lower Kumusi by the time MacGregor first visited these rivers.[1] Its original names are said to have been *orokaiva* (or *kaiva*) and *kuku*, the last being used before the whites brought their trade tobacco, which is now known throughout the Territory as *kuku*. The name *orokaiva* has already been discussed, but with regard to the others, *kaiva* and *kuku*, it may be worth while drawing attention to the singular coincidence that the two words are joined together in the Gulf Division and indicate a masked figure, *Kaivakuku*, and that in the Northern Division they are alternative names for the same substance, native tobacco.

276 Several other names, more or less local, are used, viz. *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* (derived from the resemblance of the tobacco leaf to those of the *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* trees); *Masati*, which is said to be the same word as *masa*, 'stink'; and *soka*, which bears a suspicious resemblance to the name *sokoma*, commonly used for tobacco west of the Fly river, and may have been introduced by the early Kiwai police. Several varieties are distinguished. The leaf is simply sun-dried, and is smoked either in the well-known bamboo tube (*peru*) or else rolled with some leaf or other into a cigarette.

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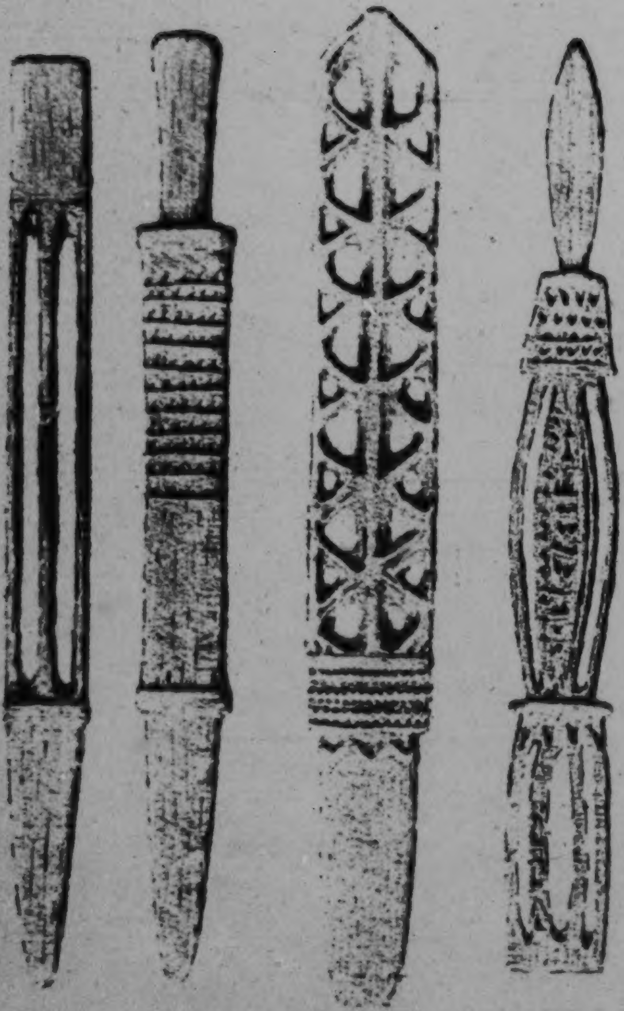
[1] *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 31, 34.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



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O-*ta* or Lime Spatulae

PLATE XIII

[facing p. 66]

276 Certain barks are chewed as if they were stimulants, but
it is questionable whether they have any effect other than
in the imagination of the chewer. The most notable example
[794] is a hot and highly scented bark called *Pota*, used by *Baigona*
men, i.e. the exponents of the almost extinct cult of snakes.
But one might suppose that if the product had any genuinely
stimulant properties it would have come into wider use.

[531]

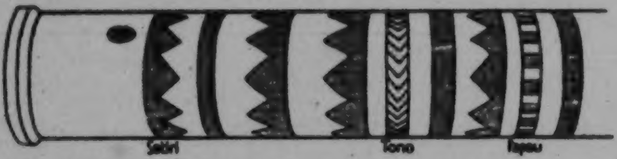

FIG. 13. *Poru* or Bamboo Pipe. Incised and partly scraped, the scraped surfaces being shaded.

Satiri or *Poki* (Fork)—The V-shaped cut in the top of a building post.
Tono—A kind of tree snake.
Papau—The hole made in a branch by a boring insect.

VI

ARTS OF LIFE

The Village

361 THE typical Orokaiva village would comprise hardly more than a dozen houses, and many settlements are much smaller. In former times, if native accounts are to be trusted, villages were more extensive through need of mutual protection against the raider; and a resident magistrate patrolling the river Gira in 1901 speaks of a village 200 yards long by two chains broad, which contained seventy-one houses and was 'barricaded in with a look-out and fighting platforms on [712] the stockade'.[1] But nowadays pacification has brought about a tendency to scatter in small isolated groups.

The bush settlement is closely surrounded by walls of forest, so that the view is somewhat depressingly circumscribed; among the Salt-Water People the village stands virtually on the margin of the beach; among the River People it is invariably placed on the river bank. In most cases and in so far as the floods allow, it is well situated on dry ground. The modern village, by Government edict, is 364 kept almost scrupulously clean, and when the visit of a patrol is imminent one may see old folk and children engaged in the meticulous removal of weeds. At all times, however, it is fairly well swept by the women. Refuse of coco-nut husks and the like is thrown away beyond the edge [514] of the clearing, and for sanitary arrangements there is the privacy of the circumambient bush. Much of the credit for the cleanliness of the village is due to the tireless scavenging of pigs.

The House

342 In most instances the houses are set in two regular rows, facing one another. The space between, sporadically planted with coco-nut palms, is the scene of dances, plays, and inter-

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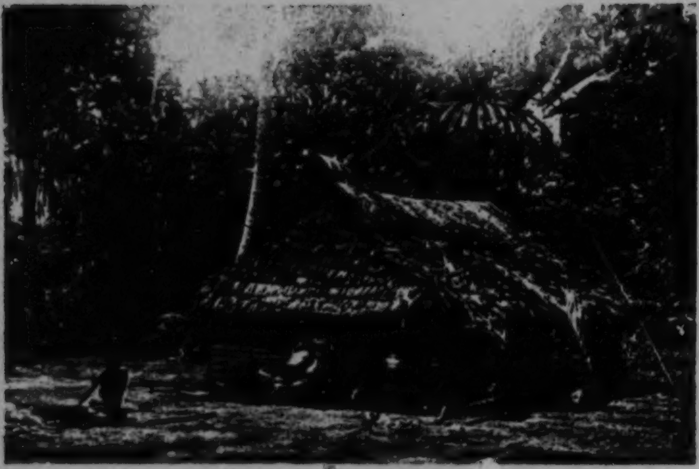
[1] A. L. Walker, *Annual Report*, 1900–1, p. 55.

[4,68]



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(*a*) Original type of Orokaiva house

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(*b*) Yam-house, Dwelling, and combined Yam-house and Sitting-place

PLATE XIV [facing p. 68]

342 village scuffles. The old-fashioned house has been for the
[177] most part replaced by the 'European' model. This does not always mean any great change, save that the new house is loftier and airier and frequently possesses an annexe or 'kitchen' which seems as a rule to serve any purpose but a culinary one. But the general improvement is undeniable. The true native dwellings of the Orokaiva were so poor that W. E. Armit, an early resident magistrate, described them as 'miserable little things, small ramshackle erections', and referred to an Opi village as 'a collection of squalid hovels'.[1]

The original Orokaiva house (*mande*) is oblong and very low. The floor proper (*gaga*) is raised on piles, but the space beneath is roughly walled in so as to form a closed compartment called *su*. Above the floor proper there is often an interior platform or shelf (*babari*) forming, as it were, a third story under the slope of the roof, but as a rule only along one side of the house, so that it resembles a sleeping-berth more than anything else. The ridged roof is so low that a man cannot stand upright on the *gaga*. The essential part of the whole structure is the *gaga*. This is built first on strong piles of its own, and then the roof supports and the walls are built around it independently save for bindings of split cane. In some cases, indeed, the walls are wholly separate from the *gaga*, which is enclosed as it were in a box. The piles and main posts are of various hard-woods, but the other timbers are soft and far from durable. The walls of the true native house consist of rails or logs laid horizontally, but in the more modern style their place has been taken by branch-midribs of the sago palm set vertically. The thatching is of sago leaf.

The interior of the house is dark, warm, and smoky. It contains a variety of pots, wood bowls, string bags, pig-nets, water calabashes, and other domestic paraphernalia;
[251] maybe several bags of *Puga* nuts, blocks of sago, and drying *Tauga* nuts attached to poles and suspended under the ridge-
[252] pole. Cooking is done out of doors in fine weather, and at other times underneath the house in the *su*. In cold weather

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, pp. 90; 87.

342 [374] [513] In cold weather the fire burns all night through, and in the ascending heat and smoke the family sleeps warm and grimily, the householder on the *babari*,[1] his wife and family on the *gaga*,[2] and his pigs and dogs in the *su*.[3] Under the constant influence of the rising smoke the interior of the house acquires a curious metallic polish, and the poles of the roof become coated with a black lichen of soot. Conflagrations are rarer than one would expect under the circumstances.

Miscellaneous Buildings

345 The men's house is called *oro*. If built in connexion with a ceremony and intended as a male club-house or what might be termed a concert-hall, the men's house is called specifically *arijo*; it will occupy a central position and be of more pretentious size—say 40 feet long; and it may boast some decoration in the form of frayed sago leaf hanging in fringes from the eaves. These *arijo* houses are not seen very frequently. A peculiar feature of one or two of them is an outward-sloping wall, which gives the edifice the contours of an oblong haystack. The ordinary *oro*, which is simply the regular domicile of the young bachelors, may be small and without any distinctive feature.

[251] A mere roofless platform is sometimes to be seen as a place of social intercourse. Among the southern tribes it is more usually combined with the picturesque little *baran* or yam-house, in which a small attic compartment above is the repository for the sprouting yams.

342 The Orokaiva, a true *improvvisatore*, will find the materials for a house at a moment's notice. Overtaken by bad weather or benighted on the road, he will turn aside, fell a few saplings, make a selection of palm or wild banana leaves for thatch, and construct a lean-to or penthouse with a raised floor and a tolerably water-tight roof. A common trick of extempore construction is to use a slanting strut so tied to the upright that its upper end projects and thus forms a rest for a piece of cross-timber. See Plate XIV*b*.

345 178 Of tree houses (*sasai*), which were formerly common enough, I have seen no evidence in the whole Division,

[1] [i.e. an interior platform or shelf above the floor—Analyst]

[2] [i.e. the floor proper—Analyst]

[3] [i.e. walled in space beneath the floor.—Analyst]

342 178 except for certain large trees which are said to have supported them in less reposeful days. They were not fighting-tops so much as places of refuge in which a surprised village might keep its assailants at bay until the blasts of the wooden trumpets brought help from surrounding allies. They were built in the branches of large trees in or near the village (sometimes in several adjacent trees connected with cane gangways), and were furnished with cane-ladders or 'legs' (*savai-tai*). The stockade provided another means of defence, though this too has disappeared with the coming of the King's peace.

342 173 A method of dwelling which I believe to be unique in Papua is described by Beaver, and, though he had not the witness of his eyes, it appears that he was dealing with a reliable informant.

> 'I had many times heard', he writes, 'that the Dogi people used to live on rafts moored round the lake, and had been inclined to look upon the story as rather of the traveller's tale variety, but I found that it was actually the case. They used to live on the shore, but, owing to successive raids by the Iawabuie and Binandele, the Dogi built huge rafts —the water was too deep to sink piles—and constructed their houses on these refuges. Ninei, the present village constable, a man about 40, was born on one of these floating arks, and he tells me the people were living on them when first visited by Mr. M. M. Clark.'[1]

It was probably about 1895 that Mr. Clark was prospecting in this neighbourhood, and the lake referred to is presumably Lake Koena. I did not visit the locality myself and can only verify the legend of the eel and the flood which Beaver tells in connexion with the origin of the lake. I found this legend, however, coupled with the adventures of two surviving children rescued by a woman named Bobokoia, who was of great size, like an island, with sago palms growing on her back. The children lived on this floating island or woman until finally they settled on shore again. It seems hardly credible that the story of the raft-dwellings should have turned into that of Bobokoia within the time, though the likeness seems suspicious. It is not improbable that the raft dwellings were of no more than a temporary nature, and that the legend dates back much earlier.

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1914-15, p. 24.

Transport

487 *Tracks*. Altogether we are unable to claim any high degree of engineering skill or architectural taste for the Orokaiva; but in magisterial estimation the excellence of the tracks makes ample amends. These are said to compare favourably with those of any other Division, though it is doubtful whether the Orokaiva of former days bestowed any exceptional care upon them; for if left to themselves they seem, with their naked legs and hardy feet, equally indifferent to the mud of swamps or the obstacles of the road.

But nowadays in some parts and at some times—particularly before the periodical visit of the magistrate—the track may be swept and garnished and guiltless of the minutest weed; for at the behest of the village constable the men turn out with trade knives and spade-like scrapers of tin, to nick, shave, and almost polish the surface of the road.

491 *Bridges*. Formerly, I am told, stretches of swamp were spanned by single logs supported on cross-trestles. The modern type of this bridge has an adzed surface to make walking safer, and is certainly preferable to the other style (viz. a raised gangway with clumsily laid cross-pieces) until, as is so often the case, the log is found to be slippery and aslant. Small creeks are crossed by single tree-trunks, over which the native, a fearless balancer, walks without misgiving, despite the queer and disconcerting vibrations set up by his footsteps on a long log.

491 177 One is told of the former existence of cane-bridges swung from the branches of tall trees overhanging the banks of a river. Nowadays these cobweb bridges are replaced by more workmanlike, though still somewhat precarious, fabrics, in which the cane is reinforced by steel wire. Such improvements are necessitated only by the presence of the white man, whose feet are delicately encased in boots, and who, apart from his fastidiousness regarding the mire, seems by comparison deficient in the nerve which altitude and balancing demand.

491 The rivers in their upper reaches are commonly forded. A party bound for a dance, fully armed and decorated, will

remove their bark-cloth bands, take to the water and swim 491
over, holding spear, shield, string bag, and bark-cloth band
above their heads. A man may take a short length of light
wood for a lifebuoy and, launching himself into the rapids
of the Kumusi, will disappear and reappear many times, in
a way which may actually alarm the spectator, until he
emerges on the opposite bank some hundreds of yards down
stream.

Rafts. Along the upper reaches of the rivers canoes are 501
seldom seen. A primitive raft (*enga*) is constructed of half
a dozen logs with two cross-pieces. Underneath are placed
one or two much larger logs, which, though quite unattached,
remain in position and buoy the raft upwards. An
even cruder makeshift is an *enga* of banana stalks.

This primitive device, the raft, continues to hold its place 501
with the canoe. Although essentially temporary it is 538
strongly made. There is a tale of a crocodile-man who in his
human guise persuaded two youths to build a raft, instructing
them particularly to use grass in the building of it. He
then volunteered to swim underneath in order to buoy up
the raft like one of the detached logs. But he had betrayed
himself by a smile which revealed the long pointed teeth of
a crocodile, and the boys, unknown to him, used cane and
strong creeper in binding the logs together. Then follows
the sequel in which the swimmer, transmogrified into a
crocodile, heaves and lashes his tail to no effect, thus pointing
to the necessity of making a strong job even of an *enga*.
But, however well constructed, the raft remains an unstable
craft, and in the main a temporary one. Being clumsy and
unmanageable, it may be carried far down stream in transit,
and it is easier to make another than to haul it back.

Canoes. The canoe (*ma*) is a hollowed log with a platform 396
and an outrigger. The work of obtaining a suitable log and
the rough hewing of it will call for the assistance of a man's [476]
fellow villagers, for which he makes them no reward except
that of feeding them. After the initial stages he works
leisurely at it himself; he gives a neat finish to the hewing
with his adze (and sometimes still the old stone adze is preferred
for canoe work); he fits the platform and outrigger;

396 and finally paints the dugout a dull red with ochre or clay, possibly picking out a zigzag in black at prow and stern. The craft is launched with no ceremony save a 'trial spin', [552] and may or may not be given a personal name.

The general appearance of the canoe may be judged from the accompanying sketch. The parts are named as follows: [192]

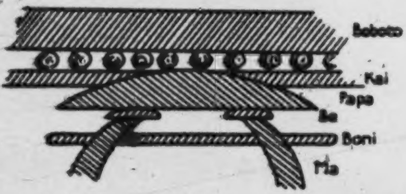
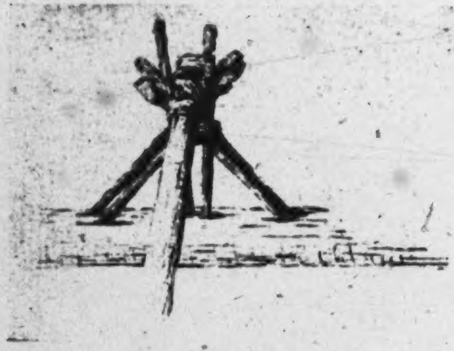


FIG. 14. Attachment of Platform to Hull of Canoe.

Dugout	*ma*.
Platform	*ma-bua*.
Outrigger float	*taona* (from its resemblance to the banana *taona*).
Outrigger poles	*ma-tu*.
Outrigger pegs . . .	*ma-gi* (because made of spear-wood, *gi*).
Prow	*Koperu* (head).
Stern	*Ao*.
Points at stern and prow .	*pepe* (the same word is used for sago thorns).
Incised zigzags at prow and stern	*dengoro* (ear).

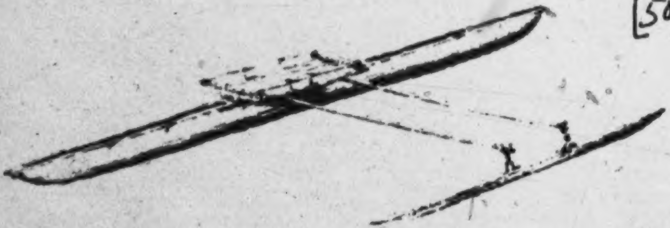
Between the platform and the hull the method of attachment is somewhat complicated. Along the two rims of the canoe are laid split rails or slats (*be*), their upper surface being rounded (which incidentally provides a moderately comfortable seat for the paddler who sits with one buttock on either rim and his feet in the dugout). The actual supports for the platform are two curiously shaped pieces of wood (*papa*), one at either end, which are laid transversely on the *be*, and thus intervene between the platform and the hull of the canoe. These two *papa* are slightly hollowed on the upper side so as to form troughs in which rest the two transverse rails (*kai*) that form the basis of the platform. The platform is made fast to the hull by lashing firmly to

396



(*a*) Attachment of Outrigger to Pole

[501]



(*b*) Canoe. Up to 40 feet long

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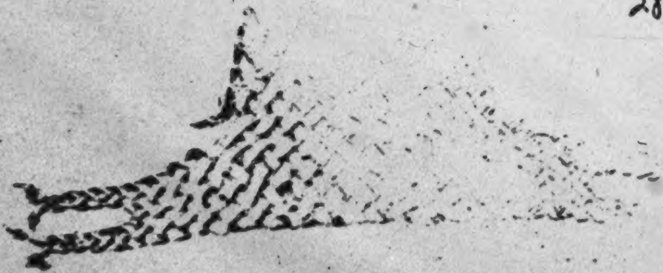

(*c*) *Tere* or Coco-nut Mat [facing p.74]

PLATE XV

396 stout pieces of palm-wood (*boni*), one at either end, which pass through the wood of the hull. The purpose of the *papa* is no doubt to allow for a little give, i.e. to prevent undue rigidity between the hull and the platform. The actual floor of the latter is composed of light longitudinal rails, and at either end of it is bound on a piece of wood constituting a low bulwark (*boboto*).

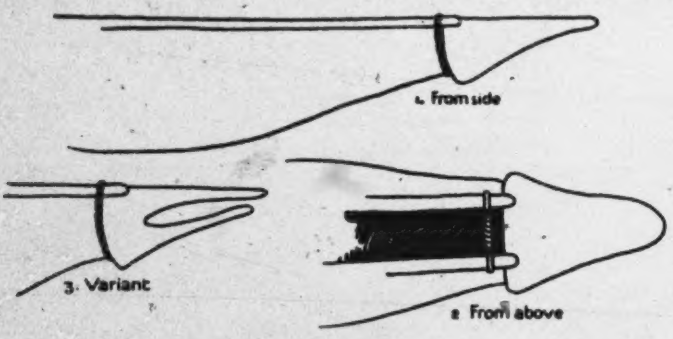

FIG. 15. Canoe Prows.

The outrigger poles are attached to the actual outrigger by pegs or 'spears' (*gi*) of black palm-wood, which are commonly six in number and arranged in the manner shown. They are simply driven into the wood of the outrigger.

The prow and stem are roughly the same. The usual forms are illustrated, together with an unusual variant seen on the Mambare.

501 The canoe varies considerably in size,[1] the largest being found on the coast and used for seafaring. While well adapted to rough water and open rivers, the outrigger canoe will not compare with the plain dugout of the Delta country for speed and for handiness among intricate watercourses.

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. Leo Austen, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Buna, for the following measurements of a canoe from near Gona:

Length of hull	39 ft.	8 ins.
Depth of hull	1 "	10 "
Length of platform	8 "	6 "
Breadth of platform	6 "	9 "
Length of outrigger	18 "	1 "

The two outrigger poles were of slightly different length, 18 and 19 ft. respectively, measured from the inner edge of the platform.

Manufactures

463 Arts and crafts have reached no high developmen[illegible] nor, on the whole, do they make any pretensions to artistry. For the most part they are common knowledge and everyday accomplishments. To a very limited extent do particular [438] crafts belong to particular districts; for instance, the people of Huhurundi (Sauaha) are said to excel in the painting of bark-cloth—which is probably a matter of tradition; and the people of the middle Kumusi to excel in the making of stone clubs—which is merely a matter of a supply of pebbles. Again, in a limited degree we see signs of individual pre-eminence. A man may specialize in the making of *tana* or wooden bowls by virtue of a steady hand and a good eye, or a woman may have a reputation as a bark-cloth painter. But such individual skill is, I am convinced, the result of natural gifts rather than of any special training. It appears that any and every man tries his hand at carving a bowl out of a block of wood, and only those who find they have a special aptitude care to persist and perfect themselves. Investigation proves that such crafts are not necessarily or even usually hereditary.

In the main, therefore, it appears that every man is an all-round craftsman. If he is a jack-of-all-trades he is likewise a fair exponent of all of them; and if he is a master of one of them he is likely to be a master of all, simply because he is born with a certain adaptable skill or handiness.

462 The only labour division of any great interest is the habitual one between the sexes. Pottery, bark-cloth, pandanus mats, string, and small fish-nets are made by women; weapons, ornaments, wooden bowls, coco-nut mats and baskets, plaited belts, and the larger fish-nets are made by men.

323 317 *Pottery* (*Obu*). The yellowish clay used for pottery is not found in all parts of the Division, and the collecting of it may mean a long journey. It is brought home in a wrapping of moist leaves, and beaten out on a large flat board (*obu-iri*), viz. the flange of a forest tree. The club is a piece of [412] plain wood called *obu kungabu*.

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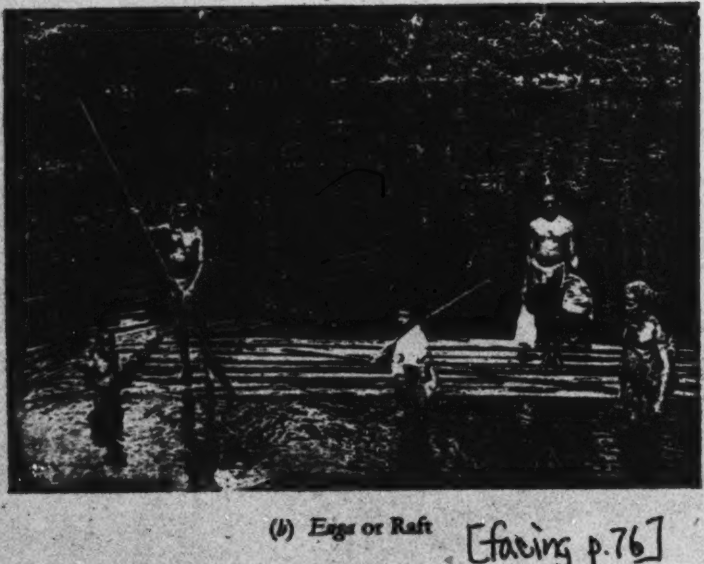
(*a*) Orokaiva Canoes



(*b*) *Esga* or Raft

[facing p.76]

PLATE XVI

323 When the clay has been thoroughly pounded the woman commences to work with her hands. First she fashions a small saucer-like base (*obu-atu*). Then, taking a small lump of clay, she rolls it with the heel of her hand on a broad strip of bark which she holds in her lap for a rolling-board. Thus treated it becomes a long thin strip perhaps a quarter of an inch in diameter. This she coils round the rim of the *obu-atu*, and thereafter continues to roll strips and coil them one above the other so that the pot gradually grows and widens. Each coil is pressed home with the thumb and tapped lightly with a small baton (*tavi*). When three or four have been applied the potter moistens them with a few drops from a broken gourd of water by her side, and with the baton pats or smooths out the grooves on the outer side. She does the same more carefully on the inner side with the smooth surface and the sharp edge of a river shell-fish.

The completely fashioned pot is set aside till several are ready and may be burnt together. In shape it widens towards the mouth, which forms a good circle. Instead of being semi-globular the vessel shows a slight tendency to narrow down to a point at its base, so that its form has been compared to the more pointed half of an egg.

323 531 The modern pot is often devoid of ornament. Sometimes it has a few incised markings; sometimes raised pinched markings. Neither possess much artistic value. On the river Gira (and on certain earlier fragments from near the mouth of the Opi, where I understand pottery is not nowadays made) I have seen overlaid markings (formed by pressing on small strips of clay while the pot is in making) which have more artistic possibilities. They are called *bubuko* (the same word being used for the raised cicatrice sometimes seen on the arms and breasts of women).

287 *Bark-cloth* (*Bo*). Numerous wild trees (I have eight names which I imagine to be mostly ficus) yield *bo* or bark-cloth. The best is named *Ajimo*, which provides a very white cloth; it is sometimes transplanted and may be even cultivated in a small grove. The cloth from other trees varies in colour between white and brown. Beaten on a log, a strip of the proper bark spreads out to an extraordinary size, and when

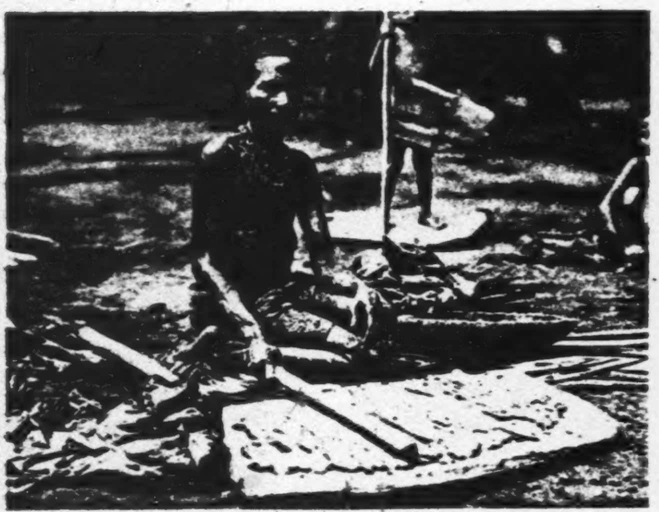
287 dried forms a coarse but tough material. The typical club is an elongated pebble (*kini*) with incised criss-cross lines [863] (*jari*). The work is done by women, who make a common practice of withdrawing beyond the edge of the village, ostensibly to remove the annoyance of the loud continued 287 tapping. The decoration—of which examples have been depicted elsewhere—is the artistic prerogative of women. 531 It is executed in red and black. The red is a vegetable dye; the black is lamp-black obtained by burning a resinous gum called *ongo*. This, placed in a small receptacle, is lighted and covered with a large inverted fragment of pottery. The burning *ongo* gives off a heavy aromatic smoke and the soot is deposited on the under-surface of the pot. A little water is subsequently added and the black pigment is mopped up out of the pot with a sponge of grass and squeezed into a fragment of coco-nut or a cockle-shell, which is to serve as palette. Using for brush a tuft of frayed betel husk, the painter works quickly, confidently, and often carelessly. The workmanship is, as a rule, exceedingly crude, but the decorative effect is excellent, being somewhat enhanced when the garish colours are softened by a distant view and a shade of dirtiness.

285 *Pandanus Mats* (*Obi*). The broad leaves of the pandanus are sewn by women into mats. The minute prickles on edge and midrib are shaved off and the whole leaf is rubbed with those detergent leaves that serve the native for sandpaper. This is said to hasten their drying and to ensure their flexibility. When dry they are sewn together in two complete layers with a partial transverse layer of narrower strips between them. The finished mat, together with a plain block [513] of wood for pillow, constitutes the Orokaiva's bedding.

Coco-nut Mats (*Tere*). The mat for outdoor use is made of coco-nut leaf. A frond is split down the midrib and the leaves of either side are then woven neatly together to form a mat for which the halves of the split midrib form the side borders.

At the wider end of the mat two small appendages called *tengere* ('ears') stand out from either side. They are formed by plaiting the leaves which pass below the end of the mid-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



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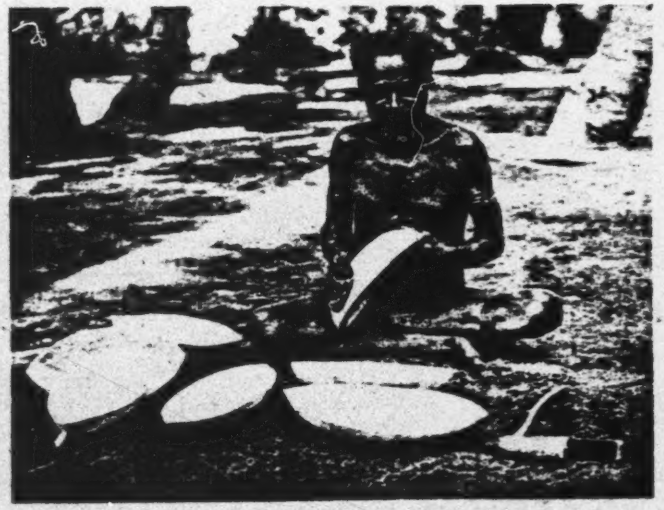
(*a*) Beating Clay for Pottery



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(*b*) Making Wooden Dishes, *Teva*

PLATE XVII [facing p.78]

285 rib, and amount to a neat and ingenious way of disposing of the tag ends. Equally neat and ingenious is the suggestion made in an early *Annual Report*. 'Some of them [coco-nut mats] are even provided with appendages near the head of the mat, which is cut square across, resembling sleeves in outline. This is for the arms to rest on.'[1] The Orokaiva, 285 516 however, does not lie on his back or his belly with a cruci-

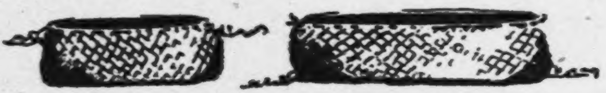

FIG. 16. Orokaiva and Waria Patterns of *Kambije* up to 2 ft. long.

form outstretching of the arms; and until this posture has been actually recorded, the above suggestion, like many more weighty ones in anthropology, must remain unsubstantiated.

285 *Leaf Basketry*. There is no genuine basketry among the Orokaiva: the *kambije* hardly deserves the dignity of the name. It is made on the same principle as the mat *tere*, viz. by splitting part of a coco-nut frond down the midrib and by weaving the leaves together. The two halves of the midrib are now made to constitute the mouth of the bag or basket, which opens or closes like a Gladstone bag. Imported from the river Waria comes a larger and better-made example which has become fashionable on the Gira and the Mambare. In the smaller, which is the usual Orokaiva form, the plaited tag ends of leaflets become appendages to the top of the *kambije*, near its mouth, and are called *tengere* or 'ears' (Bin. *dengoro*). In the Waria style they appear at the bottom of the basket and are called *jimi* or 'tails'.

285 482 *The Cane Pig Basket* (*Kakate*). A kind of litter is devised for carrying pigs on long journeys. The pig is first bound and laid on the ground. Two hoops of cane are fitted over it, to ensure that they are of the right size, and then each hoop is made the frame of a strong rough network of split cane. The two fabrics are finally bound together with the

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 5.

285 pig inside, enclosed as if in a made-to-measure basket. It 482 remains questionable whether the pig travels more comfortably thus than in the normal way with its feet tied to a pole.

Plaiting. Belts are made by men with very thin strips of 285 cane. Several effective patterns are done in yellow and black [463] of which I have recorded only the commonest one (*vide* Plate IX). Belts and armlets or leglets are made from a species of brown creeper fibre, plaited very closely into bands of varying width.

String and Rope. String such as is used in making small 462 fish-nets is made by women. They tease out pandanus fibre 283 and roll it on the thigh. Rope, e.g. for pig-nets, is made by men from pandanus.

Woodwork. Wooden bowls (*teva*) are cut out of blocks of 322 soft wood. The work is done with a light adze and the [412] surface is smoothed with sandpaper leaves. The finished article is a light boat-shaped vessel, with or without a handle at one end; though entirely without ornament, it sometimes possesses a graceful outline. These *teva* are often [463] made by men who appear to be experts, and they make the nearest approach to the stock-in-trade of a specialist.

The carving of hard-wood into lime spatulae has been already mentioned (p. 66). With somewhat rare exceptions such carving is inferior or careless; and in many cases scratching would be a better word.

Weapons

411 *Spears*. The principal weapon is the spear, of which several varieties are distinguished.

(1) The ordinary pig-spear (*o-ki*) is made of black palm-wood (*koropa*). It is heavy and long—often about 12 feet. The section towards the point is half oval, and there are two sets of barbs.

(2) The fighting spear (*overo*) is much lighter and only about 9 feet in length. It is made either of *koropa* palm or of a reddish hard-wood (*kimana*) which takes a high polish. The section toward the point is approximately square; there are four sets of barbs, often well cut; and some distance below

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

the point are affixed one or more bunches of coloured feathers. 411
The feathers apparently serve only a decorative purpose.

(3) A spear round in section and without barbs is known as *bou*.

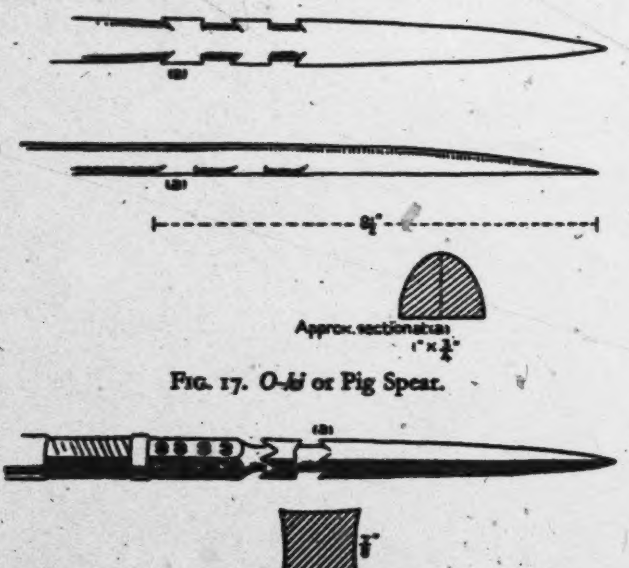

Fig. 17. *O-ki* or Pig Spear.

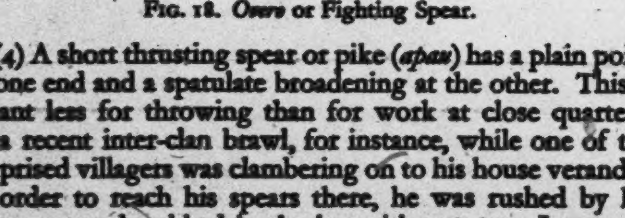

Fig. 18. *Ovoro* or Fighting Spear.

(4) A short thrusting spear or pike (*apau*) has a plain point at one end and a spatulate broadening at the other. This is meant less for throwing than for work at close quarters. In a recent inter-clan brawl, for instance, while one of the surprised villagers was clambering on to his house verandah [578] in order to reach his spears there, he was rushed by his opponent and stabbed in the leg with an *apau*. It was no doubt this weapon—'a two-ended spear about 4 feet long'—with which a huge Orokaiva was about to kill one of Mr. Alec Elliot's police whom he had at his mercy, when a bullet from another policeman 'burst his heart'.[1]

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1900–1, p. 12.

411 (5) There are other varieties of spears distinguished by minor differences; but one is used for a purpose which is perhaps unique. This is the *dega* or *kane*, which has a spiral of white feathers winding about it from top to bottom. The *dega* is not so much a weapon of offence as a standard meant for display and, as I was assured, the intimidation of the foe. When Sir William MacGregor saw a flotilla of war canoes ascending the river Musa one early morning in the year 1895, he remarked in particular 'two big men, each standing erect in the hull of a fine war canoe, one at each end of the square platform. They were in complete martial panoply, 514 covered by paint and plumes, and each, as he remained in 516 an attitude as stiff and silent as a pillar of stone, held his right hand on a great tall war spear, which he held erect, the lower end resting on the bottom of the canoe. These two spears were nearly covered with white feathers from end to end'. These spears, used by the kindred people of the Musa, were no doubt identical with the *dega* of the Orokaiva, which in these times of peace has been relegated from the hand of the warrior to that of the Taro man.[1]

Wooden 'Swords'. The wooden sword (*asivo*) is a blade-shaped length of black palm-wood usually some 3 feet 6 inches long. The point and edges are not so sharp as to pierce or cut, and the weapon is virtually a club. Being used with two hands, it is much less unwieldy than the stone-headed club, and probably gains in effectiveness by its lightness. The *asivo* is often painted and befeathered.

Woman's Quarterstaff. The woman's quarterstaff (*poreba*) is a long light staff of knotty hard-wood. Every able-bodied woman will keep one just underneath the raised floor of her house, where it is ready for a brawl. She carries it in a characteristic manner, resting on the crown of her head and held on either side in her hands. There is a certain technique in its use, and it is said to be correct, when warding off a blow, to hold the *poreba* simply between thumb and forefinger, with the fingers extended. Women bear their part in inter-village affrays and are not infrequently guilty of

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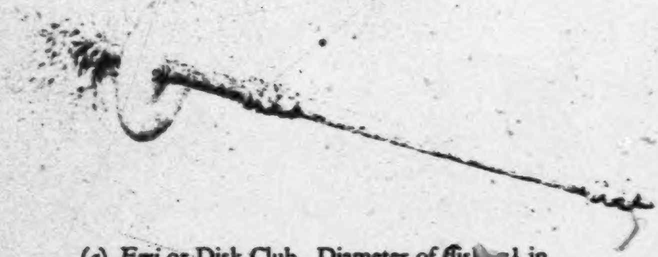
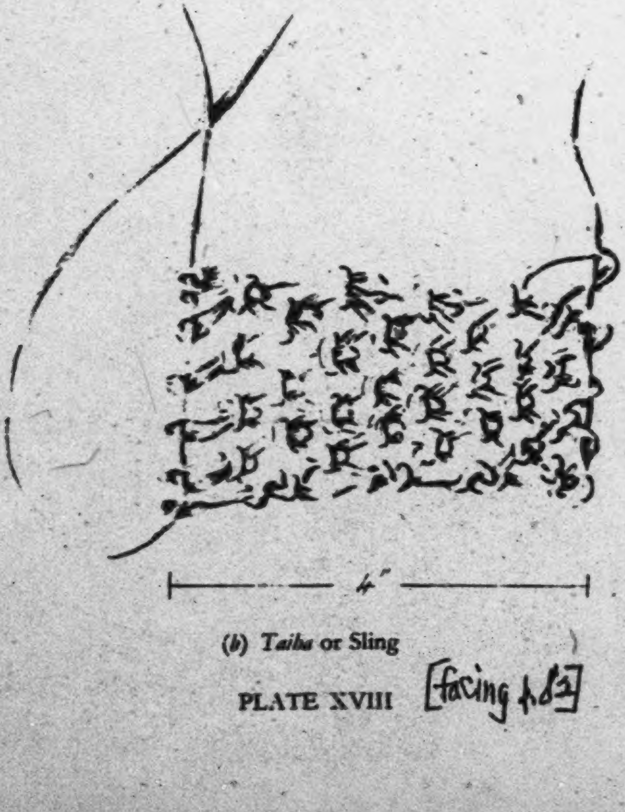
[1] *Annual Report*, 1895–6, p. 27; and cf. *ibid*., p. 14. The *Dega* is now frequently affected by Taro men, though I cannot say with what significance.



(*a*) *Emi* or Disk Club. Diameter of disk [illegible]½ in.



(*b*) *Taiba* or Sling

PLATE XVIII [facing p. 82]

411 inciting to violence. The other occasions on which the *poreba* may be put to use are, I am told, the quarrels of a polygamous household.

Stone Clubs. Stone clubs are of two principal kinds, the 'pineapple' (*gisbi*) and the disk (*emi*). They are made from river pebbles. The former variety has a hole through the longer axis for the haft, and its striking surface is serrated by means of longitudinal and lateral grooves, which leave a number of processes or points. The latter is more or less disk-shaped, the outer edge being ground down to a fairly sharp cutting-edge. The 'star' club (*tingo*) is not common (the word *tingo* is used of a jutting broken branch), nor is the 'egg' club (*era*)—a plain knob with a hole through the longer axis. Club heads of quartz have been obtained in the Division, but are rarities and apparently antiquities.

The stone club was formerly made by striking and wearing down with another stone, the hole through the centre being made by a pestle-shaped pebble as striker, or what Sir Wm. MacGregor described as a small stone 'of the size and shape of a rifle bullet'. Nowadays the small pyramidal points [177] of the pineapple club are made by means of a white man's file. The manufacture of these weapons has almost ceased, for their use has been brought down to one of mere display. However, the Orokaiva in full dress still rejoices to carry a befeathered club on his shoulder, like a sword at the slope.

The Sling. The sling (*taiba*) is said to have been once a genuine weapon, yet the early reports contain no mention of it as being used by the hostile natives. W. E. Armit speaks of the men of the Upper Kumusi and Yodda river as 'stone-throwers and rushing natives',[1] but other stories tell of the natives sometimes attacking with no weapons save large stones which they had picked up on the track, and there is no reason to suppose that the stone-throwers mentioned by Mr. Armit threw with anything but their hands. Now, at any rate, the sling is little more than a toy, though why elderly men should sometimes carry these playthings in their bags I have not been able to discover. In the typical example the pouch is of roughly netted string

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, p. 84.

411 (Plate XVIII*b*). Of the attached strings one is in the form of a loop, which is passed round a finger; the other is released in throwing.

The Shield. The shield (*bobo* or *pore*) is made of light wood, about ½ inch thick, strongly bound with narrow strips of cane to prevent splitting. The handle is a loop of stout rattan which passes through the wood. The shape of the shield—square cut above and pointed below—caused early observers to refer to it very appropriately as 'Gothic'. It [531] sometimes bears a device—in no manner heraldic but purely decorative—made by interlacing black strands among the yellow cane binding strips; and when this is well done the effect may be artistic and even dainty (Plate XIX).

The *bobo* is held under-grip in the warrior's left hand, which also contrives to hold a club and even an extra spear. His right hand poises or brandishes the spear which he is about to throw, giving little jerks which cause it to vibrate like a twanged string. (At that moment it might well enough be called a 'shadowy spear'.)

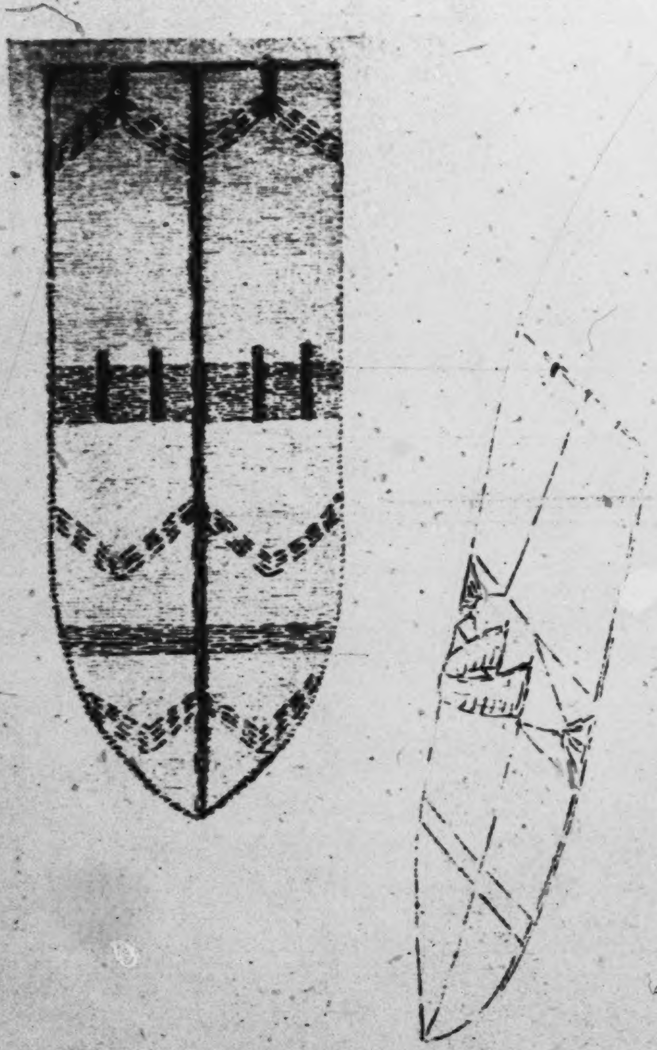
Shields are used very adroitly in turning or intercepting missiles, and a broken spear-point buried in the wood is regarded as a trophy. Despite the fact that their serious use is over they are still very commonly kept in readiness—at least by the Aiga—and they always make a fracas possible. Like most other men the Orokaiva has no stomach for the plain spear, and he enjoys his inter-tribal brawl much more when he has a *bobo* in his hand.

Miscellaneous Implements

412 The implements used in gardening, sago-making, fishing, &c., have already been described. It remains to mention a few used for general purposes.

The Adze or Axe. The adze or axe blade (*ato*) is a ground river pebble. This is bound with cane into a split tang, and the tang is driven into a groove in the forked branch which serves as a handle. Here it is held by a binding of plaited cane. The implement is either axe or adze according to the way the tang is turned.

The celt itself is made from a selected river pebble by



Bebe or Shield, 30 in. by 12 in.

PLATE XIX [facing p.84]

412 pounding and rubbing. Very few nowadays remain in the villages, but those that I have seen vary considerably in size and form. So much depends on the original shape of the pebble selected and there is such an infinite variety of pebbles which a native can see are easily convertible into adze blades, that I think it would be unprofitable to attempt a classification.

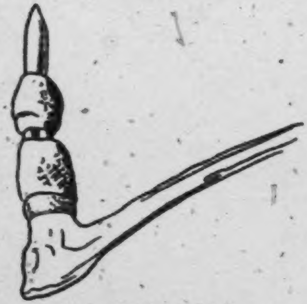


FIG. 19. Hafting of Adze.

The stone adze is still used to some small extent in the hollowing of canoes, but for all other [177] purposes the stone has yielded place to imported steel. The introduction of the steel axe and the trade knife has greatly simplified the work of gardening and building, though so far, I believe, it has not led to any great improvement in methods.

Cutting and Scraping Instruments. For small cutting instruments there are the bamboo knife (*ivi*) which is given a razor-like sharpness by simply peeling off the edge; the cockle shell which is the Orokaiva pocket knife; and the *bari*, a disk of coco-nut or oyster shell with one section of its edge kept sharp, which is used for peeling taro. For scrapers the edge of a cockle shell and the thicker edge of a boar's tusk are used. There are three kinds of files: (1) a kind of pumice called *nidiri*; (2) the skin of a certain fish (*Seb*) which is dried and stretched over a slab of wood; and (3) the rough leaves of various trees.

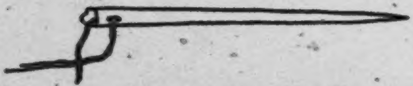


FIG. 20. *Jino* or Bone Needle.

Needles, &c. Bodkins (*poma*), which a woman wears thrust in her hair, are made of flying-fox bones. So also are needles (*jino*), the eye being made through one side of the hollow bone (Fig. 20).

Drills. Two kinds of drill are in use. The commoner is

412 the well-known pump-drill (*arase*), known, I believe, in all parts of the Division. It possesses no unique feature unless it be that the fly-wheel is composed of several layers of pottery fragments bored through the centre.

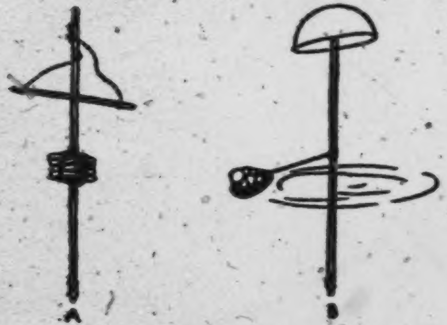


FIG. 21. Binandele Drills. A. *Arase*; B. *Jigogora*.

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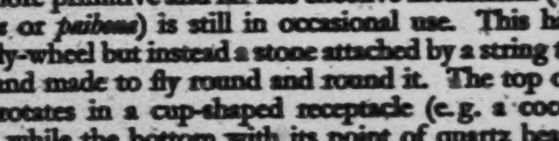
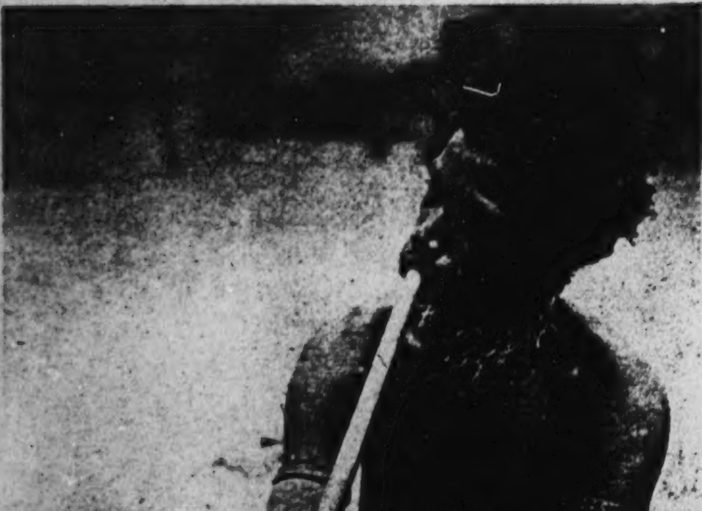


FIG. 22. *Iso* or Drum.

A more primitive and far less effective mechanism (called *jigogora* or *paibona*) is still in occasional use. This has no fixed fly-wheel but instead a stone attached by a string to the shaft and made to fly round and round it. The top of the shaft rotates in a cup-shaped receptacle (e.g. a coco-nut shell), while the bottom with its point of quartz bears on the object which is being drilled. A slight movement of the hand which grasps the coco-nut shell keeps the stone flying in a circle. The point is usually of quartz (*hase*) and sometimes, when procurable, of flint (*bira*).

Musical Instruments

534 *Drums*. The Orokaiva are fond of music and naturally musical, though they possess no instruments of much poten-



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Boy Playing the Pipe, *Hiwire*

PLATE XX [facing p.86]

534 tiality. Drums are of three distinct kinds. The largest is called *ino* (which also means 'dog'). It is used in the dance called *Jawa-kuru*, which is the original dance of the Orokaiva, so that the *ino* may be the most primitive of the three drums. It is sometimes as much as 3 feet 9 inches in length and has a very deep tone. The second is called *ehu*. It is of medium size about 2 feet in length, and is used in the *Si* and *Paruka* dances. The third (12 or 13 inches long) is called *Saunda* or *Tatau* (both words being perhaps onomatopoeic), and is used in the *Saunda* and *Puga* dances. This drum is confined to the Aiga, Binandele, and Tain-Daware tribes, though in recent times its distribution is growing wider.

The drum is a hollow tube narrowing somewhat to a waist in the middle. The hollowing is effected by slowly burning out with the aid of a bamboo blow-pipe. The larger drums are usually fitted with a handle, *tei* ('foot'); the smaller ones are often without it. All have two raised rings at the waist called *pupunga*. *Pupunga* is the name of a kind of opossum or cuscus, from the skin of whose tail are made finger-rings. Hence by a somewhat fantastic explanation, which is not improbably correct, comes the name *pupunga* for the rings on the drum.

The closed end is called *boboru*, 'head'; the other is *abo*, or literally the fundamental orifice. A tympanum of lizard skin (obtained usually from the monitor lizard, *ange*) is stretched over and stuck on with starchy cooked taro, and is then bound on tightly with bark-cloth. It is tautened by applications of beeswax, which is said to be essential to a good tone. A lump of this material is stuck to the side of the drum, and little pellets are detached and applied to the lizard skin.

A good deal of care is taken to ensure a proper resonance
[531] before a concert begins. The *pupunga* bear incised decorations (chevrons and zigzags) of mediocre quality.

Trumpets. The Orokaiva chorus is accompanied not only by drums but usually also by a conch shell, blown by one of the most juvenile of the performers. This instrument adds much to the volume but little to the harmony of the concert. It is commonly a large spiral shell with a hole, but an alterna-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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534 tive, somewhat rarely seen, is made of wood. Both are called *bui*. The principal use of the *bui* is for making sound- [202] signals, such as the alarm of war, the announcement of a death, or the approach of a party bearing a pig. For such purposes there are distinctive rhythms of long and short notes, though it cannot be said that they amount to any elaborate system.

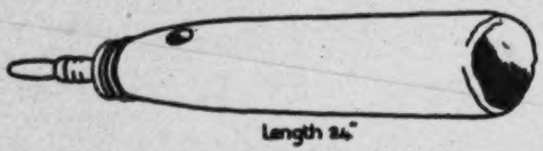

FIG. 23. *Hui* or Wooden Trumpet.

An interesting extempore trumpet (*tayana*) is made from the stem of a large fern. The soft pith is hollowed out for the greater part of its length, the narrower end remaining closed. Near this closed end is placed the mouth-hole. The instrument, which is made in a few moments, is about 18 inches long with slightly trumpet-shaped mouth. It gives forth a surprisingly loud and resonant note.

Bamboo Pipes. A pipe called *biviro* is made from a long internode of light bamboo of say ¾ inch diameter. The mouth end is open, the other closed at the node, except for a small hole in the centre of the node itself, and two more, distant about 3 inches and 6 inches respectively from it. With his fingers on the stops and his mouth on the edge of the open end a player produces very sweet though very tootling music.

The 'sacred flutes' (*sepiri*, *inagu*, or *gauro*) used in the initiation ceremonies by the Southern Orokaiva, are tubes of bamboo some 4 or 5 feet in length and about 1½ inches in diameter.[1] They are closed by a node at one end. Six inches or more from this closed end is a hole. The player holds the flute horizontally. He sets his lips to the edge of the hole and covers one ear with one of his hands. Sometimes he covers both ears and holds the flute in the crooks of his arms. Thus two men facing one another play with great intentness and evident enjoyment, each bowing and scraping a little to his partner in the duet (Plate XXIV*b*). 534

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[1] It may be that on the river Waria the small pipe (such as *biviro* above described) is to some extent an esoteric instrument. Describing the *Gabu* (which is apparently the seclusion-house) and its contents, Mr. C. H. Karius, A.R.M., notes a set of two flutes or bamboo pipes. The full set comprises four pipes. Two are played inside the *Gabu* and two are played outside. Never by any chance is the order reversed. The two sets of flutes or pipes are of different size and the method of playing them is different. The set used inside the *Gabu* is the larger of the two and the flutes are

The very limited number of notes is doubled by the fact that the instruments^x are differently pitched, and being played antiphonally they are together capable of producing little cadences or phrases that are pretty enough, although trifling and endlessly repeated. Such tunes have different names which they sometimes derive from their resemblance to bird-calls and responses. 533

Miscellaneous Instruments. These sacred flutes are of course esoteric instruments and seem to be invariably associated with the bull-roarer, *umbubu*. This familiar instrument is a thin slat of palm-wood with a hole drilled through one end. It is attached by means of a string to a long stick. Being swung round and round the slat revolves rapidly, producing a wide range of noises which may be described as whirring, booming, or howling. The Orokaiva example of this widely dispersed object is usually without ornament. 534

A third instrument—if so it may be called—which belongs to the initiation ceremonies is the *koni pamoni*. This is merely a hollow shell of the tree *Puga*, by blowing on the edge of which a thin expressive whistle is produced. Like the notes of the flutes and the booming of the bull-roarer, this is meant to represent the voice of the *siango* or *embahi*, spirits of the dead, who are crying out for food.

A jew's harp (*pingoru*) is made of bamboo as shown in the sketch. It is held in the mouth, being gripped by finger and thumb of the left hand, while the string is lightly jerked by the right hand. The vibrator is called *pingoru-bi*.

A rudimentary stringed instrument, also called *pingoru*, is made from a young sago midrib. A strip of the green bark

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played by blowing through a hole in the side. This set is known as *Sorugerupa*. The set used outside the *Gaba* is known as *Newurupa*. The pipes in this case are blown from the end (*Annual Report*, 1925-6, p. 90).

x[Re. sacred flutes — Analyst.]

534 is prised up but left attached at the points marked *x* (with or without binding). Small pegs are inserted at either end to keep the strip taut. It is held in the open mouth at *y* and played by lightly tapping the string.

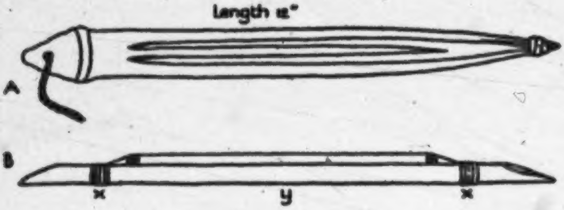

FIG. 24. A. *Pingoru* or Jew's Harp; B. *Pingoru* String Instrument.

VII

INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY, AND CLAN

The Members of the Family

THE Orokaiva family is a well-defined group under the 594 immediate authority of the father (*mama*). When (as in the usual instance) it is monogamous, its members live 593 under one roof, and the father and mother clear and cultivate one area of ground, with what help their children may be fit to give them. The family group is therefore in large measure self-supporting and in its internal affairs may also be called independent. The father is master of his wife and children, and if he thinks fit may chastise them without interference from fellow villagers. This is natural enough, as [591] the wife, under normal patrilocal conditions, is a stranger. An instance such as the following is not uncommon. A man named Tiembo set off to the garden accompanied by his wife, his two young daughters, and his dog. The dog set upon a neighbour's pig, and Tiembo, a fond parent but a very excitable man, set upon his wife and elder daughter and thrashed them for not minding the dog. The girl, in a mixture of anger, grief, and indignation (a peculiarly native frame of mind called *sisira*) absented herself from home for two days, and the wife in a huff delayed the cooking of her husband's dinner that evening. But all were very soon reconciled, and the villagers were no more than tickled by the whole affair. Such an instance shows that it behoves the father to practise restraint (which indeed he usually does), but it also illustrates his unquestioned authority over his own family. In this he is backed up by his clan, among whom the wife is virtually a stranger. Indeed, one may doubt whether the severest punishment inflicted upon the stranger woman would arouse anything more than passing disapproval in the clan and village of the husband. On one 593 recent occasion a man of Deunia who had killed his wife 674 in a fit of temper, fled for his life instead of surrendering himself to the village constable. He gave himself up at the first

614 593 opportunity to another constable, a good many miles distant. The reason for his flight was simply that his wife belonged to his own village and to the clan of its constable, so that he feared a too summary punishment. Had this murder occurred before the country was brought under control, one might venture to say that the murderer would have had the actual support of his own clan against that of his wife if a violent retaliation had been attempted. As a rule, however, the Orokaiva is fond of his wife and indulgent to his children. Squabbles do not often occur; too frequent wife-beating is deprecated; and bad temper is regarded as bad conduct.

593 562 *The Position of Women.* The wife and mother is largely occupied with matters of *ménage*, and takes little part in wider social activities. Completely overshadowed by the male she seems very well satisfied with her relative unimportance. A woman takes no initiative in matters which concern the clan as a whole, though, when a number of clans are together at a festival and feeling is perhaps strained, she is sometimes known to blow upon the coals. She has a weapon, the *poreba* or quarterstaff, and in former times would sometimes accompany cannibal raids, acting the part of armour-bearer or assisting in the commissariat.

593 562 595 In private life she is not aggressive, although I may quote a rather striking exception in order to prove the rule. A man named Siavije, having no children by his first wife, married a second, who was compelled, however, to reside in her own village nearby because of the jealousy of the senior wife. Under these circumstances Siavije hardly dared visit his second spouse, and was constantly involved in quarrels with his first. Being an inoffensive man and rather small, he was hardly a match for this large raw-boned woman who was known to worst him on more than one occasion and even to pursue him, crying for help, from end to end of the village.

595 562 Polygamy is relatively uncommon. In most of the instances which have come under my notice the wives manage to get on successfully enough with one another, though it is frequently said to be otherwise. I know of one man who 'threw away' his first wife because she could not live in

amity with his second; of a second wife who, after a quarrel 595 with the first, poisoned herself with *derris* or 'New Guinea 562 Dynamite'; and of a husband, formerly a village constable, [762] who was so upset by the wrangling of his two wives as to go away and hang himself. But these instances once more are exceptional, and the polygamous household may be said as a rule to be a peaceful one. Very commonly each wife occupies a separate house, and invariably she works a garden area of her own, so that mutual independence does much to prevent friction.

To sum up on the social position of woman we may say 562 that she is nominally and often actually under the control of her husband, but that by virtue of his restraint on the one hand and her powers of personal expression on the other, the married couple usually get on very well together as a working unit. In public life, i.e. in the affairs of clan and village, the woman takes only a small part, but is well contented to have it so. She works longer hours than her 562 husband, but her share of labour is not entirely dispro- 461 portionate; indeed, the popular belief that women do all the work in a native village while their men-folk sprawl about in idleness is quite mistaken. A fairly systematic investigation in two Aiga villages[1] showed that of a total potential working time, men were idle 50 per cent. and women 33 per cent. On the whole it may be safely said that the position of Orokaiva women—indeed of native women in general—is not so slave-like and degraded as popular sentiment imagines.

The Control of Children. Children become members of the 611 father's clan and naturally assume his clan emblem. They 858 thus belong essentially to the father rather than to the mother. In cases of divorce, for example, it is normal for [586] the child to remain in the custody of the father, unless it be an infant at the breast, when the matter may be waived, though compensation is due to the husband. The case of [736] orphans is similar. Although there appears to be no formal adoption they are cared for in the normal case by the people of their father, being regarded indeed as their property.

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[1] *Interim Report on Native Labour*, 1927.

604 602 The maternal uncle (*nobo*) has no real authority over the child, and his ceremonial obligations towards it are somewhat vague. However, there exists a cordial relationship between the two, and the *nobo* is treated with respect as a relative of importance. It is worth remarking that an Orokaiva child, while belonging to the people of its father, is very ready to identify itself also with those of its mother. When living with the latter and helping the maternal uncle in his work the child feels itself to belong for the time being to the maternal clan. At such a time it will use the maternal plant emblem, and indeed at all times it will name that emblem as subsidiary to the one it inherits from its father. In short, where the child, who belongs indisputably to its father's clan, is still on such friendly and intimate footing with its mother's, we might say that the system, although patrilineal in theory, was almost bilateral in effect.

861 Regarding the actual control of children we may note that they are seldom struck or smacked even in anger, and that they are never chastised by way of correction. A scolding seems always sufficient to check a naughty child. On the whole parents are very tolerant and children well-behaved.

From Childhood to Manhood

844 *Childbirth and Infancy.* In childbirth a woman is attended normally by women alone, though male 'doctors' may be called in to assist, not so much directly as by massaging, punching the back, and blowing into the ears of the woman in labour. The cord is tied, but I have no information as to its disposal. The afterbirth is treated by various alternative methods, some of which are thought to affect the mother subsequently. It may be placed in a small receptacle built in a tree where it is left to decompose; it may be buried (if at the butt of a coco-nut tree the roots would enclose or constrict it, and the result would be to render the mother barren in future); I have been told it may be given to a sow to eat, 'when it is supposed to effect a transfer of fecundity from the women to the pig'. In some cases a small enclosure is built underneath the house expressly to prevent the pig gaining access to the afterbirth, which is allowed to fall

through the house floor; and it is probably the same notion 844
at work: if the animal were to eat the afterbirth it might have an adverse effect on the woman's fecundity.

In the one instance of which I have definite information the confinement took place in the afternoon and the child was at the breast next morning. Suckling may continue till [853]
the child has long passed the stage of learning to walk, though it is treated to a variety of solid foods as well.

During the first few days of the child's life its father must 846
avoid the dangers of gardening. If he were to strike at a young sapling with his axe it would be as if he struck at his baby's neck, with the possible result that 'the blood would come up' and the child choke and die. This association of ideas I have met with several times, and Mr. Flint records the same, as if it were a somewhat ghastly obsession. 'One man told me he could not fell a tree until his child was two days old. I asked him the reason. He informed me that if he did so it would be the same as cutting his baby's throat.' This couvade-like practice is very general. In rather extreme form it appears in another of Mr. Flint's instances. His interpreter at Kokoda had washed clothes the day his first child was born, with what proved to be fatal results. On the birth of his second he applied for two days' leave from the office, lest this child should die too, and needless to say received it from a sympathetic master, though his work consisted merely in interpreting.[1] It is for a somewhat different reason that the father refuses to plant taro too soon after his child is born: here he is considering his garden, for the plant would rot in the ground like the buried placenta.

It is said that abnormal children would be strangled at 847
birth and buried, and this is probably true. But whether a mother would destroy a child who simply made one too many in her family and necessitated unwelcome work and trouble, is certainly a matter of doubt, although it has been declared to be the case by one or two witnesses. It is at least certain that a child who had lived long enough to find a place in its parents' affections would not be deliberately killed. But as life in itself is regarded very lightly, it is by

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1924–5, p. 47.

847 no means impossible that infanticide is practised. Upon this vexed question, however, I have on the one hand no tangible evidence, and on the other a great number of denials.

553 668 *Naming*. It is necessary to make sure that the child is to survive and thrive before a name is given it, though the reason for this delay is not made clear. There seems to be no actual formality of name-giving, but some person is asked to stand godfather or godmother to the child, who will take his or her name. This person is called *tato* (a reciprocal term between godfather and godchild). There is no reluctance on the part of the *tato* to undertake the few obligations which belong to this relationship. A man wishes to have his name carried on by another after his death. If he have children he hopes that one of them will honour him by bestowing his name on a grandson. If he be childless he exclaims, 'Who will catch my name?' and hopes that some friend or relative will solve the difficulty by asking him to stand as *tato* to one of his children. An old woman said she expected one of her daughters to name a future child after her; adding, however, that if she did not—well, it would not matter; she would just die without leaving her name behind her. I know of no article of belief which would make this namesake system necessary. The principal motive appears to be the desire not to be forgotten. Not infrequently the relation is a posthumous one: the relatives of the deceased say they are 'very sorry for him' and must not allow him to be forgotten. The two *tato* do not stand in any special kin relationship to one another. In various instances noted, the elder has been to the younger either *abije* (pat. grandfather), *abije* (mat. grandfather), *mama* (pat. uncle), *nobo*, and *simbo*; and in the case of women, *abije* (mat. grandmother) and *tata*. A woman may pay a second husband the compliment of naming his son after her first husband, so as to perpetuate the latter's memory.

668 431 A few mutual obligations belong to the *tato*. At the child's birth his *tato* brings firewood for the comfort of mother and child; and a female *tato* is supposed to wash the new-born baby. Continual presents of food are given, and the elder *tato* will take an interest in and make a pet of the

younger. It appears that it is his special duty to make the 608 perforations in the child's ears and nose. Return presents 431 of food are made by the child's father; and it will stay from time to time in the elder *tato's* house and give him some assistance in his garden.

An Orokaiva child invariably has two alternative names, 551 and frequently more. The 'name proper' (*javo be*) is that of its *tato*; the alternative, a nick-name, is called *javo isapo*, the 'small name'. A child may acquire his *javo isapo* by some accident of birth, e.g. one is called Ijita ('In the Sun') because she was brought to birth in a hot sunny place; another Bokoru ('Swamp') because he was born in a swamp; another is Pokoembo, because of a congenitally malformed foot. Such nicknames may be given for what must seem to us the most bizarre reasons. A man returning from a flood-time hunting expedition happened to fall into a hole full of water; on reaching home and finding that his wife had presented him with a child, he named it Hotera, 'In the hole'. Another returning home found that his son had died and was already wrapped or swathed (*egari*) in pandanus mats for burial. He cried, 'Open the mats for me to see my son', and gave to a child born shortly afterwards the somewhat ghastly name of Egari.

The *javo isapo* may be acquired at any age. A boy is named Sombi because as a youngster he captured a small lizard (*sombi*) and showed it to his parents. Another is Dumai, because on the occasion of a former cannibal raid he ran with the speed of a *dumai* or meteor—whether towards or away from the enemy was not specified. A third is called Jipari or 'shaker', because having survived a blow from a stone club, he startled or impressed his friends by the jerking or shaking (*jipari*) of his head. The commonest source of Orokaiva names, however, is simply the bush, and the frequency of botanic names, i.e. of trees, plants, and so forth, will be referred to in Chapter VIII, where it will be shown to bear on the question of the Plant Emblem.

Still another method of acquiring a name will call for notice in another place. This is the assumption by the slayer of the name of the slain. Whatever be the reason for this

551 practice the new name (that of the slain) almost entirely supersedes the old; and, what is of importance here, the name of the slain warrior is sometimes taken not by the slayer himself but by his son. Instances of this are not uncommon.

304 *Body Deformations*. The perforations of the ear-lobes are made within the first few months of the infant's life. The piercing of the nasal septum is delayed until it is perhaps a year or so old. Among nearly all the Orokaiva both operations are performed simply by clamping on a tortoise-shell ring (*siatu*) which gradually works through the flesh. Strictly speaking it is the duty of the *tato* to provide the *siatu*, but the rule is not always observed.[1] Among the Hunjara tribe, I believe, it is the custom to defer the making of the nose-hole until the initiation ceremony, when youths and girls, sitting in a row, have to submit their noses to a painful and sometimes bloody thrust with a bone needle.

291 *The Assumption of Clothing*. Young children—boys or girls—go naked. With boys it is usual among all the tribes
852 to assume the perineal band (*bo*) at various ages before they reach puberty. This is certainly the modern usage, and I believe it was the former usage also. Whether it was formerly permissible for the boy to adopt his *bo* without any ceremony (as he sometimes does nowadays) I cannot say; but it appears that any festivity might be made the occasion of bestowing it. For instance, at a dance which forms one of the earliest of the mortuary ceremonies, a youngster received his *bo* as a sort of extraneous incident in the day's procedure; and the same occurred in another ceremony in which the widow was finally discarding her mourning.
[431] The formal bestowal of a *bo* means a present to the man who bestows it, so that when a pig is killed for any major ceremony it is a good opportunity for providing a share as payment for a minor rite. The occasion for honouring the child is all the more fitting as a large number of spectators will be present.

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[1] In *J. R. A. I.* lv, 1925, p. 407, I wrote: 'The maternal uncle has certain ceremonial duties to perform, e. g. that of piercing the child's nose. . . .' It appears, however, that this duty does not belong necessarily to the maternal uncle or *sebe*.

291 852 At the initiation or seclusion the candidates all receive new *bo*, which are stained red. As it is usual for the candidate to be fully developed he has nearly always assumed his *bo* previously through motives of modesty; but it is now bestowed again. On only one occasion have I seen a youth brave it out, and wait for a formal opportunity of assuming a perineal band even after he had obviously reached the age of puberty.

[431] The *bo* is given by any of a variety of relatives. Among fifteen instances it was given six times by the true father, six times by the maternal uncle, and once each by the paternal grandfather, the maternal grandfather, and the elder brother. For the actual investiture a man of distinction may be asked to officiate, just as in the more important *Otohu* ceremony the *otohu* is bestowed by a noted warrior.

291 881 The girl's *bo*, a skirt of bark-cloth, is assumed at the termination of the seclusion which follows the first appearance of her menses. When she makes her début, it is with a spear or club in one hand, a bunch of betel-nuts in the other, and a bark-cloth skirt about her waist with a hole in it which is supposed to, but does not, show her genitalia. No satisfactory reason was given for this last detail, except that a girl would be subject to ridicule afterwards if it were not carried out. In the majority of the Orokaiva tribes the girl continues to wear an ordinary *bo* skirt after the ceremony; but among the Aiga and the River People this investiture is only an incident. The girl, although fully developed, goes naked until her marriage, only wearing a *bo* during her periods. This custom, viz. of unmarried girls going naked, is falling into disuse.

881 *The Initiation Cycle*. Usually about the age of puberty, but sometimes earlier, boys and girls undergo an initiation; though it is only among the Southern Orokaiva that the ceremony takes a definite and unmistakable form. Here the candidates (male and female) are subjected to a good deal of horse-play at the hands of men impersonating *embahi* or *siango*, i.e. spirits of the dead; and in the course of it they are introduced to the bull-roarer and the sacred flute, which are of course objects of mystery to the uninitiated children.

881 Among the Aiga and the River People, where the bull-roarer and the sacred flute are unknown, it seems that the place of this initiation ceremony is in some degree taken by the mime or drama. In this drama the initiate may play a minor part, and he is brought into contact with an impersonation of the dead.

After the initiation, or the dramatic performance which takes the place of an initiation, there follows a seclusion of some months. [431] At the termination of the seclusion the initiates make a formal début, and are presented with certain gifts, consisting principally of feather head-dresses, to which is given the general name *kokumbari*. The word means literally 'decoration', and the ceremony amounts to a formal investiture which is necessary before a boy or a girl is entitled to wear a head-dress.

881 431 301 Another kind of gift is often made on the occasion of the *kokumbari*. This is known as *otobu*, and consists of a specially valuable and distinctive ornament or object which the candidate is thenceforward permitted to use. Its possession involves certain ethical obligations, and formerly in some cases it constituted a distinctive ornament of the homicide. The bestowal of the *otobu* may be reserved for a subsequent occasion, but in the majority of instances it appears that the moment of the début is regarded as favourable for the presentation. I shall therefore deal with the *otobu* as if it formed an integral part of what we might term the initiation cycle. Various precautionary or cleansing rites, principal among them being the eating of a ceremonial stew called *suna*, bring the cycle to a close.

881 To summarize on the matters of initiation and seclusion it will be seen that there is a series of distinct episodes, viz. (1) initiation to the bull-roarer and the sacred flutes (or among the northern Orokaiva the mime or drama which probably takes the place of initiation); (2) seclusion; (3) début with the *kokumbari* or decoration; and (4) presentation of the *otobu*. The whole cycle concludes (5) with the eating of a purificatory stew called *suna*.

The above summary disregards one or two minor differences between tribes as to the sequence of the episodes.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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There is also in some tribes a brief seclusion preparatory to initiation. But the essential features may all be gathered under the above five headings. A full treatment of them is reserved to Chapter XII. 881

It is normally after initiation that the youth proceeds to marriage, and thereafter he follows the even tenor of his way to old age. There are no striking social changes after marriage. In the normal instance the father lives in his village and brings up a family and grows old working. If he be a man of character his influence will probably increase with his years; and whether this be so or not, he is reasonably assured—by a pleasing trait of primitive life—of the respect and consideration of his juniors. 885

The Constitution of the Clan

Having dealt with the immediate family and given an epitome of the social progress of the individual, I may proceed to the constitution of the clan. 614

Although the clan is a fairly well-defined group, it is difficult to find a satisfactory native name for it in the abstract. Among the Aiga the nearest approach seems to be the expression *embo-javo*, lit. 'man-name'; but this might stand in another context for the man's personal name. Among the Binandele there is a more definite term *oro-be*, 'the true *oro*' (the usual meaning of *oro* is men's house). In the Sangara dialect a word *araba* stands for either a village clearing or a clan. In the absence of a suitable native name I shall continue to use the word 'clan'.

The Formation of New Clans. The Orokaiva clan is patriarchal in constitution; it develops directly from the family in which the father is undisputed master. The clans vary greatly in size, but for the most part they are small; one of a dozen families might represent the average.

Consequently they are very numerous, and, as each and every one shows a tendency to split, they are not decreasing in number. Indeed, at the present time, when pacification has made it less essential to cling together for protection, it is possible there are more clans than ever before.

614 As the multiplying family merges into the clan it is not always easy to set a limit or a definition. But when the descendants of one man come to be known regularly by a distinctive name, it may be said that they constitute a new clan.

614 621 In some instances the clan is quite or nearly coincident with the village, i.e. the village is populated solely by one clan, and the clan is limited to that one village. Such a case is probably an elementary one, and the clan of comparatively recent origin. I will suggest a reason for this state of affairs and for the origin of the clans in general. There is an evident tendency for small family units to split off from the main body and form independent settlements. The reason is sometimes a quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic, but more often, I believe, it is simply the lax method of horticulture which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site. This distant site is planted with coco-nut and betel, and, when subsequently the garden is again made on or about the same spot, it becomes the temporary home of a small settlement. But now one or two men may establish themselves here permanently with their families. So long as they retain their original clan name the settlement can only be regarded as an offshoot; but when they wax in numbers and begin to be known by a separate name, they become *ipso facto* a separate clan.

This process goes on continually. It means that originally the clan occupies a single village (a fact which is hinted at by the dual meaning of *araba*). In the hamlet of Borugata, for example, there are three houses and a combined yam-house and shelter. The head of the village is one Pipire, a man of middle age, who has three wives and thirteen children (an unusually large quiverful for an Orokaiva). The wife and son of his deceased brother are the only other occupants of the village. This small village of Borugata is an offshoot from another, Tandeti, inhabited by the clan Anjaha. As yet Pipire and his children retain the clan name of Anjaha; but it will be seen that we have the makings of a new clan, and it is only necessary for this small and essen-

614

tially patriarchal group to receive a distinctive name for it 621
to become a separate clan.

While in origin the clan and the village are co-extensive, this state of affairs is by no means always maintained. War, dispersal, and migration have scattered some clans and drawn others together; so that now on the one hand we may find representatives of one clan in a number of villages, and on the other a single village comprising several clans. In the latter place it is found that the several clans occupy more or less distinct locations.

The Origin of Clan Names. It has been said that the essen- 614
tial feature which gives identity to a clan is a distinctive
name. Beyond this it has a further mark of identity in the 551
shape of a specific plant-emblem, called *beratu*. The *beratu* will be the subject of another chapter. I may here continue to discuss the first of these essential features, viz. the name, and account for its origin.

It is by no means unusual for a man to identify himself by the name of his parent or ancestor as well as by his own. An interesting example of this is seen in the cries of triumph uttered by the warrior or the hunter. As he drives his spear into the victim or the pig he shouts, not his own name, but some such expression as *Embogetabije!* (*Abije*, or descendant of Emboge); *Hositamei!* (lit. 'Son of Hosi', though in the case in point Hosi is the paternal grandfather); or *Kaiepa-ta-bijari!* (begotten of Kaiepa).[1] A woman making a big haul of fish might be elated enough to cry *Handau-ta-du!* (sister of Handau, who is the 'big man' of her clan). In other cases the successful hunter cries out his clan name, e.g. *Jagasitabije!*, or *Sarahu-ta-bijari!*, in which Jagasi and Sarahu are the names of the clans rather than of any definite or well-remembered person.

Again all the underlings of any 'big man' will be known 614
to others under his name. In the Sangara dialect there is a 551
word *tekaboka*, of which I do not know the literal meaning, 554
but which appears to stand for a 'following'. When, at a
gathering of the clans for war, or for some peaceful cere-

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[1] In some cases it appears that the man cries the name of his maternal relative, either grandfather or uncle.

624 mony, the several parties make their appearance each following in single file behind its leader, a cry will go up, 'Here
551 come the people, the *Tekaboka*, of Embuja, of Ehari, of
554 Andari!'—whoever the big man may be. So in the Aiga language there is a word *ambotani*, which embraces all a man's junior relatives; and thus a number of more or less unimportant individuals may be known to others as the juniors of a certain big man and identified by his name.

614 There is no well-defined chieftainship among the Oro-
888 kaiva, but merely a recognized ascendancy of the old men. The leader and ruler of any clan is the eldest of its men,
554 provided he is not so old as to be incompetent, and provided always that his personality is equal to his position. It is consequently difficult to find a word which would correspond with our idea of 'chief', and unsatisfactory to use the English word 'chief', as too pretentious for even the most important of clan leaders. The Orokaiva expressions as far as I know them are *embo-be* (a proper man), and *embo-peni*, *embo-pajirari*, *embo-paitukiari*, and *embo-siakabada* (all of which mean no more than 'big or important man'); and these terms may be used of men of importance who cannot claim to be actually leaders. There are two other terms, however, which seem to possess a more specific application: they are *embo-javoari* and *embo-penjavo*. The first appears to mean 'the man who gives the name' (*javo*), and the second is no doubt a contraction of *embo-peni-javo* (man—big—name). The implication is that the real chief is the man who gives his name to his followers, i.e. the man by whose name they are collectively known.

614 It is readily understood how in this simple patriarchal organization the group may take its collective name from the leader or patriarch. Further, one may be surprised on asking who is the *embo-javoari* of a certain group, to be given the name of a man who is dead. Chieftainship among the Orokaiva is so rudimentary that a successor may not yet, so to speak, have taken shape. But that does not matter. The group is content to be known as the followers of the dead man.

All this leads to the conclusion (if it be not too obvious to require proof) that the clan name is naturally derived from that of the clan's founder or ancestor.

There are many cases in which this is known to be the case because the eponymous ancestor of the clan is remembered in tradition. An instance is provided by the clans Serugahije and Samanahu: their founders were Seruga and Samana, concerning whom there exist more or less trustworthy accounts. (It was also said that Samana was originally a Serugahije man, so that the Samanahu is an offshoot of the Serugahije clan.)

I do not wish to suggest that this is the invariable rule. Indeed one could cite a number of contrary instances in which the clan has derived its name from a locality which it occupies or formerly occupied, e.g. Poitahu from the creek Poita; Sonami (a branch of the Eugahu clan, so called because it settled on the creek Sonami); Autembo, a branch of the Sekihu who fled and settled in the bush (*aute*).

But in the majority of cases it seems that the clan name is that of an ancestor. To illustrate the tendency for a group of people (in this case a village) to take its name from its leader I may quote the experience of a magistrate on the Gira.

> 'In the Government map of the Gira River . . .,' he says, 'when endeavouring to identify the villages marked thereon, I was struck by the fact that only two or three seemed to be known, the names of the others merely causing polite amusement. For some time I could not explain this, as the map was only made eleven years ago. Then it occurred to me that natives often give the name of the head man when asked for the name of their village. So I asked if there had ever been big fighting chiefs named Wore, Gubabai, &c. This instantly solved the enigma and I was able to identify nearly every village. . . .'[1]

Just as the village names itself after the leader, so also may the clan, which in the elementary stage coincides with the village. The name may be more or less temporary; for any offshoot will have no difficulty in finding a new and distinctive name, viz. that of its leader. But when this becomes well established and remains after the death of its actual owner, then we see in his followers and descendants the material of a new clan.

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[1] H. L. Griffin, quoted in *Annual Report*, 1908–9, p. 22.

614 *The Clan Spirit.* It remains to say something of the clan spirit. The earlier part of this chapter dealt with the immediate family which was described as in large measure self-supporting and in its internal affairs independent. The family group is a definite social entity within a larger entity, the clan.

614 573 It does not often happen that the two interests, that of the clan and that of the family, come into conflict; but when they do it remains uncertain which takes precedence. It is largely a question of whether a man should place the interests of his wife before those of his kinsmen. Under normal conditions of peace the family of the husband remains on excellent terms with that of the wife, though in earlier days, when marriage by capture was common, the matter was not always so simple. The case in which the captive wife, with the connivance of her husband, warned her people of an impending raid illustrates how the conflict might arise. I may give a definite instance in which a man chose to cleave to his wife rather than his kinsmen. A very old man of Bologasusu named Bearivu was formerly married to a woman of the Aiga people on the right bank of the Kumusi. In an inter-clan fight these people killed some men of Bologasusu. This left Bearivu in a very uncomfortable predicament, for he feared that his clansmen would take an easy revenge by killing his wife, who was of a kin with the raiders. He accordingly migrated and settled with his wife's people on the other bank of the Kumusi. In due course the retaliatory raid was made, and Bearivu fought against his own clan in defence of his wife's. When the woman died Bearivu changed his coat, returned to his clan, and in subsequent encounters fought in turn against the people of his late wife.

But under ordinary circumstances we do not find the husband's people at variance with those of his wife, as if he should be pulled in different directions. When he takes a wife she is economically absorbed into his clan, and her life in all important respects belongs to that clan; and he by certain elaborate precautions, of which name-tabus are an instance, takes care to remain on good terms with his rela-

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tives by marriage. Save for any untoward happening, therefore, the life of the family will fit into that of the clan. 593

It is only necessary to stress the point that the immediate family is recognized as a social unit; and the mere fact that a man sometimes quarrels with the members of his clan and migrates with his family or settles somewhere apart, proves that the family interest may compete with that of the clan. Both units are co-operative, the family especially in respect of the food quest, the clan in respect of ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting. The clan owns [423] the garden land, but the family cultivates its own patch and reaps its own harvest. On the whole, since the clan displays a constant tendency to split into smaller groups of which the family is the nucleus, it is difficult to draw a line between the two. Yet for the same reason we may be right in saying that the family, as the indivisible unit, exerts the stronger hold.

Whatever the difficulty of deciding between these two, 614 however, there can be no doubt that both of them, family 593 and clan, mean more to the individual than does the tribe or the somewhat loose confederacy of clans within the 578 tribe. A man's strongest sympathies certainly lie within the limits of the clan. Quarrels between families, i.e. within the clan, are inevitable, but they are easily adjusted. Not so the quarrels between clans themselves—land disputes and the like—which are prosecuted with great bitterness. Indeed, as sorcery cases show, it is almost invariably the [609] stranger beyond the pale of the clan who is suspected. Any one within the clan is presumably a friend; any one without it is a potential enemy.

There is another kind of group-spirit with which the clan 614 may have to contend, viz. that of locality. Once more the two are not frequently opposed. Often the village is occu- 621 pied wholly by one clan, and in such a case the conflict could not arise. But when representatives of one clan (A) live in the village of another clan (B) (although the *modus vivendi* is usually satisfactory), there may arise the situation in which the clan (A) as a whole falls out with the clan (B). Witnesses have commonly assured me that a man would stand by his

614 621 clan rather than his village in such a crisis, and this is no doubt usually the case, though I have two definite instances in which the individuals fought on the side of their adopted villages against their own clans.

166 621 609 It is interesting to note that immigrants from other clans into a village (e.g. those who for any reason become domiciled among their wife's or their mother's people) are not always readily assimilated. In one case that came to my notice a man of about thirty years, who had lived in a certain village since going there as an orphan child with his mother, fell out with his neighbours over a question of fishing rights, and was so cold-shouldered that he had to change his place of residence again.

614 It has been shown that the Orokaiva clan is usually a small unit, that it is often of comparatively recent origin, and that it often bears definitely the name of a founder and ancestor. From these facts it will be seen that its limits may hardly surpass those of kindred. There are many cases, those of scattered clans, where the kindred connexion is virtually lost sight of, but typically the clansmen may be said to be united by feelings of actual kinship. Where this is so, such feelings may be expected to prevail over any opposition from the locality spirit. However, as I have said, such a conflict seldom arises. To sum up, it may be repeated that the Orokaiva's strongest sympathies are limited to his own small clan and to his family within the clan.

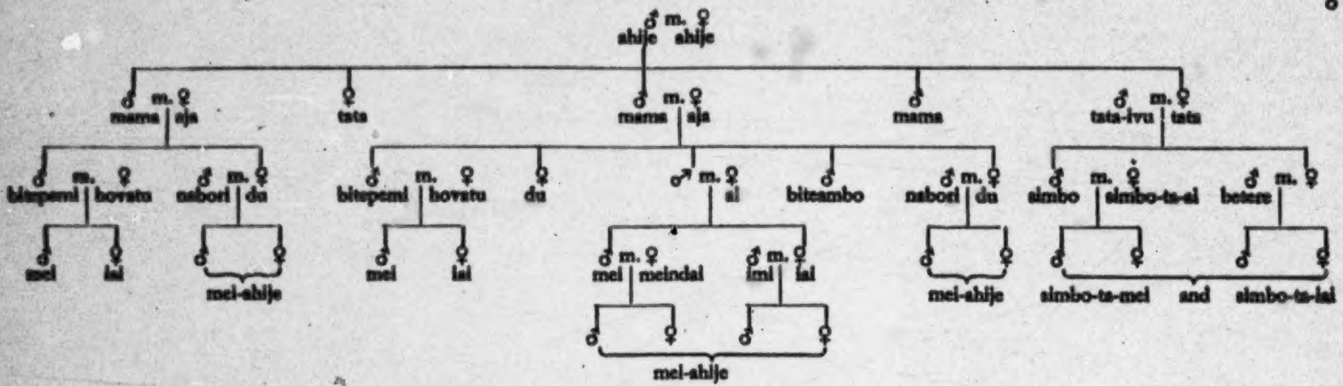
Relationship Terms

601 The following is a list of the principal relationship terms. The speaker is a married man. The word for husband is *ivu*. This together with *ai* (wife), *mei* (son), and *iai* (daughter), is used in periphrasis when there are no set relationship terms, e.g. *tata-ivu*, *betere-ta-ai*, *simbo-ta-mei*.

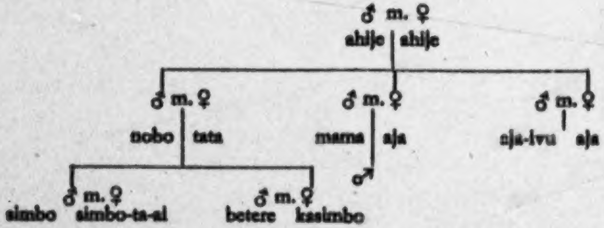
mama	father, father's brother, all males of the father's clan and generation; elders in general.
aja	mother, mother's sisters, all females of the mother's clan and generation; elder women in general.

bitepemi	elder brother, all males of the speaker's clan and generation who are senior to him.
biteambo	younger brother; all males of the speaker's clan and generation who are junior to him.
du	sister, elder or younger; females of the speaker's clan and generation.
tata	father's sister; females of father's clan and generation; maternal uncle's wife.
nobo	mother's brother; males of mother's clan and generation.
abije	grandparents (paternal and maternal); ancestors in general; grandchildren; descendants; sister's children (sometimes called *mei-abije*).
mei	son; males of the succeeding generation within the speaker's clan.
iai	daughter; females of the succeeding generation within the speaker's clan.
simbo	child of the father's sister; children of all *tata*; child of the mother's brother; children of all *nobo*, i.e. cross-cousins.
ai	wife (*pamoni* or 'woman' is also used).
atovo	wife's father; males of the preceding generation within the wife's clan.
imboti	wife's mother; females of the preceding generation within the wife's clan; wife's father's sister.
nabori	wife's brother; males of the wife's clan and generation; sister's husband and males of his clan and generation.
bovatu	wife's sister; females of wife's clan and generation; brother's wife and females of her clan and generation.
imi	daughter's husband.
meindai	son's wife.
betere	husband of cross-cousin (*simbo*); husband of sister's daughter (*abije*); wife's mother's brother; children of wife's mother's brother.
jaiva	husband of wife's sister (*bovatu*).

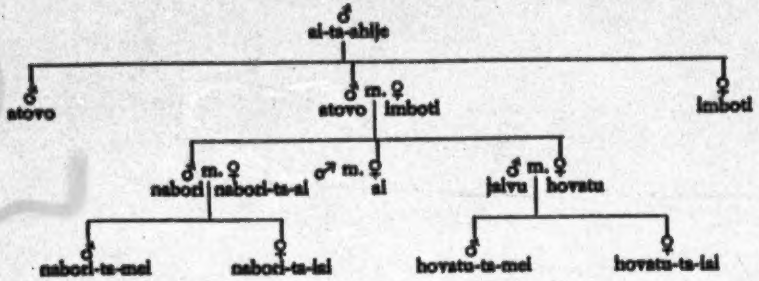
I. FATHER'S PEOPLE


♂ m. ♀
ahije ahije
♂ m. ♀
mama aja
♀
tata
♂ m. ♀
mama aja
♂
mama
♂ m. ♀
tata-ivu tata
♂ m. ♀
bitepemi hovatu
♂ m. ♀
nabori du
♂ m. ♀
bitepemi hovatu
♀
du
♂ m. ♀
al
♂
biteambo
♂ m. ♀
nabori du
♂ m. ♀
simbo simbo-ta-ai
♂ m. ♀
betere
♂
mei
♀
iai
mei-ahije
♂
mei
♀
iai
♂ m. ♀
mei meindai
♂ m. ♀
imi iai
mei-ahije
mei-ahije
simbo-ta-mei and simbo-ta-iai

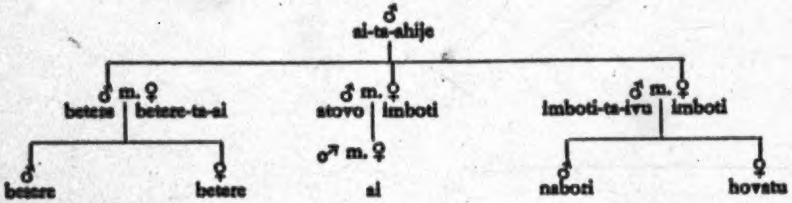
II. MOTHER'S PEOPLE


♂ m. ♀
ahije ahije
♂ m. ♀
nobo tata
♂ m. ♀
mama aja
♂
♂ m. ♀
aja-ivu aja
♂ m. ♀
simbo simbo-ta-ai
♂ m. ♀
betere kasimbo

III. WIFE'S FATHER'S PEOPLE


♂ ai-ta-ahije
♂ atovo
♂ m. ♀ atovo imboti
♀ imboti
♂ m. ♀ nabori nabori-ta-ai
♂ m. ♀ ai
♂ m. ♀ jaivu hovatu
♂ nabori-ta-mei
♀ nabori-ta-iai
♂ hovatu-ta-mei
♀ hovatu-ta-iai

IV. WIFE'S MOTHER'S PEOPLE


♂ ai-ta-ahije
♂ m. ♀ betere betere-ta-ai
♂ m. ♀ atovo imboti
♂ m. ♀ ai
♂ m. ♀ imboti-ta-ivu imboti
♂ betere
♀ betere
♂ nabori
♀ hovatu

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VIII

THE PLANT EMBLEM

The Nature of the Heratu

614 778 192 THE clan has a distinctive emblem or associate. Among the Aiga tribe (of whom my information is the fullest) this is called the *heratu*, and throughout the remainder of this chapter the word *heratu* will be used as the equivalent of plant-emblem. *Kenatu* is the form in the Binandele and Tain-Daware languages; in Wasida a different word, *bae*, is used; and, throughout the whole Orokaiva people, alternative names are *evobo* and *abije*, or some nearly equivalent forms.

614 778 It may safely be said that every clan has a *heratu*, and almost invariably it is some plant or tree. The Orokaiva are mostly forest people. In the tropical bush there is infinite variety, and (what makes the bush so difficult for the timber-getter and so easy for the native) this variety is for ever repeating itself. Give a native a moment and he will look about him and pluck you his *heratu*. The botanical names are of no consequence—fortunately so, as I cannot give them. There are large forest trees such as *Boruga* and *Siruga*, the 'canoe tree'; creepers and bushes; grasses and weeds. Sometimes they have an economic value; commonly they have none whatever. It is certain that they are not selected as *heratu* because of any use they may have. They are seen most frequently in the form of a twig or an unpretentious handful of grass.

Since the *heratu* is in so great a majority of cases a vegetable species, the phrase 'plant emblem' seems to be justified. There are, however, some interesting variants, including a number of bird associates and certain simple emblematic devices. Though I describe these somewhat in detail it must not be forgotten that they are relatively speaking a very small category, and that the *heratu* is normally a plant or tree.

In the Wasida tribe I came across three bird associates,

Kombu, a certain black bird whose name '*Kombu*' is meant to 614
reproduce its cry; *Hiviki*, the hawk; and *Hororo*, a small
ground forager. These were all subsidiary emblems, and 718
the clans to which they belonged had *beratu* of the ordinary botanic kind. Further, they were not, as far as I know, used for the regular purpose of the *beratu*, viz. as a badge or token of identity. However, among the Binandele there was the *Diriu*, or common blue pigeon, of the Diriu clan; and among the Tain-Daware the *Bangai*, or eagle hawk of the Bangai-unji; and it was claimed that the feathers of both these birds were used as identity marks. The blue pigeon (with a slight dialectal change of name) is again *beratu* of the Dirou about the Hydrographer foot-hills, but I have no very trustworthy note in this instance. Among several score of *beratu* I have lighted upon only these six instances of birds, so that they may be considered very rare.

A few examples may be given of the semi-mechanical devices which sometimes serve as *beratu*. Among the Aiga the Honia-Noduru clan use a split stick—not a particular stick, but simply any small branch torn from a tree by the track and split half-way down its length. The Samberota clan has for its *beratu* a *sambi*, i.e. a green stick flattened or squashed at the end as a wooden peg is splayed out by hammering. The Simborota, besides their plant emblem *Simboro*, have a habit of stamping their heel (*atu*) into the soft ground to leave the print of it as their mark. Among the Binandele we find *topo*, any broad leaf rolled into a spiral with the same quick turn of the hands which we see behind the grocer's counter; and *pono*, a foot or so of creeper fashioned into two tangent circles in imitation of the ornament *pono*, which consists of two circular pig tusks. The Umbengi clan of the Tain-Daware have for their *beratu* *umu-bengi*, literally 'water clod', i.e. the clod of earth continually dislodged by the stream from the river bank.

Further instances of this nature could be given. It will be seen that all these, like the usual plant *beratu*, have this much in common, that they may be extemporized in a moment. A native cannot lay hold of a bird or an animal whenever he wants it; consequently birds are rarely adopted

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as *beratu*, and animals or fish, so far as my investigations go, never.

It is common, almost regular, for the clan to have one or more alternative *beratu*. For this there are several explanations which may be regarded as concurrent. In the first place it is well to have an alternative or emergency *beratu*. If the tree *Tuvira* is not handy, then *Ebe jakara*, a grass stalk, will do; or failing that again *Komusu*, a leaf of any kind made into a scroll; and by one or the other of these you may know that a Serugahije man has passed.

Secondly, there is a sort of hierarchy of *beratu*. As was said before, the clan is continually subdividing. The sub-clan or incipient clan, even the individual, may adopt an independent *beratu*, but, still belonging to the parent body, continue for a time at least to use the parent *beratu*. Thus two branches of the clan Simborota, while retaining their original *beratu*, the river-grass *Simboro*, have each their distinctive mark, one the tree *Ominga*, and one *atu*, the imprint of a heel.

Thirdly, a man uses both the paternal and the maternal *beratu*. As I have previously mentioned, the *beratu* proper is the former, and the contrary instances which do occur are exceptional. The *beratu* of the father is passed on by inheritance, whereas that of the mother is not normally handed down beyond the generation of her offspring. However, so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family, that the son or daughter may be as familiar with the mother's *beratu* as with the father's. Within the clan, indeed, it is the distinctive mark of the household, and a man may often employ his father's and his mother's emblems simultaneously so as to make his identity the clearer. Further, as it is customary for a man to spend some of his time in his wife's village, it follows that the son must spend some of his time in his mother's village, and while there he may use his mother's *beratu* in preference to his father's, which would be less familiar among the surrounding villages and clans.

Uses of the Heratu

(*a*) *As an Identity Token*. So far I have not mentioned the 614
uses of the plant emblem. If one asks a native what he 778
actually does with his *heratu*, he will assuredly answer: 'I 202
place it on the track so that others who may follow may know I have passed that way.' This, indeed, though not the only use for the *heratu*, is the commonest. At the juncture of two paths I have come upon eight different kinds of leaves or grass, placed there during the morning and as yet scarcely wilted. My boys, who were inhabitants of the district, were able to identify each clan by its *heratu*; the owners of them had passed this spot at intervals, all bound for one village as guests to a feast and dance. The stem of the leaf, the root of the grass, or the butt of the branch, should point in the direction which its owner has taken, but apparently this rule is not observed with strictness.

There is another use similar in principle. When a hungry 614
man sees a ripe bunch of bananas in the garden of his friend 778
he will not hesitate to help himself. It is to be feared that
he would not hesitate over long if he met the same tempta- 202
tion in the garden of a stranger. In the first instance, how- 574
ever, he will eat his fill of the bananas, or whatever it may be, and leave his *heratu*. When the owner comes to his garden and sees this, he will be satisfied, for no native grudges food to his friend.

I have had occasion myself to use this simple expedient. Finding a village where we meant to lunch deserted for the time, we steal a bunch of bananas, cook them, and go on our way with invigorated and cheerful carriers. To account for this act of pillage we need only leave a stick or two of tobacco by the remains of the banana bunch, tied to a sprig of croton, which happens to be the *heratu* of a rather distinguished old native who is with me. We may then feel that we have not only made payment but given the fullest possible account of our behaviour.

In these two uses the *heratu* is an identity token, having a 614
sort of evidential value in proving presence or agency, like 778
a national flag left planted on the North Pole, or a visiting 202

[facing p. 116]

(*a*) The *Naterari* or Tabu Post

(*b*) Coco-nuts stored under Tabu

PLATE XXI

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778 card slipped under the front door. It may be remarked that
the *beratu* is never worn or carried by a man simply as a
202 badge. It is an identity mark *in absentia*.

(*b*) *As a Mark of Individual Abstinence.* The next use for
614 the *beratu* is a somewhat singular one. It is used by indivi-
614 duals as a sign of abstinence, a sort of self-inflicted tabu,
778 whenever such abstinence has been the outcome of some
201 quarrel or grievance. The Orokaiva is very prone when his
577 feelings are hurt to punish himself rather than the man who
has hurt them; or, perhaps better, to take revenge upon the
other party by punishing himself.

Thus, if a man fall out with his wife, he will thrust a sprig of his *beratu* through his armlet, and while he continues to wear it will receive no food of her cooking. Not that he altogether starves himself into relenting; some friend will cook for him until his mood softens, and then there are interchanges of gifts between the wife's people and his own, and, as I am assured, invariable reconciliation. Similarly a wife who has been accused by her husband of sponging on him, not working for her keep, will advertise her grief and indignation by wearing her *beratu*, and will for the time being refuse to eat another taro out of his garden.

A bunch of drooping leaves may be seen tied to a coconut palm in the village. The owner has fallen out with his neighbour over the boundary of his garden. The row of tree-trunks which constitutes the usual garden border has been displaced and shows an encroaching and unwarrantable bulge. Therefore he has set up his *beratu* to indicate that he has been imposed upon, and has broken off friendly relations with his neighbour; he will accept no hospitality from him (and give none) until the matter has been adjusted. Another man nurses some resentment against a near-by village. If he were bidden to a feast there he would go, but with his *beratu* in his armlet; and when the wooden dish of savoury taro was placed before him, he would wave it aside, or lay his *beratu* upon the food to show that he could not accept the hospitality of those who had wronged him. Then the offender would be put to shame and punished, and be sorry for what he had done.

614 778 784 (*c*) *As the Naterari or Village Tabu Post.* The *heratu* appears again in its most interesting character as the village tabu post. In many parts of the Territory it is the custom long before a feast to set up some tangible sign of tabu upon the coco-nuts. Among the Orokaiva this sign commonly takes the form of a wooden post or pillar, roughly carved and painted, and this post should properly speaking be of that particular wood which the clan owns for its *heratu.* This, however, cannot be a universal rule, because the *heratu* is often a grass or some small plant; but it may be said that when the *heratu* is a tree the tabu post is a stump of that tree. (In the other cases it may be a post of some alternative wood, or—a frequent substitute—one or two wands of the very light timber called *pamba* tied horizontally to a palm.)

Among the Aiga such a post is called *naterari*, and this word will be used as an alternative for tabu post. The *naterari* will be described more fully in Chapter XIII, but I may here anticipate one or two points in that description because they throw some light on the nature of the *heratu.*

614 778 784 769 In the first place the feast for which the *naterari* is set up is a mortuary feast; it is in honour of, or placation of, certain departed spirits. Further, offerings are made to it as if to the departed spirits; it is hung about with mementos of the dead; the feast is laid out before it, and it is called upon to witness the food; it is treated and disposed of with something like reverence; lastly, it often bears a faint and sometimes a decided anthropomorphic character. These various points show that the *naterari* is closely associated with the dead man, and they do much to justify the suggestion that the wooden pillar actually represents the dead, or even that it stood originally as a crude model.

The Heratu as Ancestor

614 778 Having described the uses of the *heratu* I may now endeavour to explain them. The fact of first importance is that the *heratu* of the clan is constantly referred to as 'our ancestor'. The words used are *evobo* and *abije*; the former (which in this connexion is the usual one) seems always to

614 have the extra connotation of 'ancient'; the latter may mean 778 either literally 'grandfather', or else an ancestor more remote. It is always difficult to determine the proper limits of native categories. *Heratu*, which I have used as synonymous with plant-emblem, would seem with some informants to have a rather more limited application, i.e. it refers to the plant emblem especially *qua* mark of identity; whereas *evobo* is rather a more comprehensive term, covering not only the special plant-emblem ancestor, but the whole march-past of forefathers. However, the plant-emblem is called an [764] ancestor; and when a man is dead and lies awaiting burial, the women may be heard crying to him as the offspring of his *heratu*—'*Asava-jai, Hombiga-jai!*' i.e. 'Child of Asava, child of Hombiga!' the word *jai* being used in everyday speech as we might use the word 'piccaninny'.

614 Now I have on a number of occasions asked the native what he means by calling the plant emblem his ancestor. 778 Sometimes he cannot give an answer, but very commonly 551 he can, and then it is always the same: 'Our real ancestor', he says, 'was a human being, not a tree; *it was a man with a tree name*.' For once, I believe, our native has given the really true explanation. I will proceed with the evidence for this hypothesis, viz. that the normal *heratu* is a species of plant representing a human ancestor of the same name.

There are certain reasonably authentic incidents in which a human namesake, or rather original, of the *heratu* is well remembered. Thus there is a Binandele clan named Yegaboda whose *heratu* is *watora* the reed. During their latter migrations these people hid from their enemies among the reeds, and here a baby was born to whom was given, in a very characteristic fashion, the name Watora. In due time this child became the chief man of his clan, which adopted *watora*, or the reed, as its *heratu*. So again we find two widely separated branches of the clan Samanahu, one among the Aiga, the other, an emigrant section, among the Binandele. The Aiga section, still retaining their name of Samanahu, have now the alternative *heratu*, *asava* and *hombiga*, evidently acquired subsequently; while the Binandele branch has kept its original *heratu*, the tree *samana*. Both sections, however,

told the same tale of Samana. He was their common an- 614
cestor—not a tree of course, they affirmed, but a man, and 778
one who, as it chanced, acquired his name from the fact 551
that he was brought to birth under a *samana* tree.

(It happens that in each of these two cases the ancestor has acquired his tree name in much the same way; and in fact this habit of naming a child from some odd circumstances attending its birth is very common; instance the names Abiga, 'Ashes', and Ijita, 'The Sun', given for precisely similar reasons. But whatever the origin of the tree names for human beings, I shall presently have to stress the fact of their extraordinary frequency among the Orokaiva.)

To give further instances, a man of the Aiga clan Johari, whose *beratu* is *saga*, declares that Saga was a man of flesh and bone, and gives with confidence a genealogy in which he proves to be his great-grandfather. Another, an old man with *beratu okomba*, says that he remembers seeing in his boyhood the real Okomba. In a certain village on the Kumusi the *beratu* is *juara*, a creeper. This will not make a suitable tabu post, so the chief, one Euga, cut out a post from the *saga* tree; and on another occasion used the tree *benaya*, because a paternal ancestor had borne that name.

Of individual *beratu* I shall have more to say presently; but an instance may be given here to show how the individual *beratu* also represents the human being with the tree name. The Pure clan on the Mambare has for its *beratu* the plant *pure*; but two individual clansmen possess *beratu* of their own, one the tree *goru*, from his paternal grandfather of the same name, and the other a pair of alternatives, *simbiri* (the croton), his mother's name, and *ena* (a kind of bread-fruit?), his father's name. Instances could be multiplied. From constant questioning I have come to form the opinion that in the very great majority of cases the *beratu* has been adopted in this manner, viz. as a tangible emblem of the synonymous ancestor.

I have four cases in which a contrary explanation was offered. A fugitive section of the Serugahije clan, making its way northward toward the river Mambare, settled for some time in a place of abundant sago, and thereafter aban-

614 doned the original *heratu tuvira*, and adopted *ambe*, or sago.
778 A clan of the Tain-Daware named Giriri had for its original
ancestor one Bono. But they were constantly using a certain
551 hardwood called *giriri* for building, and consequently took
this for their *heratu* and clan name. The Gonini clan of the Tain-Daware have for their *heratu gonini*, and occupy four villages. In one of these, Sivariri, there is growing a large tree of the same name, and its inhabitants have taken this species (*sivariri*) for their *heratu*. The fourth instance is that of the Binandele clan Diriu. These people, who long ago lived on the Kumusi, were fishing in a small creek when the body of a blue pigeon (*diriu*) came floating down. They accordingly named the creek Diriu, and, it would appear, adopted the name for themselves and their *heratu*. Though the clan was long ago driven out by the Aiga, this same creek and the adjacent village are still known as Diriu, a circumstance which gives a colour of truth to the legend.

These four cases, however, are not typical. The usual explanation is the one I have given above. In many cases, of course, no explanation whatever was offered; yet it came as a rather pleasant surprise to the investigator that the natives should suggest as often as they did the same plausible origin for one of their customs. After some acquaintance with the Orokaiva, one may safely say that, although of a highly imaginative nature, he is not such a fool as really to believe himself descended from a tree.

Identity of Clan, Heratu, and Ancestor

We have now, therefore, reached this proposition: the *heratu* is both tree and ancestor, and it is so by virtue of the circumstance that the name of the tree and the name of the ancestor were identical.

Now I have already shown (Chapter VII, pp. 103 ff.) that groups of men tend to take their collective names from the individual names of their leaders, and that the clan name is frequently that of its original leader or founder. There is no need to elaborate that theme, but I may draw attention to the facts (1) that clan names are very commonly tree names, and (2) that very commonly the clan name and that

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of the *heratu* are identical, or the former incorporates the latter.

To illustrate these two points I give a list—fairly complete—of the clans of the Aiga tribe. The terminations of the clan names require a note. *Abije* means 'descendant'; *uhu* means literally and somewhat picturesquely 'the trunk of a tree', much as we should say 'stock'; *embo* means 'man'; *aba* may mean 'mother', as it does in one Orokaiva dialect (Hunjara), though not in that of the Aiga; *-ta* is simply an associative or possessive suffix.

(1) There is first a class of local names which more or less explain themselves.

Clan Name.	*Meaning.*	*Heratu.*
Angerihani	(*angeri* means 'beyond, over yonder'; *hani* may mean 'friends, comrades', or possibly 'tree branch'.)	*Isuga*, *Soribo*.
Angeriuhu	. . . . . .	*Potana*, *Hamana*.
Autembo	(*aute* means the 'bush, forest'.)	*Saga*.
Poita-uhu	(Poita, the name of a certain creek.)	*Boruga*.[1]
Seva-uhu	(*sevabi*, the 'bush'.)	*Siruga*, *Seki*, and *Tanderi*.
Tiri-Humusi	(*tiri*, 'hills'; Humusi, the river Kumusi.)	*Hambora*, *Garava*.

(2) There is one solitary bird name of which I can give no explanation.

Jega-Karenga (*Jega*?; *Karenga*, parrot) . . ?

(3) There is thirdly a miscellaneous class of names of which I have no explanation, but will put down only for the sake of making the list complete. These may be nicknames, ancestral names, or tree names.

Clan Name.	*Heratu.*
Airahije	*Horo*.
Ata	?
Evija	*Isuga*.
Horipahije	*Ongo*.
Jarutuhu	*Embara*, *Kitikukumi*, *Ebe*.
Johari	*Saga*.
Koariahije	*Tanderi*.
Komahije	*Tutengi*.
Ngiriahije	*Boruga*.[1]

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[1] The same *heratu* may belong to apparently unrelated clans.

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(4) Lastly there is a long list in which the clan name is that of a tree or plant.

Clan Name.	*Heratu.*
Ango-uhu	?
Aseahije	*Pogera, Ase.*
Borugaha	*Boruga.*[1]
Bove	*Simbiri.*
Eugahu	*Euga?*
Honia-Noduru	? (a split stick).
Hojavahije	*Hojava.*
Isugahije	*Isuga.*
Jautiahije	*Jauti.*
Jega-Juaraha	*Juara.*
Koropahije	*Tutengi, Tambara.*
Ongoahije	*Ongo.*
Paingoahije	*Paingo.*
Samanahu	*Asava, Hombiga.*
Samberota	*Sambi* (a squashed stick).
Sauhu	*Sabu.*
Seheo-Buje	*Buje.*
Sekihu	*Seki.*
Serugahije	*Tawira, Ebe-jakara, Komusu.*
Simborota	*Simboro, Ominga, Atu, Boruga.*[1]
Soriahije	*Soribo.*

If we exclude the third category, of which I have obtained no explanation, it will be seen that the last category contains the majority of the remaining names. And it will be seen also that in fifteen cases out of twenty-one, the clan's name, besides being that of a tree or plant, is that of the particular plant which is its emblem or *heratu*. In the typical instance, I believe, the names of clan and *heratu* correspond. And when we remember that the clan takes its name from its original leader or founder, it will appear that in the typical instance the names of the clan, the *heratu*, and the founder correspond.

On the whole I think the clan and its *heratu* come into being simultaneously and in this manner: an individual secedes from the parent clan and his family grows into an independent clan. This clan comes to be known by its founder's name and adopts for emblem a plant bearing the same name, or one similar to it.

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[1] The same *heratu* may belong to apparently unrelated clans.

The exceptions (i.e. where the clan name and *beratu* do not 614
correspond) may be explained in several ways. (1) A sub- 778
clan may retain the old *beratu* but take a new name. So the
Autembo are a fugitive section of the Johari who took 551
to the bush (*aute*) in order to avoid reprisals for a murder. While they are known as Autembo they have kept the original *beratu* of the Johari, viz. *Saga*. (2) A local branch of a clan may keep its original clan name but adopt a distinctive *beratu*. A migrant section of the Simborota still call themselves Simborota, but have assumed *Boruga* as their *beratu*. (3) A clan may discard the old *beratu* and take the synonymous plant of a new leader. Thus a very old man tells me his *beratu* was formerly *Tumena* (a variety of taro), but nowadays it is *Bari*, because his son *Barigi*, an ex-sergeant of Native Police (made famous by C. A. W. Monckton), has taken his place as leader of the clan.

Plant Names for Human Beings

I have mentioned (p. 97) the frequency with which 551
plant names are used for human beings among the Orokaiva. It is time that this statement should be substantiated. In the first place we are dealing with a people of the forest, who depend on its products for countless purposes, and who know its multifarious flora in a way that no European could know it—unless he were a botantist. It need not altogether surprise us, therefore, that they should draw upon this inexhaustible store for their own personal names.

Name-giving customs have been dealt with already (Chapter VII, pp. 96–98). Suffice it to say here that, besides the formal names passed on by god-fathers and god-mothers (*tato*), there are countless nicknames (as we should call them) originating from some chance circumstance of birth or early youth. The formal names appear to be as odd as the others, and have no doubt arisen in the same haphazard manner. Most personal names permit of interpretation, and provided their owners or their owners' parents are present, the interpretation will often recall some homely anecdote of childhood. But, however they may have arisen, plant names form a large proportion of them. In a random list

551 (two series of men who submitted themselves for physical measurement) we find such names as Half-cooked, Shell, Lizard, Pus, Cry-baby, to Stretch, to miss with the Spear, Wet, Roasted, and so on. But by far the largest category is that of plant names. In a list of 57 names (13 of which were not interpretable) they added up to 15, i.e. 26 per cent. of the whole, or 34 per cent. of the interpretable names.

The Heratu as Badge

614 (*a*) *The Use of 'Nearly' Synonymous Heratu.* As only a pro-
778 portion of men have actual plant names, it is obvious that not every one can have a synonymous *heratu*. There is,
551 however, an important consideration which does much to remove this difficulty. Although a man may not have a plant name, nevertheless some plant with a name *resembling* his will be made to stand for him. The instance of the altered *heratu Bari* (p. 123) is a case in point. *Barigi*, as far as I know, is not the name of a plant; but *bari* is a sufficient approximation, and will do for the *heratu* of Barigi's clan. So we have *pura* as *heratu* for the clan Pure, and *anderi* for the clan Andere. Again for the clan Samberota (named from the plant *Sambero*) we have *sambi*, the flattened stick (vide p. 113).

(We even find a closely related variety of plant made to do service for the proper *heratu*, though it has an entirely different name. Thus the tree *benoma* may be a substitute for *samana* of the Samanahu (Binandele branch); *omba* for *Piri* of Piri-bijari; *pogera* for *ase* (both varieties of Job's Tears) of the Aseahije.)

What with the frequent occurrence of plant names and this convenient possibility of using as *heratu* a plant that is only nearly synonymous, it is almost impossible that any and every Orokaiva should not have his plant emblem.

778 (*b*) *The Individual Heratu.* This brings us to the individual
551 plant emblem, which has already been touched on here and there. The matter does not require a long consideration, for it will be obvious that the principle of the individual plant emblem will be precisely the same as that of the clan plant emblem; indeed, in all typical cases the latter has apparently come into being as an individual emblem. One

sometimes finds a man living as a member of a clan and 778
owning its *beratu*, but at the same time boasting a private 551
sign for himself. We have seen a man, Euga of the Jega-Juaraha (*beratu juara*), setting up a *naterari* of *euga* wood (vide p. 119), and two members of the Pure clan distinguishing themselves by the synonymous plants of their grandparents or parents. Among the Binandele clan of Diriu is a man Taimi, who, besides the feather of the blue pigeon (*diriu*), has a *beratu* of his own, viz. *tai*, a root. No doubt the pigeon feather is not always at hand; but the root of any plant placed conspicuously on the track is enough to show his friends that Taimi has passed by.

(*c*) *Summary on the Heratu as a Badge*. It remains to say 778
something more of the *beratu* as a badge or identity token, and lastly to discuss its bearing on the question of totemism.

Of the three main uses of the *beratu* previously described, viz. (1) as an identity token, (2) as a mark of individual [202
abstinence, (3) as the *naterari*, or village tabu post, the last 201]
will seem tolerably clear. The *naterari* stands as a symbol of the dead man in whose behalf the tabu is imposed. Formerly it may have been something more than a formal symbol of the dead, in fact a crude image. This association between the wooden post and the dead man which it represents is strengthened by using his particular namesake tree: then, besides other associations, the two have this important bond between them—a common name.

The second use remains somewhat obscure, though it has this in common with the *naterari*, that in both the *beratu* is really a tabu sign.

The first use, however, is the fundamental one. The 778
beratu is a badge; and it is a badge by virtue of the fact that
it bears the same name (or nearly the same name) as the 202
man or men it represents. We may therefore call it a synonymous badge. A man named Waiwa once explained the matter to me thus. 'You white men', he said, 'have your books. If you went to your friend's garden and took his taro, you would write your name in the book, and when he came and saw your name there he would be content, knowing that his taro had been taken by a friend. But the New

778 202 Guinea man cannot write his name on paper so he leaves his name behind him in another fashion. I should look about me', he said, 'and find some tree with a name like "Waiwa", break off a branch of it, and leave it by the broken taro tops. Then my friend, the owner of the garden, when he saw that sign, would say "Aha, Waiwa is welcome to my taro".'

721 778 202 In the article referred to elsewhere in this report, viz. 'The Movements of the Tribes of the Mambare Division of Northern Papua' (Chinnery and Beaver), there is an interesting anecdote,[1] still well remembered in the region of which it is told. The Binandele, led by a man Waia, had been raiding on the river Gira, and searching for their real enemies had in error attacked the Yema tribe, killed the chief, and captured a youth Jiani. For this unhappy mistake Waia expresses his sorrow, and desires that Kewatai, the absent son of the chief, be sent on a visit to the Binandele country in order to effect reconciliation and alliance.

'Then Waia said, "My name is Waia; can you remember this name?" Jiani replied, "Yes; we call this tree (pointing to a certain tree called Warawa in Binandele) Waia." The chief then cut off a piece of the bark, and gave it to Jiani for remembrance, and told him to put it in Kewatai's house, and to tell him that he (Waia) was sorry.'

When Kewatai does visit the Binandele country, it is only by remembering the name of Waia that he saves himself from being eaten.

In such uses as these the *heratu* is something more primitive than a pictograph; it is a very material symbol, a sort of vegetable signature.

The Heratu as Totem

614 778 Throughout this chapter I have avoided the word 'totem', using in preference the non-committal, if awkward, phrase 'plant emblem'. I may now review the evidence which might have justified the use of the former term.

(1) The *heratu* is normally connected with a definite social group, viz. the clan (though sometimes with the individual and his immediate family).

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 159.

(2) The clan is usually exogamous in practice, though by 614
no means strictly so (vide p. 131). 778

(3) The clan commonly, in the typical case always, takes its name from the *beratu* or, more strictly, is synonymous with the *beratu* (vide p. 122).

(4) The clan uses its *beratu* first and foremost as a badge.

(5) The *beratu* is called an ancestor (though the Orokaiva does not really believe that his ancestor can be plant or tree).

Thus far it would seem the *beratu* has conformed very nearly to the tenets of totemism. It remains to be considered whether the clan possesses any magico-religious sentiment for its *beratu* such as typically unites the group and its totem.

The evidence is here somewhat conflicting. Generally speaking the plant emblem (except as *naterari*) is treated with no semblance of respect or reverence. In clearing the bush a man will fell his *beratu* tree without a thought; if it bear edible fruit like *topu*, the wild fig, he will eat it; if it be, as in one case it is, *ambe* or sago, he will not forswear one of his principal means of subsistence. There is a large clan, the *Umondaba*, one of whose *beratu* is nothing more nor less than 'Water'.

In one or two instances, however, informants have claimed 614
that they will not cut down their own tree; though such are
distinctly exceptional. No case has come to light of a useful 778
beratu which its owner will not use. With the rare bird 784
beratu the case is almost the same. A Diriu man, ex-constable, averred that he had shot many *diriu* (blue pigeon) for his master, and would be only too glad to shoot and eat another if I would lend him a gun. Perhaps at first he was like the other who 'sighed as a member of the cockatoo totem but obeyed as a policeman', but his scruples are long since gone if he ever had any. A man whose subsidiary *beratu* is the bird *Kombu* says that, while he would not hesitate to kill it (if he could get near it), he would still refrain from eating it. It is apparently for reasons of sentiment alone that he would not eat it, for he declares there would be no evil effects upon him if he did (as I believe he might) yield to the temptation.

614 On the other hand, however, a man of the Bangai-unji,
778 or 'children of the eagle-hawk', who use one of its speckled feathers for their mark, avers that he would neither kill nor
784 eat the bird; and, further, volunteers that if a *bangai* fledgling, being caught and kept in the village, were to die, it would not be eaten or thrown away, but buried. Lastly, there is one isolated note which may have some significance. The bird *Hororo* (mentioned on p. 113) belongs especially to a certain man Erupa. Should its cry be heard near the village, the people would say, 'Erupa will be successful in the hunt to-day'.

551 In passing I may mention a point of some interest. Among the Orokaiva there are certain strict rules of etiquette
606 between relatives by marriage (particularly between the man
778 and his parents-in-law), exemplified by a very strict name-avoidance. Now, although a man will cut down his own *beratu* tree without mercy, he will hesitate to do the same with a tree that happens to bear the name of his *atovo* or *imboti*, i.e. his father-in-law or his mother-in-law, and may request one of his companions in the clearing to fell this particular tree for him. Similarly he will not eat any food, animal or vegetable, which happens to be synonymous with either of his parents-in-law. Now this rule is based on sentiment; there are, as far as my knowledge goes, no magico-religious sanctions to it; and where a similar tabu is observed with regard to the *beratu* we may probably assume that this is likewise no more than a sentimental avoidance.

The foregoing evidence has been set down for what it is
778 worth. On the whole there would appear to be no very special regard for the *beratu*, though here and there will crop up a strong manifestation of such regard. It may not be surprising that this is relatively more marked in the few cases of birds than in those of the usual botanic *beratu*, because the former, with their more definite personality, are in themselves likelier objects of regard than the latter.

In fine it is of little consequence whether the plant emblem be called a totem or not; it will be obvious that it is very much like one. There is in my own mind little doubt as to how the system came into being. The *beratu* is a synony-

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mous badge for the leader of the clan, and through him for the group to which he gives his name. It has been maintained that totemism was evolved in more ways than one. More thorough-going totems may well enough have sprung, like the plant emblems of the Orokaiva, not from communal nicknames, but from names, and furthermore, from individual names. The conclusion of the present chapter may be summarized very briefly. The clan's *beratu* originates from the individual *beratu* of its leader or ancestor; and the individual *beratu* is some plant which serves as a token of identity because it bears the name of its owner.

IX

MARRIAGE

583 THE customs relating to marriage will be better understood if it be made clear at the outset that there are four distinct methods by which an Orokaiva can obtain a wife. They are (1) Purchase, (2) Exchange, (3) Elopement, and (4) Capture. The first three of these methods are in continual use to-day; the fourth has fallen out of fashion, but only since the pacification of the country by the white man. Cases of marriage by capture have been very common, and the custom is not so long obsolete but that many women are still to be found in the Division who first met their husbands as members of a hostile raiding party. I shall return to a discussion of these several methods at the end of the chapter.

Polygamy and Exogamy

595 In the great majority of instances marriage is monogamous. Whether in the fighting days there existed that surplus of males over females which the modern census reveals, it is impossible to say; but apart from this we are told that every mature and normal man had a wife, so that one finds it difficult to conceive how polygamy could have been very prevalent. In present-day instances the polygamous husband rarely has more than two wives. A certain young man Orari of Isivita, who is of more than usually prepossessing appearance, has divorced one and at present owns three. Asked why he had so many he said it was the girls' fault; they all wanted him. It seems probable, however, that wealth and power rather than personal attraction are the means of winning extra wives. The record instance, as far as my knowledge goes, is that of a man Buninia whose wives are numbered by his surviving contemporaries at eleven. Buninia was a man of great influence among all the Aiga clans, and was notorious for bad temper and bullying. It is said that he was greatly feared. It will go without

saying that he was wealthy. I do not know which of these 595 attributes had the greatest influence in winning him eleven wives.

Normally marriage is patrilocal, though instances to the 591 contrary are not infrequent. Nor is it unusual for a man to spend long periods in the village of his wife, for, as we have found, there is usually a close intimacy between the two sides of the united family. It is said that a kindly husband will make allowance for his wife's homesickness. But in cases of what seems more or less permanent matrilocal marriage, the offspring still belong emphatically to the father's clan.

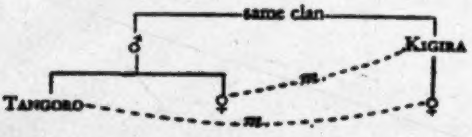
The evidence regarding exogamy is not entirely consistent. 582 Some witnesses have said it is not permissible for a man to marry a woman of his own clan. For this two arguments have been put forward, but neither throws much light on the matter. If a girl married a man of her own clan, where, it was asked, would the pay or bride-price come from? On another occasion a witness said that if a man and wife of the same clan happened to quarrel they would both find themselves calling the name of the same *beratu* or plant emblem; and the neighbours overhearing would shake their heads or turn up their noses at the idea of marriage between two of the same clan. Other informants have expressed repugnance at the suggestion of marriage with a *du* or 'sister', so that it would appear that in general theory at least the clan should be exogamous. As for the village group (in which there may be several clans), it cannot be called exogamous even in theory. It has been stated, on the contrary, that in a village where there happens to be a number of attractive girls it is a wise thing for the young men of that village to marry them and keep them at home. And this precept was made applicable to the clan itself by some informants; for the rule of clan exogamy was actually in some cases denied.

When we consult the facts we find that marriage is usually outside the clan, but that the exceptions are numerous enough to prove that clan exogamy is not a hard and fast rule. It also appears that marriage is usually outside the

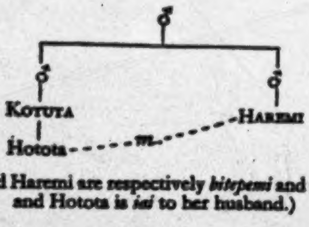
582 village, though the exceptions are just as numerous. The most notable example came from the Aiga village Ehenada (a large and rambling one, it is true), where of twelve men questioned, all of whom belonged to Ehenada and the clan Asiahije, no less than five had married women of the same village and the same clan. Again in two neighbouring villages of the Simborota clan I found five inter-marriages.

Marriage is common between first cousins, though in no recorded instance did these cousins belong to one and the same clan. We may probably assume that the marriage of first cousins within the clan is forbidden, although the general rule of clan exogamy is often disregarded. There is no rule against marrying out of one's generation, and I have several cases of marriage between a man and his *iai*, or daughter in the classificatory sense.

It will be seen that there is no great severity in the matter of marriage prohibitions; and as for positive regulations I cannot find that there are at present any prescribed classes into which a man is obliged to marry. The two following examples of marriage relations within the clan were not regarded with any disapproval:



(Tangoro called Kigira *Mama* until the latter married Tangoro's sister, when he called him *Naberi*. Now Tangoro has married Kigira's daughter and therefore calls him *Atowo*. It will be noted that the wives are of the same clan as their husbands.)



(In this case Kotuta and Haremi are respectively *bitepemi* and *bitaambo* to one another, and Hotota is *iai* to her husband.)

We may be surprised at the laxity of marriage regulations, but there is no reason to suppose that they are due to degeneracy or a modern neglect of old social laws. The above facts relate to the Aiga, and although this tribe has long been under Government control and has sent many boys to indentured labour, it has never had white residents among it and has not been under a missionary. I cannot see, therefore, what new influences as yet should have broken down the old marriage restrictions, such as they were, among the Aiga tribe. 582

It may be mentioned that there is in native life always a certain degree of local endogamy following as a necessary result from the tribal enmities which make it dangerous for a man to go too far afield. Among the Orokaiva, however, where the tribes are very large, this is less pronounced than in some other parts of the Territory, and it cannot have given rise to that degree of inbreeding which is found in those parts and which has been by some so seriously regarded.

Courtship. Young children are sometimes betrothed by their parents. This transaction is called *kerari*, and from the beginning the boy's father will make continual presents of food to the girl's people, by which he lays them under an obligation. The *kerari*, while perfectly regular, is relatively uncommon. Witnesses have said that it invariably implies an exchange, i.e. the adult parties to the transaction each have both a boy and a girl at their disposal. Consequently the gifts of food are in the ordinary instance reciprocal. The *kerari* betrothal will probably reach a happy ending in marriage, but it is always subject to a sudden alteration when a pubescent girl or boy begins to show wayward preferences. It is said that a parent will urge his daughter to marry the boy she is pledged to without undue delay, for fear she should take a fancy to some other and let her father down by decamping. 584 [431]

One is happy to say, however, that courtship usually takes a more romantic form than that of child betrothal. There is a word with a somewhat intriguing sound, viz. *kigi*, which implies clandestine meetings and love-making in the bush. A boy will go to where he knows a girl is at work in

584 the garden, and hiding himself in the bush nearby, will break a dry twig in his fingers, so as to make just enough noise to attract her private attention. The word *kigi* would seem to apply specifically to this trick. Another way is to make the noise between lips and teeth which by ourselves is commonly associated with kissing, but which bears no such implication to the Orokaiva girl at work in the garden, as she is ignorant of this kind of blandishment. Again, in a man's *betava* I have seen an article called *bobiva* which resembles a seed-pod but which is really a receptacle made by an insect for holding and hatching its eggs. It is dry and empty, and when pressed makes a clicking noise like a ping-pong ball. It is used expressly for *kigi*, and a little girl of eight or nine was covered with the prettiest confusion when the *bobiva* was pressed before her.

Sometimes, as we shall see, a youth and girl elope, and in that event we may assume that their previous meetings and love-makings are mostly in secret. But when there is no likely objection to the marriage, he will visit her from time to time by night in her father's house. He knows exactly where to find her, and as the matter has been prearranged he is not likely to meet with a rebuff. There is no [836] actual prohibition against sexual intercourse before marriage, but it is nevertheless regarded as the proper thing for the young couple to abstain. It may seem unlikely that they do abstain, but nevertheless it has been so frequently and consistently asserted that the boy and his sweetheart sleep 'for nothing' that one must believe that the statement is at least partly true. It is quite unlikely that young men, when they realize that their questioner has nothing censorious in his attitude, should endeavour to conceal from him what they know is a matter of indifference. I am therefore convinced that there is some truth in the constant assertion of my informants that a great deal of the love-making, even the 'sleeping together', is, as we should call it, innocent.

It has been rather shrewdly suggested to me that when a youth has been courting a girl for some time, he will seduce her in order to nail her affections the more securely, and will subsequently marry her. Illegitimate children are

Illegitimate children are rare 584

rare. It is said to be the custom to do away with them, [848] though this is certainly not invariable.

Except of course in the case of *kerari* there is no necessity for a 'long engagement'. In one instance a girl had asked her sweetheart to take her away and marry her quickly, as she feared that if the matter were delayed some other boy might come along and disjoin her affections from him.

An Orokaiva youth is not put to the necessity of waiting till his income is adequate to matrimony. There are no expenses of upkeep in an Orokaiva household, and it is solely a question of furnishing a bride-price, for which he will be able to draw upon his father and his sympathetic clansmen.

Marriage Ceremonies. The actual ceremonies of marriage— 585
such as they are—depend in some degree upon the nature of 583
the transaction. In most cases of capture and elopement there are naturally enough no rites celebrating the first cohabitation of husband and wife: the former simply appropriates the latter or entices her to his home. In the instances—frequent as they are—where the bride's people withhold their consent or are taken by surprise, they will come in force next morning to the village to abuse husband and wife, and they may even endeavour to drag the latter away. On one occasion I saw a runaway bride very roughly handled by the women of her own village and finally led away, stripped and weeping, to her home. But in the usual instance it appears that this visit from the outraged people of the bride is nothing more than a form. They make a pretence of dragging away the woman, but they really acquiesce with a bad grace in her remaining. Thus an elderly woman of Korisata tells how she clung to a corner of her husband's house when her own people came to remove her by force. Her people returned without her and, as in all such cases, received payment in due course.

Where the bride's people do not actually lay hands on 585
her, they may content themselves with vituperating her hus- 578
band. Sometimes he is subjected to indignities of a more tangible nature. Endeavouring on one occasion to elicit something about marriage ceremonies, I began by telling my informants of the pretty customs of throwing rice and

585 confetti; and then asked if they ever did anything of the sort
578 themselves. This did not meet with a very encouraging response until one of the group answered with perfect seriousness that they sometimes threw human excrement at the husband. This somewhat stunning reply became more intelligible when my informants explained that this was an example of the humiliation of the bridegroom by the indignant relatives of the bride. An old man whose daughter had recently eloped, being asked if he had dealt out this treatment to the young husband, gave another surprising answer when he said, 'No, he had used the man's name to his face.' The really strict mutual tabu on the names of *atovo* and *imi* (or father-in-law and son-in-law) makes this perhaps an even graver insult than the other.

This humiliation of the bridegroom amounts to a custom (though it is not resorted to in cases of regular exchange or when the match is arranged). The wife's relatives invade the husband's village and strew it with leaves and rubbish; they damage his house and play havoc in his garden. To this vandalism the husband's village submits with the best grace possible under the circumstances, and the bridegroom sits with his head hung in shame, even while, as in one case, a potful of ashes soaked with water is capsized over it.

585 When, in cases of exchange or purchase, both families, i.e. bride's and bridegroom's, are consenting, there may be a definite form of welcoming the wife to her husband's village. This form, however, to which is given the name *asanga*,[1] does not always accompany even the more regular kinds of marriage, and many cases of exchange seem to be absolutely without formality. On the other hand the *asanga* may be given subsequently to a girl who has eloped, as if, from the bridegroom's side at least, to regularize the match.

For the *asanga* a platform is constructed in the village. It has no roof but flimsy walls of frayed palm-leaf. Around it are suspended numerous gaily painted sheets of bark-cloth, which are presents from the husband's village to the bride, and through her to the bride's people. For three or four days (some witnesses have said as long as a month) the

[1] Binandele *sya-tagari*='the cooking of food', or [illegible]='the sitting down'.

bride sits here daily, and dishes of food are presented to her 585
by members of the husband's village. Of course she cannot eat such a quantity of food herself but distributes it in turn among the donors.

She does no work, nor is she bound to sit in state the whole time. She occasionally mounts the platform during the day, and by night sleeps indoors with her husband. At the end of the *asanga* she is loaded with ornaments and taken to see her husband's garden, and from then on lives the toilsome life of ordinary wifehood.

Except for these two forms, the *asanga* or welcome on the one hand, and the dragging away of the bride and the humiliation of the husband on the other, there are, as far as I know, no actual ceremonies of marriage. There is nothing in the nature of a sacrament, and nothing to celebrate the first married union of the couple.

Marriage Payments. The actual marriage payment takes 583
place after the husband and wife have been living together for some time. The price is called *dorobu*, which, as natives have explained, is a compound of *dora* (wealth in the shape of ornaments) and *obu* (pots). It varies considerably in quantity, but always comprises ornaments (*bambo*), feather-sets (*di*), a quantity of garden food, and one or more pigs. In one typical instance the bride-price consisted of 10 ornaments (including *peremo*, *bono*, *buave*, *saima*), of 38 sets of feathers (14 of cassowary feathers, 16 of hornbill, 5 of parrot, 1 of the Bird of Paradise, 1 of the hawk *Guvera*, and 1 of a red and black bird *Ungaiavo*), of a great tower of taro, bananas, and coco-nuts, and of a pig. The feather-sets are affixed to a spear driven into the ground. The taro is usually tied in bundles about a betel palm, or two palms growing close together between which cross-pieces are tied in the manner of a ladder. In many cases the whole payment is not made on one occasion. A man of Wasida, for instance, has given six pigs for his wife in instalments of 2, 1, 1, and 2.

The payment for the bride is never an entirely private transaction between the husband's family and the wife's. The whole clan as well as the maternal relations will com-

583 monly contribute; and on the other hand the *dorobu* will be distributed among the bride's clan. At the taking over, which will be described presently, a number of more or less closely related villages will come to support both parties, donors, and recipients, and the price itself will be very liberally shared among the latter. I have seen a father of the bride on such an occasion give away to his friends all the costly ornaments which the *dorobu* comprised except for one set of hornbill beaks which he set on his own head.

In a large percentage of instances a return present of equivalent value is made by the bride's people to the bridegroom's. The bride-price is called specifically *a-dorobu*, and the 'bridegroom-price' *bi-dorobu*. *A* means vulva and *bi* penis. It would seem that where a *bi-dorobu* is given the bride herself virtually goes for nothing, because informants generally insist that the two prices are of equal value. Several explanations have been offered. It has been said that the bride's people do not like to be outdone in liberality and regard it as a creditable thing to return pound for pound; indeed they would be ashamed to make no return payment. It has also been said that the *bi-dorobu* will make the husband a better friend of his wife's people: he will be more likely to help them in their work and make them presents of food. But the usual explanation is somewhat different: if no return payment were made, the husband would be apt to ill-treat his wife, or he would feel at least that he could ill-treat her with impunity. If, however, the *bi-dorobu* had been paid, an ill-used wife might return to her parents and the husband would have no claim. In a certain case where no *bi-dorobu* was given or expected, the father of the bridegroom said that if his son beat his wife there would be no protest from the latter's family: they would say, 'Well, we have our price for her, and her husband may do as he pleases.' In one district I was told that the custom of giving a *bi-dorobu* was dying out, for nowadays the people placed reliance on the Government and thought it less necessary to insure against ill-treatment of their kinswoman in this way, viz. by making a payment to her husband.

By virtue of the *bi-dorobu*, therefore, it would seem the wife's people retain an interest in her welfare. While we may not entirely disregard this explanation there is another and a simpler one. In many cases there is a *bi-dorobu*; in many cases there is not. It is difficult to understand why, if any of the above explanations be the real one, there should not be a *bi-dorobu* in every case. The fundamental explanation is, I prefer to believe, that the *bi-dorobu* accompanies an *exchange* (*mine*) of brides between two groups. This does not mean, of course, that the exchange is simultaneous: the second marriage which is to square the first may be deferred, but the exchange is nevertheless contemplated. In such a case the returning of *bi-dorobu* for *a-dorobu* is at least a logical transaction; whereas if there were no girl in the husband's group who could eventually be given to a boy in the wife's group, then the giving of a *bi-dorobu* equivalent to the *a-dorobu* would be a poor business proposition, for the woman would go for nothing.

Instances in which the *bi-dorobu* is refused have been explained in precisely this manner. For example, an old man of the clan Asiahije has a son and daughter. The daughter elopes with a man of the clan Koropahije, who eventually pays *a-dorobu*, because, as he explains it, there is no suitable girl in the Koropahije clan for his son to marry. So in effect he sells his daughter and keeps the price. He made it clear too that she was worth the price as she no doubt had many children inside her—an argument which was offered more than once in similar circumstances.

From an economic standpoint, therefore, the *bi-dorobu* is not compatible with actual marriage by purchase, but only with present or future exchange. This does not mean that exchange is always accompanied by *bi-dorobu*. Sometimes the exchange is made without payment on either side, i.e. without either *a-dorobu* or *bi-dorobu*. Sometimes, again, a woman may be married by purchase proper, i.e. without *bi-dorobu*, and eventually a man of her clan may marry a girl of her husband's clan. In this second marriage, which virtually completes an exchange, the circumstances of the first marriage are not forgotten and the *bi-dorobu* is withheld. Apparently characteristic of most Papuan, if not of most primi-

583 tive, peoples is their love of making gifts; but not less characteristic is their habit of expecting a return. Even the friendliest and most hospitable of transactions are in the nature of a 'square deal', and marriage, whenever it is carried out regularly, is no exception to this rule.

583 Regular marriage is not only a contract between individual
man and wife, but, economically, is a transaction between
581 two clans. The woman passes into the ownership of
her husband's clan. The communal nature of the transaction
is evidenced by the fact that the clans as a whole give
and receive the bride-price, and further by the fact that, as
we shall see, they appear in united force at the ceremony of
583 payment. The position of the widow is in keeping with the
587 same idea. Having entered her former husband's clan she
belongs to it after his death and may automatically become
the wife of one of his 'brothers'. I have an instance of a
son marrying one of his father's widows, and a fairly old
one at that. The woman, however, is not in any sense bound,
and in the majority of cases that I have noted her second
marriage is with an outsider. In such event the payment
for the widow (which is much smaller than that for a maid)
goes normally to the former husband's people; though very
commonly some additional payment is made to the woman's
own people, who are thus paid twice for the one woman.
I cannot say whether this additional payment is complimentary,
or whether it may have some relation to a *bi-dorobu*
paid in the first place.

Transfer of the Bride-price

585 The actual taking over of the bride-price, which occurs some time after the union of husband and wife, is, from the clan point of view, the legalizing of that union. There may be some considerable delay. In one case the bride's people were constantly blowing the *bui* to advertise the fact that they were still awaiting payment and to expedite a settlement by putting the bridegroom's village to shame.

When the *dorobu*—which includes a great quantity of
[583] food—has been got together, the supporting clans of the
husband's people are invited to the village. Here they will

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(*a*) A Bride with part of the Bride-price

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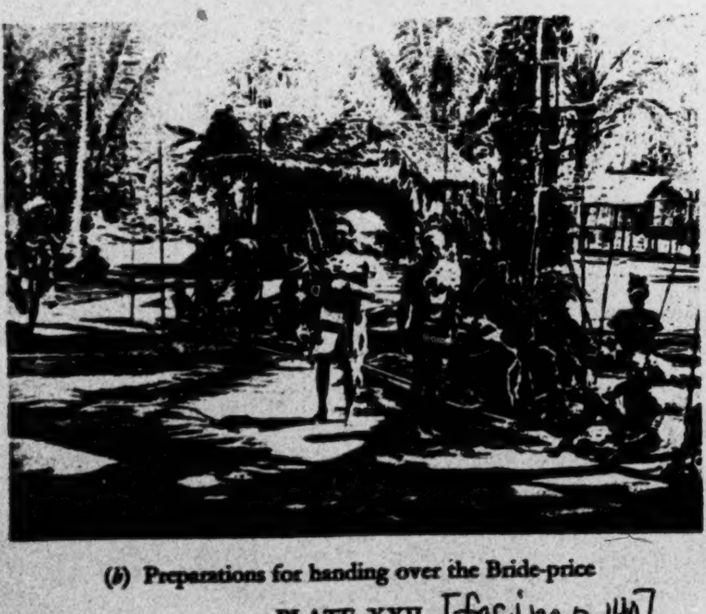

(*b*) Preparations for handing over the Bride-price

PLATE XXII [facing p. 140]

585 meet the supporting clans of the bride's people, who come in a body to take receipt of the payment. The proceedings are very warlike. The bridegroom's clans are the first to gather, and each body as it arrives will enter the village fully armed and at the charge. This warlike manœuvre (called *esu*) is highly characteristic, and I will proceed to describe an actual instance of paying the bride-price in which the *esu* was performed with great spirit. The bridegroom belonged to the village of Totemburari, and his clansmen were awaiting the arrival of their supporters from Poho and Koninida. These latter had already joined forces on the track. Now they enter the village at a steady run uttering loud shouts, or rather a continuous roar, while the Totemburari people, who have rushed to arms at the first signs of their approach, range themselves in a close-set line facing the entrance to the village and brace themselves as if in readiness to receive an assault. The Poho and Koninida people as they draw near suddenly split into two bodies diverging to either side, and then sharply turn about and come to a halt forming one line, with the Totemburari people in the centre. Now without a pause the latter advance at the same steady run to the entrance of the village where they face about and stand glowering at the newcomers. After a few moments they charge back and occupy their previous position in the centre of the line. The whole body of warriors stands thus for a matter of five minutes while a few individuals perform excited excursions. Then their attitude suddenly relaxes and the visitors sit down and are made welcome.

These preliminary manœuvres did not compare with the actual reception of the bride's people. These, who had first collected themselves in Korisata some miles distant, entered the village in a solid phalanx. The husband's people having ranged themselves in a wide half-moon advanced to meet the charge, and considerably outnumbering the newcomers swept round either flank and took them in the rear. The Korisata faction, assailed from every direction, sometimes stood their ground and sometimes made determined sallies. The proceedings appeared to grow more and more confused, though real clashes were carefully avoided, until at length the two companies found themselves facing one another at either end of the village. While both maintained their threatening posture the leader of the Korisata party (i.e. the bride's), named Tembari, advanced across the open space and harangued the supporters of the bridegroom, pausing repeatedly to shake one or other of them by the hand. Having said his say he retired backwards, leaping and dodging from side to side, and striking the front of his shield with the handle of his stone club, evidently pretending to fence off an attack from the Totemburari party. He was followed by the latter's leader who delivered a harangue in his turn; and he again by others from either side.

These individual harangues consist for the most part of half-serious threats. The two factions have been at enmity before (probably the same could be said of any two factions among the Orokaiva clans), and it is not impossible that they may be at enmity again. One man, dancing and brandishing his spear, shouts that he once killed a man of Korisata and he may yet kill another; so let them look out. Another says the people of Totemburari and those of Korisata have fought before, and it is only the fear of the Government (touching the village constable's handcuffs with the point of his spear) that prevents them from fighting now. A vociferous old woman who holds the arena for some time informs the Korisata party that they need not imagine, because they are receiving all these gifts and this great quantity of food from the Totemburaris, that the latter were afraid of them.

Very commonly again, one may hear indignant comparisons of the present *dorobu* with some previous gift made by the one party to the other. On such an occasion old grievances may be revived and in the excitement of the moment may lead to a real clash of arms. Yet this is not often the case. As a rule the fiercest denunciations end in a smile and a hand-shake and good humour prevails over the whole scene.

When these harangues have come to an end and the overheated warriors have slaked their thirst with coco-nuts and refreshed themselves with betel, the *a-dorobu* is set out. Some one brings forward a spear to which are attached the feather-sets and drives it in the ground before the high column of taro; the *bambo* are placed on a mat, and the pig is brought out by two of the bridegroom's people. (In the instance I have been describing the bridegroom was one of them.) At a word from the leader of the opposite party two or three young men will rush forward, scale the column of taro, and beginning from the top hand down the bunches from one to the other. Tembari, the leader of the Korisata party, plucks the spear out of the ground and carries it to his own people, followed by another man of importance with the *bambo*. The actual father of the bride, an old man, bears no very active part, but shares out the ornaments among various of his own party and assists in allotting the heaps of taro. Great excitement prevails even in seemingly unimportant details. When, for instance, the leader tells his people to begin cooking, he shouts 'Cook your food!' four times in rapid succession, and when they run for firewood they hop and dance and shout themselves hoarse.

While the sharing of the *dorobu* is in progress, Tembari faces a number of the bridegroom's people and addresses them. He shakes hands with the bridegroom again and again and adjures him to treat his wife kindly, not to quarrel with her, and never to speak ill of her father and mother. He turns to the bride and soundly scolds her for having run away with her husband at such an early age; he reminds her that her mother did no such thing (and harps on this subject for a long time, while the shamefaced young bride looks at the ground). He addresses himself with repeated handshakes to several others in turn, and particularly to one elderly man who, it appears, had the reputation of an ill-tempered husband. Still holding him by the hand Tembari turns to the bridegroom and cries, 'Do not be like this old man who used to beat his wife.' At this there is a flutter of amusement among the bystanders in which the old man in question joins somewhat grudgingly. Tembari concludes his address by turning suddenly, catching up a spear that is stuck in the ground behind him, and racing back and forth

585 in the open space of the village with shrill cries and shouts. The old man who has gone back to sit with his people, viz. those of the bridegroom, now springs to his feet and rushes upon Tembari with rage and indignation fairly flashing out of his eyes. The two performers in this very characteristic scene swerve and avoid one another with amazing skill. The old man is shouting that his wife did not cook for him nor look after his comfort and therefore deserved to be beaten. After one or two almost hair-raising dodges the two retire from the arena in the best of good humour, the old wife-beater's face covered with smiles.

The proceedings come to an end towards evening, when after a feast the several parties disperse. Neither bride nor bridegroom has borne a part of any importance. The former has for the most part been a spectator from a house verandah.

The martial demonstrations which have been described in the foregoing pages, especially the charge and countercharge known as *esu*, are very commonly associated with the marriage payment, but they are by no means restricted to this occasion. Nor, on the other hand, is the marriage payment always accompanied by an *esu*. It is said that where villages are entirely friendly there will be no such seemingly hostile demonstration, and that the bridegroom's people may even take payment to the village of the bride. I do not know that the *esu* is ever performed at the acceptance of a *bi-dorobu*. The occasion above described is of course that of accepting an *a-dorobu*, or bride-price.

The Four Forms of Marriage

583 It remains to consider and compare the four forms of marriage, or the four methods of obtaining a mate, which were named in the beginning of the chapter. It will be understood that the following remarks refer to marriage as it obtains among the Orokaiva, and are not meant necessarily to apply to the usages of other primitive peoples.

Marriage by capture has been of very frequent occurrence.
583 It was the practice in cannibal raids to kill and eat the men
727 and the older women, but to make captives of any women
266 who were sufficiently young and attractive. It is not to be

supposed that women and girls were always spared, for they 583
sometimes met death in the heat of the moment. A very old 727
man named Barepa enumerates ten victims of whom three were women. On the occasion of his first raid he was a mere boy, but in the scatter and pursuit he had captured a girl somewhat older than himself. When his people were mustering again he stood on the track holding her by the wrist. Up to that time he had been cherishing a youthful intention of keeping her till he should be of an age to marry, and when some of his elders laughingly said that she was too big for him and would escape he replied, 'Not she!' Next moment she had wrenched herself free and made off into the bush. Barepa gave chase, caught her, and dragging her back to the track deliberately killed her with a blow from a stone club, thereby showing his clansmen 'that he was not such a boy after all'. On another occasion he was holding a woman captive when she unexpectedly kicked him in the stomach and knocked him on to his back. Under this treatment Barepa's intentions suddenly changed and he sprang to his feet and clubbed the woman to death.

But instances in which the woman has been taken back to the raider's village and has settled down there as a wife are very common. For instance an Aiga man tells how his father and a friend had observed a Jeva Buje man in a canoe with his wife and daughter on the Kumusi. While the man remained in the canoe the two women had gone ashore to gather pandanus leaves. The two Aiga men stole upon them, clubbed the older woman and made off with the younger, while the father, hearing an uproar which he no doubt construed as a large attack, paddled for his life downstream in the direction of his village. The captive woman, who I believe still survives, became the mother of my informant.

An old woman of Sangara married originally a man of Wasida. She was subsequently captured by some of the Sauaha tribe and became the wife of a Sauaha man. In the course of a raid by Sangara upon Sauaha she was captured once more. In the confusion of flight she had leapt on a fallen log and screamed the name of her paternal uncle, 583 727 who was of course a Sangara man. One of the attackers, hearing the familiar name of his fellow tribesman, bore her back to her original village and married her. This old woman, captured, recaptured, and thrice married, was found living in contented old age with her third husband. But she said she had been well enough satisfied with each in turn and refused to express any retrospective preference.

Instances could be multiplied without making the matter clearer. A captive wife is called *jigari*, which simply means 'captive'. When, as in the usual instance, she is of another tribe, she is called *baira*, a 'stranger', though this word does not necessarily connote captivity as well.

Sometimes the captive wife was allowed to bring an infant with her, and it appears that both mother and child were well treated and settled down in their new surroundings. Buninia (who was mentioned as the husband of eleven wives) captured a woman and her young daughter. He kept the latter until she grew up and then found her attractive enough to marry also.

[518] Marriage by capture evidently did not always result in good feeling between the wife's people and the husband's. An elderly man who married his paternal uncle's widow (a captive) has never to this day visited her village, and avers that he is still afraid to do so. In another case an elderly woman never saw her people after being captured until the spread of Government control recently made it possible. Though, on the other hand, I have an instance in which the husband of a captive woman agreed to her warning her people of an impending attack; and in the [728] making of peace between tribes such women were the recognized emissaries. This points to the possibility of compensation for the capture which would follow on or be a condition to reconciliation between the tribes; though I am unable to give an instance of such tribal compensation.

583 628 In nearly all the cases of which I know, the captive woman has come from another tribe, rather than from another clan within the tribe. That is to say she has been taken as a true prisoner of war. But I have a few instances in which a woman has been captured or abducted from one clan by

another within the tribe; and in such cases it appears that the 583
clan, in the absence of due compensation, would attempt a 628
reprisal. A Bologosusu man killed the dog of a Sapute man. The latter enlisted the support of his friends, and together they raided the Bologosusu gardens, carried off a girl whom they found at work, and married her to one of their number. Now the Bologosusu people—with what exact intention is not clear—got together their supporters and attacked the Sapute faction, but were defeated with the loss of four killed against their opponent's two. Unfortunately I have no information as to how the matter ended, but it is hard to believe that the Bologosusu party, which is a strong one, should have allowed the matter to rest without some compensation from their near neighbours of Sapute. In another case the people of Koninida surrounded a girl of Suporasusu who was working in a garden with her brother. They decoyed the latter away and seized the girl. According to the Koninida informants the Suporasusu people were too weak to attempt a reprisal.

To sum up on the question of marriage by capture it is 583
fair to suppose, in consideration of many examples, that capture has been since the beginning a common method of obtaining a wife among the Orokaiva. It is of course regarded as highly unsatisfactory by the wife's people unless they receive some compensation. In the event of ordinary capture in a cannibal raid on another tribe, the only likely form of compensation would be the capture of another
woman in a retaliatory raid; though it is also conceivable [728]
that compensation of some sort, e.g. payment, should be made at the truces or peace-makings (*peka*) which occasionally took place between enemy tribes; of this, however, I can cite no examples.

In the event of a capture or abduction within the tribe it is, I believe, necessary to assume that some kind of adjustment, i.e. compensation by exchange or payment, would be made before the clans and villages concerned could settle down to live in their normal amity. Failing some such compensation the transaction remains economically unsatisfactory to one of the parties, and would inevitably lead to reprisal.

583 The same disadvantage, that of a one-sided bargain, belongs to marriage by elopement. Of this again there are many examples. It appears that a nubile girl is regarded as a valuable asset to her people and in the ideal circumstances she marries into a clan which can return another nubile girl by way of exchange. But not infrequently a girl forms a love match in an undesirable quarter, and will go to her lover's village without the consent or knowledge of her parents. It is quite common for the girl to take the initiative (for proposals may come from either side) by asking her lover to take her. Then will follow the quarrelsome scene in which the bride's people demand restitution, and in which they may succeed in reclaiming the girl. But, as we have seen, the matter is usually compromised; due compensation is made and the girl remains with her husband.

There are two ways in which the due compensation may be made, viz. either by exchange (*mine*), or by paying a bride-price (*dorobu*). I am inclined to think that marriage by exchange is the Orokaiva ideal, and the great objection to elopement is that it may frustrate the intention of exchange. I give two instances to illustrate this feeling.

583
518 A young man of Korisata eloped with a girl of Koninida. The latter's people were infuriated and at first refused to consider the proposition of payment. They abused the young husband, cried out his name to his face, called him *pureambo*, a 'loafer', and *sovai-ta-mei*, the son of a supernatural monster. Eventually, however, they came out and accepted payment. But the leader of the Koninida people went so far as to lay hands on the young daughter of the leader of the Korisata party. The latter, however, said he had no intention of letting her go as he had a son of his own whom he wished to marry off, and he meant to keep this girl so as to make a suitable exchange.

In another case a young man, backed up by his father, complained bitterly of the conduct of his sister who had run away with a lover. He wished eventually to marry himself, and had set his heart on a certain girl. He had proposed therefore to effect an exchange by giving his sister to this girl's brother. His plea is now that his own

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chance of marriage is seriously damaged by his sister's elopement. 578

From such instances as these it appears that marriage by exchange is preferable to marriage by purchase—at least in the eyes of the marriageable man, and probably also in the eyes of their elders who sympathize with their desires. We may perhaps go so far as to say that the actual buying of a wife only takes place when circumstances make present or future exchange impossible. 583

Exchange may take place without payment of any kind from either side; or it may be accompanied by equal payments from either side, viz. *a-dorobu* and *bi-dorobu*, which do not affect the balance. Further, there seems to be a likelihood that the *bi-dorobu* or 'bridegroom-price' is always associated at least with the expectation of an exchange; or in other words we can speak of definite purchase only when the *a-dorobu* is given and the *bi-dorobu* withheld.

We thus find that of the four kinds of marriage, Capture, Elopement, Exchange, and Purchase, the first two, while taking place very commonly, are economically unsatisfactory. With regard to capture we may assume, and with regard to elopement we may actually see, a tendency to make the affair regular by giving or extracting compensation in the form of exchange or payment, and thus striking the economic balance which is so dear to the native's heart. Capture would still be common if it were not for the *pax britannica*; elopement is still common as it is. These are both in keeping with the nature of the Orokaiva (and one presumes of any other equally warlike and primitive savage). But except in the case of two enemy tribes between whom negotiation is impossible, they tend to resolve themselves subsequently into exchange or purchase. The remarkable gestures of hostility against the husband's people which sometimes characterize Orokaiva marriage, i.e. the attempted dragging away of the bride by her people, the humiliation of the bridegroom, the damaging of his village, and the bellicose demonstrations at the taking over of the *dorobu*, all properly belong to the irregular methods of capture and elopement; they are the aftermath, the retaliation. In so far

583 as they constitute ceremonies of regular marriage they may be survivals, symbolizing not capture itself, but the adjustment of an irregular match, as if payment were not so much given as exacted.

This is not to say that exchange or purchase necessarily and always develop from capture and elopement; or in other words that capture or elopement are the original forms of Orokaiva marriage. Friendly exchanges and convenient purchases were no doubt made at any time and quite independently. All four methods existed simultaneously, and each operated from time to time. But capture and elopement tended to be regularized as exchange or purchase; and as there is little doubt that exchange, with or without mutual payments, is preferred to a one-sided purchase, it seems therefore that whenever it was possible, exchange was the ideal form of Orokaiva marriage.

X

THE TRIBES

Partial Blending of Tribes

THE principal tribes have been already named in Chapter I. It will be understood that the list is not entirely 619 rigid. It could be considerably amplified by mentioning minor groups such as Hunjovarehu in the Wasida tribe, Haniahaja and Ahojega in the Sauaha tribe, and Sebaga-andere in the Yega tribe; and by dividing the Sangara into fairly distinct halves, viz. Kombu-Sangara on the east, and Ato-Pekuma on the west. The large Hunjara tribe also, of which I possess only scanty information, would no doubt admit of further subdivision.

On the other hand we may not regard the nine tribes as so many water-tight compartments. Dispersal and migration have brought about some blending, and it is not always easy to draw the line between any two of the nine. There are undoubted affinities, for instance, between the Aiga and their neighbours the Hunjovarehu (of the Wasida tribe) on the south, and also between the Aiga and the Binandele of the river Mambare on the north. So again the Binandele are closely related to the Sebaga-andere of the Yega tribe: indeed, Binandele (or Bina-andere) and Sebaga-andere sometimes lay claim to a common origin.

Chinnery and Beaver have given a very full account of the 166 wanderings of the Binandele tribe, and of others with whom it came in contact.[1] Among the Orokaiva at large, however, 619 the subject of tribal migration is involved in truly vertiginous confusion, and a complete account of the movements of every tribe is something more than I would attempt in this life. The work of Chinnery and Beaver gives a vivid picture of the turbulent and restless life of these people, with whom migration was, in the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing. As the authors say, "The whole is a typical Papuan record of battle, murder, and sudden

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, pp. 158–61.

166 death.' All I shall attempt here is to give some further
619 details concerning the movements of the Aiga, which, since 'the whole series of (Binandele) migrations is a pressing of the Binandele north by the powerful Aiga', may be regarded as supplementing the work of Chinnery and Beaver.

Migrations of the Aiga

166 The Aiga are to be partly identified with the Evije-Tom-
173 baha or Timbariundi people, names of which there are now only scattered evidences. Timbariundi would appear to be
619 a highly contumelious nickname, for *timbari* indicates that common phenomenon among Orokaiva children, a sore between the buttocks. The Timbariundi are said to have been more than usually restless and prone to wander. They deserved the name of *sisiki popoki*, or 'vagrants', which was also applied to the miners who moved from camp to camp in this region twenty-five years ago. Their first home, as far as tradition goes back, was at Barau, in the Sauni district. Driven from here by their western neighbours, they settled in the vicinity of Aususu, and soon came into conflict with the people of Koropata. It is said that they next moved eastward to the Ahojega people, by whom they were not very cordially received, and that they then dispersed, some remaining among the Ahojega, some going to Hamara, some to the Hunjovarehu, and some back to Ausus. In the last-mentioned neighbourhood they drove out the Koropata people, and once more established themselves. There are to be seen caves in the hill-sides, difficult of access and well concealed, in which refugees of either party, Timbariundi or Koropata, would take shelter when driven from their villages.

It appears, however, that the bulk of the Timbariundi moved northward to the neighbourhood of Bogi. It was here, at a village called Anjivu, that the menfolk, seated one day in a large *oro*, were amusing themselves by beating and rubbing the floor with coco-nut shells by way of a substitute for drums. A high wind blowing without increased the noise, and the men sang lustily a meaningless song, '*Ávara bóvora, ávara bóvora*'. During a lull, while they waited

for a fresh gust of wind, they were shelling betel-nuts and 166
throwing the husks at one another. Something happened 173
to affect the hitherto pleasant temper of the party, and they
took to exchanging heavier missiles, and finally, their feel- 619
ings thoroughly roused, rushed outside and commenced to fight with spears. As a result of this unnecessary quarrel the remaining Timbariundi found themselves divided into two factions, and when in due course they moved northwards again, some settled on the Kumusi and others on the Opi; and, whether there be any truth in this legend or no, there is still some trace of antagonism between the Aiga on the Kumusi side and those on the Opi side.

We need not suppose that these simple traditions about the Timbariundi will adequately account for the origin of the Aiga tribe. That tribe is more likely to be of a composite origin, and the Timbariundi to form merely one of the component elements. Such evidence as there is, however, all points to the south for the former home of the Aiga.

When they reached what is their present territory they found it occupied by Binandele people, especially by a branch of them called Kiriri Gaimoda. It appears that at first the Aiga and the Kiriri Gaimoda settled together, but that when quarrels subsequently disturbed their friendship the former drove the latter 'like pigs' out of the district. Several explanations, some of them trivial (but not too trivial to be true when we remember how quick-tempered a man is the Orokaiva), account for the quarrel between Aiga and Binandele. We are told that an Aiga was overheard playing a reed pipe in solitude, and that some people called Ponadu saw in this a splendid opportunity and killed him. Subsequently a party of Aiga were guests at a Kiriri Gaimoda feast, and seeing a Ponadu man there killed him by way of revenge. This led to bad blood between hosts and guests, and after many quarrels the former were driven out. Another explanation has it that an Aiga pig trespassed upon a Kiriri Gaimoda garden and was speared (and this oft-repeated circumstance has been a fruitful cause of serious quarrels). But several times repeated I have heard the same odd explanation, viz. that the trouble arose over a pet

166 parrot, some having it that the parrot was owned by an
173 Aiga man and killed by a Binandele boy, others that the
619 parrot was owned by a Binandele man and bitten by an Aiga
dog.

It is certain, however, that a previous Binandele population were driven out by the Aiga, some of the fugitives settling on the lower Kumusi, others on the Mambare.

Subsequent quarrels among the Aiga, with constant repetition of the inter-clan fighting called *embogi*, finally led some of the Aiga to migrate northwards and rejoin the Binandele. It is said that these refugees in their anxiety to escape killed the old folk who impeded their progress and left them behind decorated with feathers but unburied. But a milder version of the same incident relates that one of the refugees taking his wife with him was so embarrassed by the clamorous grief of his *imboti*, or mother-in-law, that he silenced it by striking her dead with his club. There are now some Aiga clans represented among the Binandele, as there are also Aiga clans represented among the Hunjovarehu. And if any value can be attached to names, it would appear from cases in which they correspond that some of the clans are widely scattered among other tribes.

Legends of Origin and Dispersal of Tribes

I must confess to having no settled theory as to the movements of the tribes at large. There has evidently been a northward drift in comparatively recent times affecting the Aiga, the Binandele, and other peoples referred to by Chinnery and Beaver; but without reliable information (which I cannot supply) as to the movements of the other tribes, it is impossible to say whether this northward trend has been general.

173 Several legends (with many variations) are current as to the origin of the Orokaiva. In the south it is said that all the peoples issued from a hole in the ground or a cave situated somewhere in the Hydrographers, and that the first to emerge were the Orokaiva, who brought the taro with them, and left the yam and sweet potato for the mountaineers.

But the other stories point rather to a northern provenance. One of the best known of Orokaiva legends concerns a man-monster named Totoima who was in the habit of slaying all whom he met. His sister (or wife), however, while at work in her garden cut her finger on a leaf of sugar-cane and caught the blood in a leaf of taro. Wrapping this up she hid it away in a pot where it was transformed into two children, or, as other versions say, a great number of boys and girls. These children grew up, and with the assistance of their 'mother' managed to dispatch the tyrannical Totoima; after which they waxed in numbers and became the present Orokaiva people. It is only in some versions of the story, however, that these miraculous children born in the pot are made the nucleus of the Orokaiva. The legend necessarily presupposes a previous population on which Totoima could practise his persecutions, and in the more usual version the remnant of these people come flocking in from their hiding-places to devour various parts of the monster's body, and in consequence acquire the several dialects of the Orokaiva tongue. As for any light which this legend might throw on the provenance of the people, it may be said that, although the knowledge of the tale is as widespread as the actual depredations of Totoima are supposed to have been, it is associated especially with the river Gira, where the scenes of the monster's dramatic downfall are pointed out.

Another legend, associated with the Gira or the Waria (though more commonly with the latter), tells of a thickly populated inland water. Two youths, usually called Garia[1] and Simono, build a canoe on this lake in a miraculously easy manner, and then make an outlet by which the water flows to the sea in the form of a river—either the Waria or the Gira according to the rendering of the tale. Garia and Simono proceed down the river on their canoe, followed by a number of people who subsequently spread over the plain as Orokaiva. In another version, which differs rather widely from the above, the canoe is made by one Korevaja who, while travelling on it, pleads with his friends to hit him on

[1] Probably the same word as Waria.

173 the head with a stone club and throw him overboard. At last one of them consents reluctantly to do this, and Korevaja topples overboard and sinks. As he does so innumerable bubbles rise and turn into human beings who disperse themselves as the Orokaiva tribes.

In the fourth of these legends, a woman Buda lives alone with her husband Menina on the Waria river. Over their house grows a tall *Bendoro* tree, and every morning the woman must take her broom and sweep up a litter of fallen leaves. But she complains of the loneliness of their life, and one day at her work she wishes that men and women were as numerous as the *Bendoro* leaves. Next morning when she and her husband come out of their house they find no leaves but myriads of people. The woman Buda forthwith classifies these into the various tribes, presents them with weapons and implements of Orokaiva material culture, and sending them off to their respective regions, from Kokoda down to the salt water, bids them fight and wage war on one another, and make truces when they tire of fighting—instructions which they have carried out with much fidelity.

Individuality of the Tribe

619 These legends are as much concerned with the division of the Orokaiva into tribes as with their origin. The actual division into tribes is probably due in the first instance to kinship and clan grouping; but this is reinforced by local grouping, and eventually the local group, owing to the vagaries of settlement and migration, is found to comprise a variety of clan groups. Relative isolation serves to consolidate the tribe, to create a few idiosyncrasies of custom, and to give it a distinct dialect. But what more than anything else gives individuality to the tribe is the almost perpetual state of war with its neighbours. The tribe, therefore, is defined by (1) a common territory, (2) certain idiosyncrasies of custom, (3) a distinct dialect, and (4) its common enmities.

(1) It will not be necessary to deal at any length with the subject of tribal territory. The boundaries on the map are rough and ready. It will be seen that the distribution differs

slightly from that of Chinnery and Beaver,[1] but principally 619
by a slight amplification. I have divided their Dobodura
tribe into three, Sauaha, Sangara, and Dirou; and I have
given the name Jeva-Buje to that branch of the Binandele
inhabiting the lower Kumusi. By the addition of minor
tribal names, such as are mentioned on p. 151, the matter
would be complicated and not helped.

In one instance, that of Sauaha (and perhaps we might say 619
in another, that of the Binandele and the Jeva-Buje), the
tribal territory is not continuous, but in the others there is 186
a fairly well-defined local spirit which belongs to a solid
block of territory. This local spirit, which was in evidence
among the clans (*vide* p. 107), is certainly of some moment.
It is probably the principal motive behind the minor tribal
groups and the temporary clan confederacies within the
tribe. When, for instance, a number of clans band together
to support one of their number in a semi-warlike dispute,
it is, I have been told, because they are *pusu tabavo*, 'one
ground', and, therefore, natural allies.

Although the boundaries on the map make it appear that 619
the tribal territories are coterminous, there is commonly a
no-man's-land of greater or less extent. This is particularly
marked in the case of the Aiga, who (while in close touch
with the Jeva-Buje) are separated from their other neighbours
on north, east, and west by a good half-day's journey
through virtually uninhabited country. In the more densely
populated southern end of the division this territorial isolation
is not so complete.

(2) Certain tribal peculiarities have been spoken of 619
already in Chapter I. On the whole we may wonder at their 184
absence rather than their presence. It is sometimes possible
to distinguish men of different tribes merely by differences 291
in their dress and ornaments. The Binandele commonly
wear the bark-cloth perineal band with the end tied in a
knot at the belt; the bush people in general have it suspended
as an apron. The Aiga are said to be fond of the streamers 619
of thin betel-palm spathe attached to the tags of their hair. 184
The Tain-Daware and other coastal people especially affect 381

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 161.

619 the *buave*, a breast ornament of two circles of white shell.
184 When Totoima's sister split up the people into tribes she
301 allotted them various distinctive ornaments. To the Sauaha
she gave the black feathers of the hornbill; to the Sangara the red feathers of *Ungaiavo*, *Orero*, and *Samba*; to the Aiga red-dyed betel spathe, *saima* (or small white cowrie) shells, and dog's teeth; and to the Yega the *tava* or palm-wood digging stick. The legend, of course, merely indicates that the men of these tribes show a modern preference for the articles named.

173 But these fashions are by no means exclusive, and perhaps
the distinctions are little more real than those peculiarities
829 of temper which are said to have come into being when the
619 various peoples feasted on Totoima's body. In a version of
the story given by an old Yema man the participants in the feast were mostly Waria people: the Bia and Mawai had eaten his legs, and were consequently speedy runners; the Yema themselves had eaten his entrails, and were therefore subject to stomachic disturbances which were the direct cause of a fierce temper; the Ono (?) had eaten his genitalia, and were highly erotic; the Jia had eaten froth or saliva, and therefore their language was unintelligible; the Gilita (who formerly occupied the present Binandele territory) had eaten his spleen, and were sullen men who used their spears more readily than their tongues; and the Berepo (i.e. the Aiga and other bush people of the Orokaiva) had eaten his head and mouth, and were therefore 'strong talkers', quarrelsome and abusive.[1]

(3) The eating of Totoima's body is generally made to
173 account for nothing more than differences of dialect. There
619 is a remarkable insistence in many renderings of the story
upon the bubbles (*boro*), i.e. of froth, saliva, or grease, which in a manner not easily understood arose from the monster's body before or during cooking. In one version the refugees came flocking in when they heard of Totoima's death, and when they found him roasting or basting on the hot stones they fell to and lapped up the bubbles of scalding grease.

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[1] In Wasida the story of Totoima is told of one Kokowaiko. *Vide* Chinnery and Beaver, *loc. cit.*, p. 161.

After that, as one might almost expect, they began to speak 173
in different tongues. 619

The tribal vocabularies have been compared by Chinnery 197
and Beaver.[1] They have been commonly called varieties of
Binandele, not because Binandele is known to be the 619
original or nearer to an original than any of the others, but because it has been more closely studied. The Rev. Copland King put together a vocabulary of this dialect which was published in 1901,[2] and it has since been mastered by members of the Anglican Mission. The dialects are mutually intelligible to the natives, though not always without difficulty. To a European they sound very different, and a knowledge of one does not imply a speaking knowledge of another.

Natives have their own way of classifying the tribes (or 619
some of them) according to dialect. There is a word *midia*,
which means 'There you are!' or *voilà!*; and natives will refer 197
to the Wasida tribe as *Mitia* people, the Sangara and Sauaha tribes as *Mihia* people, the Hunjara tribe as *Mihja* people, and the Aiga as *Midia* people. (Binandele and Yega people apparently do not use the word.)

The Hunjara tribe is very commonly called *Aba-maba*, from their distinctive manner of pronouncing the words for 'mother' and 'father', which the other tribes find somewhat amusing. An informant will go on to explain that the Binandele are *Aiaba-mamaba*, the Aiga *Aja-mama*, the Yega *Aia-mama*, and the Sauaha and Sangara *ajaba-mamaba*. (The Wasida use the word *enau* for 'mother'.)

Somewhat remarkable is the fact that at least four dif- 197
ferent words are used to name the ghost (or the spirit of the
dead, or, again, the supernatural monster, which comes under 619
the same category). Among the Aiga the word is *sovai*; among the Binandele and Yega *binei*; and among the Hunjara *siango*. The other tribes appear to use either *siango* or *embabi*. I do not know that there are any distinctive differences between the ideas of the several tribes on this point,

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.

[2] *Vocabulary of the Binandele Dialect, spoken by the Natives of the Mambare River, British New Guinea* (D. S. Ford, Sydney, 1901). New Edit., 1927.

197 and believe that each of the four words is applicable to the
619 same loose concept.

(4) The fourth of these features, which lend individuality
619 to the tribe, is the fact that it is constantly at enmity with
721 various of its neighbours, and that in the fighting which so
frequently ensues it is a unit and not divided against itself.
It is not to be imagined, of course, that the component clans
of any tribe remained at permanent peace with one another,
for that is hardly in Orokaiva nature. But inter-clan fights
were not characterized by the deliberate blood-thirstiness of
the tribal raid, and they resulted in comparatively few
casualties. Furthermore—what is an important distinction
[266] —there was never, except in the most abnormal instances,
619 any cannibalism within the tribe. The inter-clan fight is
called *embogi*, and the raid or tribal expedition *isoro*. Most
721 of the fighting described in the following chapter will be
192 of the latter kind, in which men of one tribe attack those of
another. Friends or allies are called *tobo* and enemies *ki-tobo*,
and although the friendship or affinity between certain
tribes allowed the use of the former word, it would be fair
to say that in most cases the tribes were mutually *ki-tobo*.

619 We are justified in adding a fifth essential in the delimita-
tion of the tribe, viz. the recognition of a common name.
186 I have already spoken (p. 2) of the difficulty of naming
ethnic units. In the largest groups, as we see them, there is no recognition within the group itself of a common name; but as we descend the scale we reach a point where such a name comes into use, where the members of the group are able to say 'We are so and so'. Among the Orokaiva we reach this stage when we come to the tribes. They are in fact the largest units which are able consistently to name themselves. I would suggest therefore that the use of a common name, implying as it does a recognition of unity, is a very essential factor in the individuality of the tribe.

XI

WARFARE

THE Orokaiva have had something of a reputation as 181
a fighting people, though others no doubt could dispute
their claim to the doubtful distinction of being the most savage in the Territory. The fame of the Orokaiva in this respect is probably due to the resistance, more than usually determined, which they made against the miners some thirty years ago; and it is certain that they have held a more independent and fearless attitude toward the whites than is seen among many other Papuans. Among themselves they were bellicose in the extreme. Every village was on the *qui vive* against attack, and, except during the periods of rather ticklish peace and uncertain friendship, was probably joining in some plan of concerted aggression.

Although the title of this chapter is Warfare, the follow- 181
ing pages will deal with indiscriminate fighting and killing 517
as well as with the regular raid. There was no idea of
sporting equality of chance when the Orokaiva was bent on
killing. I have already given one or two random instances 609
in which the solitary stranger was put to death as a matter of
course. It may be fairly doubted whether a party of primitive Orokaiva meeting a lone stranger would hesitate to kill him any more than they would hesitate to kill a bush-pig. Nor does the warrior think it beneath his dignity to kill a woman. One is surprised at the pride which a man evidently takes in the slaughter of defenceless victims. A certain Pahua of Soroputa (one of the early village constables who still wears his uniform) accounted for three victims before he became a guardian of the law. The first was made on a raid on the Hunjovarehu people. The attackers having surrounded the village by night rushed it at morning; Pahua found a man sitting down engaged in eating his breakfast, and speared him before he had time to rise. His second victim was one of a fishing party caught

181 577 at a disadvantage; Pahua speared his man in the side and he fell into the water. His third victim was a woman. Long previously Pahua had lost a brother killed by the Hunjovarehu people and was naturally nursing his revenge. It now happened that a Hunjovarehu woman, sister-in-law to one of Pahua's countrymen, was visiting his village of Soroputa. Pahua was informed that she was asleep in a house, so he stole in, speared the sleeping woman in the breast and struck her on the head with a club. He was not ashamed but proud of this exploit, which satisfied his long-delayed vengeance.

Inter-Clan Fighting

519 The raid, or concerted fight, may involve different tribes or merely different clans of the same tribe. I have already explained the general difference between the former engagement (*isoro*) and the latter (*embogi*), which is a comparatively trivial affair. It appears that the *esu*, an example of which has been described in connexion with the marriage payment, may upon small provocation develop into an *embogi*. Many such affrays took place during my stay among the Aiga, though I was only fortunate enough to witness one of them. This occurred at the taking over of a marriage payment. The charging and counter-charging had given place to the individual harangues in which old grievances were discussed with some bitterness. The excitement seemed to have died away, and the pig had already been killed when an inopportune taunt set the whole village in an uproar. Both parties rushed to arms and were immediately involved in a confused conflict with three or four lively vortices. In a scuffle of this kind there is a great deal of sham. The participants rejoice in the loud impact of their spears and clubs upon one another's shields, but they are not out to kill. Minor wounds are common, though they are concealed if possible from the Government. In the above-mentioned case I must report, almost with regret, that we succeeded in quelling the uproar before it had reached a more interesting stage. The most difficult to pacify were the women, who,

I:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

[facing p.162]

Esu performed at a Funeral

PLATE XXIII

579 while doing little actual violence with their *poreba* or quarter-staffs, were very successfully inciting to violence with their tongues.

The *esa*, as I have said, is not associated invariably with a marriage payment. On the recent occasion of a death, when some clans gathered as mourners, they soon found themselves engaged in a hand-to-hand fight which resulted in one serious casualty. There is a semi-traditional account of a quarrel between two branches of the Koie-Bumana people who formerly inhabited a portion of the present Tain-Daware district. One party visiting the village of the other at a feast caused some amusement by their efforts at dancing. 'You are like cassowaries', said their hosts. 'And anyway, why have you come? There are no girls for you here.' The guests retorted that their hosts danced with the elegance of flying-foxes, and challenged them to a tug-of-war with a long rattan cane. This contest proving indecisive, the two parties seized their weapons and took to fighting in earnest, with the ultimate result that, weakened by their own quarrels, they were exterminated or driven out by the Tain-Daware.

579
266 There are many causes of inter-clan strife—the depredations of village pigs, the killing of a dog, the defilement of a water-supply, and frequently the suspicion of sorcery. But such quarrels lead to the *embogi*, which is usually more of a lusty sham fight than a struggle to the death; and only in the most exceptional cases do we hear of cannibalism. In the feud between the Aiga clans on the right and left banks of the Kumusi there was eating of corpses on both sides. But this was spoken of as a horrible thing, that speakers of one and the same language should eat each other.

The Tribal Raid

726 The tribal fight (*isoro*) probably involves an expedition in which a number of clans combine. The war signal—either for the alarm or the assembly, for both mean the same thing—is a fast-throbbing rhythm on the *bui*, called onomatopoeically '*kikiki*. . .' (In these days of peace the same signal announces the arrival of a Government patrol,

726 though the alarm is happily less acute.) The attacking force having assembled by day usually travels by night, with the intention of surrounding the devoted village and surprising it at dawn. These tactics, however, are not invariable: the raiders are better satisfied with random victims, such as an isolated fishing party.

726 It was customary for women to accompany the expedi-
tion carrying pots of food; and they might even stand by
562 their husbands as armour-bearers. Sir William MacGregor, ascending the Kumusi in 1894, noted that 'The men carried generally a spear and a shield each, with a woman behind him bearing two or three spears. The women were able-bodied, and unaccompanied by children or small boys. Apparently they were simply armour-bearers.'[1] Again, on the same river in 1895 he met many armed natives, 'the warrior being frequently followed by a woman carrying part of his panoply, or ready to relieve him of his arms when he was induced to dispense with them'.[2] The women were always ready to urge on the fighting men and even to mingle in the fray, as W. E. Armit found when in conflict with the natives of Papangi. For then, when the warriors rushed to the attack among the long grass, cheered on by the shrill cries, 'Cheep! Cheep! Cheep!', of their women-folk, it was found when they were finally beaten off that two of the women lay dead with spears in their hands.[3]

712 Villages were often built on hill-tops (where there were
any hills) by way of defence, and many such sites are marked
726 by clusters of coco-nut palms in the Tain-Daware district. In these easy-going times they have been abandoned for more accessible positions. Tree-houses (*savai*) were built as refuges in emergency, and, as they contained an armoury of spears and (it is said) a supply of food, water, and firewood, they enabled the refugees to hold out until help came from their neighbours. In their tree-houses the natives were for the time being secure enough, for an enemy armed with nothing more than the spear could not safely venture within striking distance. An interesting incident of the early days

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1895–6, p. xvii.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1899–1900, p. 91.

shows how much confidence the native felt in his retreat. 712
In the Sisarita district Mr. Armit with his police and carriers 726
entered what was apparently a recently evacuated village. Finding a tree-house in a garden, one of his carriers swarmed up the ladder intent on the search for loot, only to come howling down minus the index finger of one hand. Putting his hand on the airy threshold of the *savai*, which he took to be unoccupied, the unlucky carrier had received a blow from a stone which crushed off two joints of his finger. The still more unlucky refugee, who had no doubt hoped to escape detection, now began 'a lively bombardment with stones and spears' of a constable and several carriers, and, after frustrating all other attempts at capture by the constable, was finally shot—an end to the fray which perhaps astonished him in the rather pathetic security of his tree-house.[1]

726 Among the coastal people, when the villagers were at work in their inland gardens, sentries were posted on the beaches to guard against attacks from the sea. Sir William MacGregor, approaching several large villages below Oro Bay, found that his arrival was anticipated. 'Before we got within a couple of miles of the first one it was evident that the inhabitants had discovered our presence, and were preparing for our first visit to them. The glass showed the men to be assembling together, all dressed in paint and feathers, each man armed with shield and spear, as well as with a stone club. One man came toward us along the beach at full speed, and at about a mile from the village took two armed warriors from a post in the bush, where they had clearly been stationed as sentries. The three men then ran towards the village as hard as they could, and all the warriors of the tribe concentrated on one spot on the sandy beach.'[2] Among inland tribes the sentry was posted in the branches of a tall tree. One such overlooked the Kumusi near Bogi, and here for months on end two men were perched, one 75 feet, the other about 120 feet, from the ground, watching for carriers and police as they passed on the opposite bank.[3] False alarms were not unknown, as

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1899–1900, p. 92.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1893–4, pp. 2, 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1900–1, p. 34.

726 these sentries, like others, had a way of 'seeing things'. A Tain-Daware man had on several occasions called in his fellow-villagers to beat off an attack of what proved to be merely *binei*.

726 712 It seems that in certain cases at least the village was provided with some kind of stockade, though no trace of these defences remains to-day. As a last point may be mentioned the miniature spear-pits (see p. 49) with which the paths were sometimes beset. They are mentioned as occurring in the Kokoda district, often beside a tree-trunk that has fallen across the path, so that the unwary might step over the log and into the trap. Several of the police had their feet spiked in this manner.[1] Near Bogi, again, Mr. Alec Elliot, attacking a force of natives established in a strong position on the opposite side of a garden, found this garden to be 'one mass of small spears and spear-pits'.[2]

Peace-Making

728 The lively monotony of warfare was broken by intervals of peace. A truce-making was called *peka*, and the first emissaries were women who, born members of one tribe, had married into or been captured by the other. In some cases it would seem that hostages (*otavo*, lit. 'friend' or 'mate') were exchanged. Two or three from either side would spend a few days and nights with the opposite party, and after this the two tribes would meet in armed force on some common ground between their territories to exchange gifts of pigs and ornaments. The proceedings even of a peace-making bore a characteristically warlike appearance, and sometimes the parties who had met to conclude a truce ended by joining in battle again.

It would seem that the position of the hostages was by no means secure, and the idea of exchanging them was to make sure of revenge if one party were done to death. There are tales of the meanest treachery. When after the conclusion of a *peka* a number of Hunjovarehu men had brought gifts to Wasida to make good the damage done in a previous raid, they were hospitably entertained and accom-

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, p. 93.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1900–1, p. 12.

modated over night, but in the early morning while sitting 728
at their breakfast they were set upon and killed to a man.
In comparatively recent times a party of five Waria men,
having made peace with the Government, thought it safe
to visit their Yema neighbours on the Gira. They were
sitting about a dish of stew when five Yema men, having
been methodically told off to their respective tasks, fell upon
the five unsuspecting visitors and clubbed them to death.[1]
It would seem indeed that these peace embassies miscarried
somewhat frequently. W. N. Beaver noted that the parti- [301]
cular homicidal ornament called *Horu* was 'a croton worn
in the hair by a man who had killed a peace herald'.[2]

Resistance against the Whites

It is sometimes suggested that Papuan natives in general 726
are cowardly, or at least that they do not care to stand up to
one another in pitched battle. It is true that when bent on securing victims they are content with the easiest they can find; and that in most of the engagements of which we hear, one side is surprised, hopelessly outnumbered, put to flight, and massacred. It is certain, however, that when armed with their shields the Orokaiva will fight man to man with the greatest skill and address, and, I am prepared to believe, with the greatest daring. Even the way in which they deal with the perils of their environment should be sufficient to refute any suspicion of cowardice; and any fear they may have had of the white intruder is surely excused by the facts that the white man was to them nothing short of a supernatural marvel and that he possessed irresistible means of killing.

But the truth is that they resisted the Government and the miners with a determination that we can now only admire, and that they sometimes fought against armed police with astonishing fury and recklessness. Many instances in the *Annual Reports* from 1895 to 1901 show the native as a brave fighter, but none perhaps surpass that in which Mr. de

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[1] For this one man Poivo was given six months in Port Moresby. To his first child born after his return he gave the name Garuma (stone) because he had been engaged in cracking stones in goal.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 98.

726 Moleyns and his police were attacked in 1901 near Bogi on the Kumusi.[1] He, with a party of seventeen police, and a native corporal, with a party of five, sallied out against the hostile tribesmen, but 'Both simply couldn't make any distance; the natives were so numerous and harassed them every yard they went'. Returning, 'the natives followed them right back to the village and threw spears again from every track notwithstanding there were many dead on each track. This fighting, which was not of a desultory character but continuous and determined, lasted from 3.30 till dark'. Mr. de Moleyns estimated the attacking force at between 400 and 500; and it was thought that not one of the 200 rounds fired by the police was at a greater distance than 50 yards. One of these rounds, at any rate, fired from a Martini Enfield, is claimed to have gone through three men rushing in from a by-track, and another is claimed to have gone through two. Altogether, making allowance for a *soupçon* of exaggeration in the account, it seems obvious that the natives behaved in a very brave, even desperate, manner.

609 648 The Aiga people about Korisata tell a rather amusing story of their first acquaintance with Europeans. A party of miners, with an escort of a few armed police, had pitched their tents on the Upper Opi, and a number of inquisitive savages went to investigate this strange encampment. Among them was a man Kaiora who tells the tale of his adventure with considerable gusto. Watching the camp with his friends he observed several of the miners' signed-on boys who wore *rami*, or short calico skirts. Seeing these *rami*, which in the distance he mistook for the bark-cloth skirt worn by Orokaiva women, Kaiora leapt to the conclusion that the miners' boys *were* women. With a number of others he set off in pursuit, and for greater speed discarded his spear and club, so that he out-distanced his companions. For a moment he had lost sight of the 'women' and was peering about in the bush to see which way they had gone when he suddenly felt himself grasped from behind, and beheld the totally new spectacle of a uniformed policeman. Others came to the policeman's assistance, and

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1900–1, pp. 55, 56.

Kaiora was hastily bound hand and foot to a pole like a pig. 609
Now a white man—the first Kaiora had ever seen—made his appearance, and putting a gun to his shoulder fired a shot in the air. 648
This was presumably to scare away the other Aiga who were not far off, but the prisoner, whether in the moment's distraction caused by the firing of the shot or in a sudden paroxysm of fear at the loud noise, wriggled or burst out of his bonds and made good his escape. The whole party of Aiga had for some reason fled, and were halted in an open space discussing the alarming situation and the loss of one of their number. Suddenly the flying figure of Kaiora appeared in the clearing, and on sight of him the whole body of Aiga set up a shout of terror and fled again, leaving the unhappy fugitive still far behind. Kaiora, a man of early middle age, is marked by premature greyness and an extraordinary wildness of eye which might well date from the time of this terrifying experience. According to himself he gave his friends, when he finally overtook them, an account of this new kind of human being and advised them to put aside their weapons and make peace. Disregarding this good counsel, however, they subsequently stole a cache of food left in a tent by the miners. For the rice and flour they had no use, but the tins of meat were punctured with stone tomahawks and their contents shaken out. This act of depredation brought an expedition from Ioma, and three Aiga men were shot dead. From then on they had a still better reason for fearing the white men, and they accordingly made no desperate resistance but a very sensible peace. I do not know whether we can accept this conclusion to my informant's story, though the rest of it is circumstantial enough to be true. The Aiga were as troublesome as any other tribe to the early whites, indeed it has been said that '. . . the people on the Opi river, between the Mambare and the Kumusi . . . were the worst offenders'; and they are described as 'truculent and aggressive'.[1] On the whole we may conclude that the Aiga as well as the other Orokaiva tribes made a very brave resistance against the white intruders.

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[1] J. H. P. Murray in *Papua or British New Guinea*, p. 330.

Reasons for Raiding

721 The reasons for the inter-clan fighting are easy to understand: they are in the main nothing more than quarrels between hot-blooded neighbours. The reasons for the deliberate raid or *isoro*, which involves cannibalism, are not so obvious. Very commonly the raid was meant to avenge [602] some previous victim, for vengeance was absolutely imperative to the relatives of a slain man; and the expression for revenge itself is an interesting one, viz. *diroga-mine*, or an 'exchange of *diroga*', the latter meaning the spirit of a man slain in fight in contradistinction to the spirit of one who has died in any other way. Instances of compounding are apparently rare, and it may be (though I cannot speak with certainty) that the practice of compounding for death obtains between clans only, and not between tribes. The [628] compensation or blood-price, consisting of pigs and ornaments, is called *dorobu*, which word stands also for marriage payment. Between tribes, however, who normally stand in the mutual relation of *kitobu* it would seem that such amicable settlement is rare if not impossible. To show how im- [765] perative is the need for revenge I may mention the former rule that the widow of a man slain by an enemy tribe must continue her seclusion until the capture and killing of a man from that tribe made it possible for her to emerge from it.

I cannot find any binding ceremonial necessity for a raid other than the one just mentioned (and that is really a reason for returning a raid, not for making one in the first place). It appears that the corpses of victims were used in [585] payment for marriage, either *a-dorobu* or *bi-dorobu*, or for gifts between relatives. But this was probably a matter of convenience: I have no evidence that a corpse was *necessarily* part of the marriage payment. Then again there is the [881] matter of homicidal insignia. Although these are sometimes called *otobu* in common with the *otobu* given at initiation (*vide* pp. 201 ff.), it is not to be supposed that the latter were necessarily homicidal, i.e. that the killing of an enemy was demanded before a youth or girl could pass through the ceremony of receiving an *otobu*. In short, I do not know of

any ceremonial necessity, other than that implied by revenge, 721
which demanded a cannibal raid.

Cannibalism

The reason for cannibalism itself has been given by 266
natives as the simple desire for good food. Indeed, we might profitably seek to explain why some people are *not* cannibals rather than why some people are. Anthropologically speaking the fact that we ourselves should persist in a superstitious, or at least sentimental, prejudice against human flesh is more puzzling than the fact that the Orokaiva, a born hunter, should see fit to enjoy perfectly good meat when he gets it. The aversion from cannibalism within the tribe is presumably to be ascribed to the same sentimental reason which, with a wider scope, turns us against human flesh in general. It was the custom to eat all victims made in an *isoro*, and they were only abandoned when the fear of counter-attack made the raiders leave in too great a hurry to be encumbered, or, as some informants have said, when the victims were so old, scraggy, and wrinkled as to be not worth the carrying.

When the victorious raiders returned they announced 727
their success from afar off by a distinctive rhythm on the *bui* 533
which (according to Aiga informants) may be represented thus:

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There were conventional songs proper to the occasion, such as (an Aiga example),

Eruga tune kambaja-one
Eruga leaf seasoning

Isuga tune kambaja-one
Isuga leaf seasoning

by which the women were given to understand that they should prepare 'cabbage' for the cooking; or (a Sangara example)

Umo tibue kiari-ta koiko-ta,

which indicated that the enemy had fled (*koiko*), anxious to see (*kiari*) the familiar place where they drew water (*umo*

727 *tibu*). The men who had not themselves secured victims
533 would sing (another Sangara example),

U sina nane arako, u sina nane,

'Mine was like a water-fight', by which they meant that they had fought as ineffectually as children bathing and splashing one another with water.

The corpses of grown men were tied by hands and feet
727 to a pole and carried face downward. In the case of a child
482 one hand was tied to one foot, and a warrior would sling the body over his shoulder as a hunter might a wallaby's. Usually, perhaps always, the victim was dead before he was bound in this manner.

An ingenious, if gruesome, method of carrying human flesh was actually observed by a former Resident Magistrate in the Division.

> 'The limbs had been peculiarly treated. The ankle-joints had been severed, leaving the tendon Achilles intact. The bones of the leg had then been excised, and the pelvical bone removed. The ham had been neatly cut off. The boneless leg was wrapped carefully round a three-foot stick, and the foot secured to the stick by a piece of vine. In this manner the flesh could be carried comfortably on one's back.'[1]

727 Informants have said that no captives except desirable women, and sometimes little children, were allowed to live: it was a safer thing to kill them outright to prevent all chance of escape. There was, as far as I am aware, no such thing as torture, and the suggestion that one of the infant captives might be kept and fattened like a pig against some future occasion was regarded as horrible: how would it be thinkable to kill a child that was already calling its captives *aja* and *mama*?[2] True torture, as far as I am aware, was never practised, though C. A. W. Monckton, as Resident Magistrate of the North-Eastern Division, writes: '. . . the Dobodura attacked and defeated the Notu, driving them from

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[1] W. E. Armit, in *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, quoted by J. H. P. Murray in *Papua or British New Guinea*, pp. 331, 332.

[2] Chinnery and Beaver, however, recount an incident in which the Yema 'killed a Gilita boy named Omba, who had been captured when very young, tied him up', and sent the body to the Binandele (*Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 159). But here the case is somewhat different. Yema and Binandele were in alliance against the Gilita, and the Yema had just received a present of a pig from the Binandele.

their villages and subjecting such prisoners and wounded 727
men that fell into their hands to such fearful tortures that the Notus were panic-stricken, deserted their villages, and appealed to me for help.'[1] It seems probable, however, that this passage refers rather to mutilations than to an intentional infliction of pain, which, indeed, the oldest informants affirmed was never a feature of the raid.

Brought home by the raiders the corpse of the victim 727
was set upright in the village, still attached to its pole. 266
During the night there was dancing to the accompaniment of *bui* and drum—properly the largest and most old-fashioned of the drums, viz. the *ino*. In the morning the body was taken down to the stream and cut up in the running water, in order, as I was told, to wash away the blood. Various portions were distributed as they are in the case of a pig, and little odds and ends were given to the children, who played at roasting them in the fires.

It was formerly the custom, I understand, to set up skulls of victims on a *gaga* or small platform in the village, just as pig-jaws are to be seen nowadays ranged along a branch of an old croton scrub. The pig-jaws are mainly in the nature of trophies, though it is said that to throw them away and lose sight of them would have an ill effect on hunting thereafter. I cannot say what were the motives for keeping human skulls, but presumably the same reasons would hold good.

Tabus and Purification of the Slayer

The actual slayer abstained from eating any of the vic- 727
tim's body. This rule was rigidly observed, though no satis- 266
factory reason could be given. It may be remarked that the 784
owner of a pig never eats any part of it when it is presented to another at a feast and distributed. But this seems to be no more than a point of etiquette, and perhaps offers no parallel. Beaver, who lays stress on the fact that the slayer must not eat of the slain, adds: 'Small portions of the liver, ceremonially treated with symbolic herbs, may be *bitten* into by the actual killer;'[2] though of this he does not record any explanation. It is tempting to suggest that by this rite the

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1902–3, p. 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1918–19, p. 98.

784

727 slayer is assimilating some of the courage and fierceness of his victim, though it must be remembered that the liver is
266 regarded as the seat of fear as well as of these more warlike
[824] emotions, and, indeed, it is presumably by his very deficiency in these latter that the victim was unable to look after his liver.

The tabu on the flesh of the slain applies not only to the slayer but to his father, mother, and nearest relatives. If they were rash enough to partake, their genitalia would swell, their joints grow crooked, and their heads turn bald. (Though in the case of an old man, it was said that these results need not be feared.) In view of such alarming risks it seems likely that there was in the person of the slain something like infection to that of the slayer. Other details con-
[164] firm this view. The Orokaiva has a lively dread of *baupeni* (or elephantiasis of the scrotum) and swelling of the joints—both of which afflictions are seen in the Division. The slayer
727 immediately removed his *bo*, or perineal band, and wore a
784 leaf or nothing until he reached home and could effect a change of clothing: this was a precaution against *baupeni*. If he had dispatched the victim with a club he would straightway change this for another man's: on no account would he *shoulder* the club that struck the fatal blow, for he would run a risk of a swollen or distorted shoulder-joint.

727 Again the slayer must perform certain rites and observe certain tabus. He must not drink pure water out of the
784 river, but only that which has been stirred up and made
783 muddy by the feet of a non-slayer. He must not eat taro cooked in the pot, but only that which has been roasted in the open fire. He must abstain from sexual intercourse. These restrictions lasted for a few days and then the slayer ate the same purificatory stew (*suna*) which is given to initiates at the end of their seclusion (see p. 193). Among the Binandele I witnessed a mock demonstration of a peculiar rite which immediately preceded the eating of the *suna*. The slayer climbs into a small tree which contains a nest of those large and aggressive insects commonly called 'green' ants. The tree should properly be of the kind called *Bobo*, which

is always swarming with them. While he crouches in a fork 727
of the tree, branches are broken and laid over him so that he 784
is almost completely covered and thoroughly bitten. Having 783
endured this for some time, he climbs down and eats the *suna*, steaming himself over the dish and sponging his joints with handfuls of the stewed leaves. Another rite (also performed at the end of the initiate's seclusion) was to break a coco-nut above the slayer and souse his head with the milk.

It seems likely that all these observances and tabus are in a sense not only purificatory but defensive. As a rule, informants have no explanation to offer, but I have been informed directly that they are meant to drive away the *asisi*, or spirit, of the slain man. In support of this view I may quote what W. N. Beaver has written: 'I am not disposed to the sole view that the killer is "unclean". It seems to me rather that rites are necessary to throw off the power of the ghost or ghosts of the slain. . . .'[1]

Adoption of the Victim's Name

There is a very common practice, already referred to in 727
Chapter VII, which we may be tempted to associate with the 55!
same idea. This is the practice of adopting the name of the slain. A man, originally named Koga, for instance, has killed another named Amburi: henceforward he, the slayer, is known by the name of Amburi, the slain. This custom is very common, and has been noted by others, so that it is unnecessary to give a succession of examples. It does not follow that the slayer entirely abandons his original name, which, I am told, may still be used occasionally by his more immediate friends; but his ordinary name is certainly that which he has taken from his victim. When a warrior of distinction has accounted for a number of slain he does not take the name of each in turn, but continues, as a rule, to be known by that of the first. This, however, cannot be an invariable rule, for a certain Ehari of Wasida, who can name no less than seven victims of his own hand, is known by the

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[1] 'The Use of Emblems or Insignia of Man-killing among the "Orokaiva" tribes of the Kumusi Division', *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 97.

727 name of the second. His original name was Ata; his first
victim was Asi and his second Ehari. He is now called
551 Ehari though he has since killed five others.

Although the stoutest warrior does not disdain to take the life of a woman, he does not assume her name. I have one case, however, in which the slayer gave the name of his woman victim to his infant daughter. The habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer (sometimes born subsequently) is again a common one. I quote an example by H. L. Griffin:

> 'It is a common thing amongst the Binandele for a man who kills a big chief to take the dead man's name, which he becomes very proud of; but my orderly, Constable Gisi-Gada, received his name rather curiously. His father, a Dauntutu man, went to fight on the Waria, and killed a big Waria chief named Gisi-Gada. On his return his wife informed him that she was pregnant. He was so pleased at this that he said that, if the child was a boy, he should have the name Gisi-Gada instead of his father. Everything turned out as desired, and so my orderly bears the distinguished name. But it was an instance of self-abnegation on the part of the father that is very rare in Papua.'[1]

This is a typical example, though I cannot believe that self-abnegation in general is very rare among Papuans; and the particular habit of giving the name of the slain to the son of the slayer is not rare but common.

579 It is interesting to note that in the case of an inter-clan
fight (somewhat unusually fierce) in which two were killed
551 on one side and five on the other, the slayers did not take
the names of the slain. For this I received the somewhat bald explanation that the two factions lived at too close quarters and feared magic.

The usual native explanation of the practice under dis-
727 cussion is that the name of the slain is adopted as a distinc-
561 tion. It draws attention to the fact that a man is *embo-dari* or
554 *mai-dari*, i.e. a man-slayer, and marks him, therefore, as one
of valour, *koropabuso*, 'strong or expert with the spear'. It serves to commemorate his exploit.

727 Another explanation has already been suggested, viz. that
adopting the name of the slain is in some manner a protec-
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[1] Quoted by J. H. P. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor, in *Annual Report*, 1908-9, p. 23.

tion against the latter's avenging spirit or *diroga*. As we 727
shall see, the Orokaiva dreads the spirits of the dead,
whether slain in fight or dying in peace, and it may be that 551
the tabus and observances which are customary with the man-slayer are in the nature of precautions against the spirit (*asisi* or *diroga*) of his victim. It may also be that by adopting the latter's name the slayer hopes to make himself invulnerable, because the dead would not assail the man who now bore his own name. This explanation, however, is merely a suggestion, and even if it be true, it is certainly not explicit in the native mind. Somewhat against it are the facts that a slayer of many men is known by the name of only one of them; that a man does not take a female victim's name; and that in an inter-clan fight the names of the slain were not taken at all. On the whole it seems that we must discard the tempting explanation (viz. that the adoption of the name is a precautionary measure against the spirit of the slain), and fall back on the simpler statement of the native, that it is in the nature of a distinction.

Homicidal Insignia

There is another kind of distinction, viz. the wearing of 301
certain ornaments, &c., which may be described as homi-
cidal insignia. To these is given the general name *otobu*, 554
or the specific name of *esa*. The latter will be found more satisfactory here. The subject of these insignia among the Orokaiva is not so straightforward as we might expect, owing to the fact—a happy one from all points of view save the present—that homicide has long gone out of fashion, or at least no longer bears an honorific implication, so that the customs connected with it cannot be studied directly. The best written on the subject is found in the admirable article by the late W. N. Beaver in the *Annual Report*, 1918–19, pp. 96–9.

The source of confusion is in the fact that *otobu* ornaments are also given in connexion with initiation, where they certainly do not imply that the recipient has been a man-slayer. The concrete fact that they are given to girls as well as to boys or men is enough to prove this. Beaver

301 made a distinction between homicidal *otobu* and 'pig-*otobu*',
the former being conditioned by the killing of a man, the
554 latter virtually bought with a pig. My own inquiries confirm this distinction, though I would attach more importance to the latter class than he does, and would prefer to state the matter thus, that the *esa*, or homicidal insignia, are a special class of *otobu*. The general subject of *otobu* will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the meantime it appears that the man-slayer, having undergone the forms of purification or exorcism, might at some convenient date receive his *otobu*, or, as I shall call it, *qua* homicidal insigne, his *esa*. I say 'might' because some of the older informants have assured me that an *esa* was not given invariably. Moreover, it seems that certain ornaments, which are rightly enough *otobu*, have been too freely regarded as *esa*, i.e. as implying that their possessor must be a homicide. My own inquiries have led me to believe that the variety of homicidal insignia was very limited. Beaver has given two lists, one for the coastal and central tribes and one for the Wasida and the trans-Kumusi. The first is of eight, and the second of twelve alternative ornaments or objects.[1] (It will be understood that the River People in the north observe similar customs and use similar *esa*.) I do not repeat these in full, but draw attention to several of the more striking. It seems likely that Nos. 1 and 2 (the hornbill beaks and the cuscus fur) were exclusive homicidal insignia or *esa* proper, i.e. they could be worn only by man-slayers. But save for these two, and possibly though doubtfully for the other three mentioned with them, I am led to believe that the long list of ornaments given by Beaver, as well as many others mentioned by native informants, were presented just as readily to the peaceful initiate as to the successful warrior.

1. *Peremo*: hornbill beaks arranged in a semicircle with points outward and worn on the forehead.
2. *Siropu*, *Koviro*, *Bauri*: different varieties of cuscus. Strips of the furry skin with small bunches of feathers tied at intervals are worn as streamers from the armlets or the club.

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1918–19, pp. 97, 98.

3. *Gana*: an ornament formed of pig-tusks, suspended over the breast, or held in the teeth. 301
4. *Bati-ananya*: a forehead band of shell slabs and dogs' teeth, terminating on either side in a rosette of dogs' teeth. 554
5. *Ki-overo*: a spear decorated with tufts of coloured feathers.

Beaver has given some interesting hints as to the symbolism of various *esa*. For example, the *Bati-ananya* symbolizes 'the clawing hands and grinning teeth of the dead'. Again, 'simba—a head-dress of dogs' teeth, "sapi sapi" shells and beads, symbolical of the head smashed in by the stone club (?)'. The interrogation mark in the latter case makes it appear as if the writer did not entirely trust his informant, and while such symbolic interpretations are worth recording, we may well doubt whether they are the generally accepted interpretations, or, indeed, whether any general interpretation exists. It is not impossible that the above meanings are the extempore creations of imaginative informants reading their own meaning into the object on the spur of the moment; and I dare say that if we sought them we could discover a variety of symbolic interpretations for any one *esa*.

In the normal instance the *esa* will be provided by the father of the slayer, but the actual bestowal or investiture will be performed by some old warrior of renown who has made many victims of his own. After this ceremony the same old warrior will paint the face of the young slayer.

The main purpose of the *esa* is apparently honorific. To the Orokaiva it is, or was, an ambition to kill a man, and the man-slayer was in a manner lionized. When a warrior who already had a victim to his credit held an enemy at his mercy, he might forbear out of generosity and call on another to administer the finishing blow, and so earn the right of wearing what to an Orokaiva was perhaps the proudest possible distinction.

XII

INITIATION CEREMONIES

881 THE course of initiation ceremonies has been already summarized in Chapter VII. Except in reference to the southern tribes, where there are esoteric objects such as the bull-roarer and the sacred flute, it must be allowed that the word 'initiation' is used somewhat loosely. All the tribes, however, possess certain ceremonies, usually performed about the age of puberty, which are virtually *rites de passage*, and which convert the candidate (boy or girl) into an *ebamei* or 'new child'. These may be conveniently called ceremonies of initiation. They are usually the occasions of large festivals, and a number of candidates of varying age are passed through them together. I shall proceed to describe the initiation ceremonies in their successive stages.

Initiation

The first stage is that of the initiation proper, viz. the entering into the secret of the bull-roarer and the flute, and this, as we have seen, belongs only to the southern tribes. A vivid description of the ceremony is found in the article by Chinnery and Beaver in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xlv, 1915. It does not occur frequently, and it was not my good fortune to witness a full performance. I shall, therefore, take the liberty later on of quoting at some length from the above-mentioned source, for Mr. Chinnery not only saw the ceremony enacted among the Koko people of the Upper Yodda valley (Hunjara tribe), but 'was to a certain degree initiated himself into the Kokos'.

The candidates are of both sexes. On a recent occasion (at Wasida) there were, for example, seven boys and two girls; in another instance, nine boys and four girls. Those who [561] pass through initiation and seclusion together constitute something like an age-group; and one member will refer to the rest as *nanamei*, 'my children', i.e. 'the children of whom I am one'. The age of the candidates is variable. Normally it would appear they are pubescent youths and maidens, but sometimes they are much younger, and sometimes, on the other hand, they may be married. Mr. Chinnery remarked that among the candidates which he saw near Kokoda there were women in a fairly advanced condition of pregnancy.

Before actual initiation the candidates are interned for some time in a house built at a little distance from the village. During this initial seclusion, which is only of short duration and not to be confused with the seclusion proper, preparations are being made for the festival. A great harvest of food is accumulated, and a stage or platform called *obu* is built at one end of the village. The initiates meanwhile await their ordeal, which purports to be nothing less than a meeting with the *embahi* or *siango* (who are primarily spirits of the dead, but who are also conceived of, somewhat indefinitely, as malignant supernatural creatures, or—to give them a convenient or familiar name—devil-devils).

The *embahi* will be impersonated by men already initiated, and it appears that the candidates fully realize this before the event. A boy, for instance, was taken up to the *oro* for initial internment by his *epe* or maternal uncle, and told that the latter would 'wear his feathers'. This meant that the *epe* would impersonate an *embahi* and subsequently give the feathers as *kokumbari* or decoration to the boy. But the native enters with so much zest into the spirit of his ceremonies that one finds the border between make-believe and true belief to be very hazy. Writing of the candidates in the house of seclusion before the actual ceremony, Chinnery and Beaver say, 'The candidates being usually in a state of terror, they are warned that if they make a noise the spirit will take up the house and carry it away to some mountain and capsize it—their guide now tells them they are only going to see their fathers, but it does not appear that they are greatly reassured.'[1]

When the preparations are complete the younger children, who have not yet reached the initiation age, are taken away into the bush; the candidates wait in the *oro*; and guests pour in from the surrounding villages. All the men

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 72.

881 present will join in representing the *embahi* in the ceremony which is to take place at night. Their only disguise will be face-paint, ornaments held in the characteristic way between the teeth, and flowing or bristling masses of feathers; but in the imagination of the candidates, and for the time being in their own, they will approach very nearly to true *embahi*.

I cannot do better than quote the words of Chinnery and Beaver to describe the exciting scene in the village at night.

> 'As the moon rises, all present become deadly silent. The men depart for the bush, at the same time putting out all fires and lights. When the moon shines, a long procession emerges from the bush into the village, moving very silently and stealthily, figures wearing huge headdresses, masked with frames of pigs' teeth, and armed with stone-headed clubs. Women are present, but do not join the line.
>
> 'Having entered the village, they form two advancing lines until a large scaffolding is reached, erected at one end of the village. Turning, the men kneel down facing the entrance from which they have come and remain in this position, still keeping silence. It is at this stage that the candidates are presented. Faint cries arise from the bush, becoming louder and louder, and the words "Shi! Shi!" mingled with yells and shrieks are distinguished, and at the same time the candidates are marshalled in, led by their guides. They advance between the lines of men who, hitherto silent, now break up into groups, each catching a lad and running madly up and down the village, followed by the women, waving spears and all uttering cries and yells and rubbing the youngsters' arms, legs, and bodies. They now make a wild rush towards the scaffolding, throwing the lads on it, who endeavour to climb up out of reach, but are torn back by the mob and undergo further agony, until, utterly exhausted with fright and fatigue, they are allowed to climb away, not knowing what they may still have to put up with.
>
> 'Still retaining their group formation, the men rush forward to the scaffold uttering horrible yells, waving their heads sideways with faces upturned to the lads, and swinging their clubs, only to retreat again. Now and again a man will yell from the group, "*Nane ehingo*" (I am the spirit), swinging his club to strike, but the other men will rush in upon him, throw him to the ground, and take his weapon away.'

This violence and pandemonium continue through the night. At daybreak the girl candidates are led in and subjected to the same treatment in somewhat milder form. Then the candidates, male and female, are mustered on the *obu* platform, where they sit completely covered with hoods of bark-cloth. Trees are pulled down in the village

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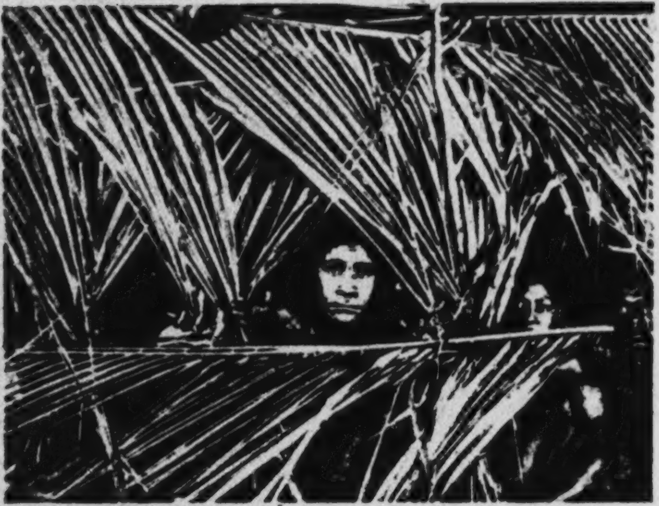

(*a*) Initiates secluded in the *Oro*

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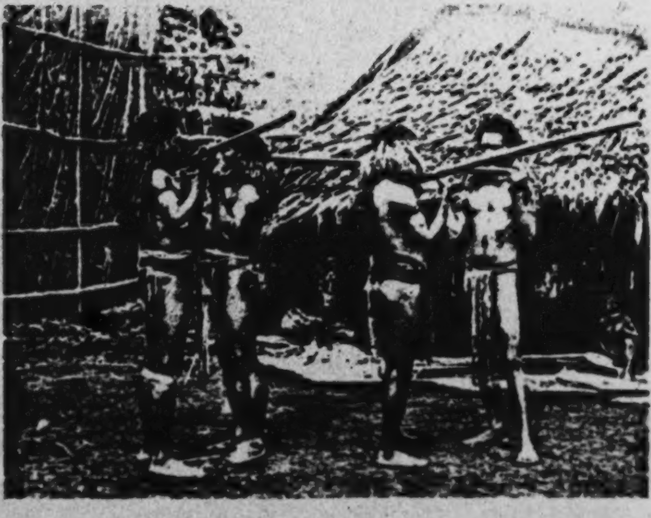

(*b*) Initiates playing the *Sepiri* or Sacred Flute

PLATE XXIV [facing p. 182]

881 by means of long lianas, and the bull-roarers are sounded, giving forth their peculiarly expressive and rather terrifying notes, which range from the deepest bass to a piercing siren-like shriek. To the boys and girls, who cannot see for their hoods of bark-cloth, these noises are evidences of the *embahi* or *siango*. Fathers and mothers cry out to the spirits to spare and not devour their children, while the spirits themselves utter a terrible chant or concerted cry, and gabble, '*Kambo, kambo, kambo!*' which means 'Bite, bite, bite!' It is not hard to picture the mood of the initiates who hear everything and see nothing from under their bark-cloth hoods.

And yet the candidate is aware that the proceedings are, in a sense, all sham. A young girl, who had been seized by a number of men and thrown into the air again and again, as if she were tossed in a blanket, said that these men were not bush-*embahi*, but village-*embahi*, meaning, as she explained, that they were not the terrible beings who in Orokaiva theory haunt the bush, but only villagers masquerading.

In the morning the candidates are shown the bull-roarers and flutes which they have heard sounded by the *embahi* overnight; the *embahi* retire to the river, bathe, and return as mere human beings, and the inevitable feast ensues. The candidates are now interned in the *oro* (the sexes being segregated), and there they remain for a long period of seclusion.

Seclusion of Initiates

The ceremony of initiation, which has just been described, is followed by a period of seclusion, and this again by a formal début with the bestowal of *kokumbari* and *otohu*. It appears, however, that this sequence is not entirely uniform. In Wasida I was informed that the *kokumbari* and *otohu* were given immediately after the *embahi* ceremony and before the subsequent seclusion; in Divina Kovari, where I witnessed a formal début, they were certainly given after this seclusion. Among the Aiga and Binandele it is customary for the seclusion to follow the giving of *kokumbari* and *otohu*. Without regard to this variety, however, I will describe separately the seclusion, the début, and bestowal

881 of *kokumbari*, the bestowal of *otohu*, and the precautionary or purificatory rites (*ate-ate* and *suna*) which bring the cycle of ceremonies to an end.

Before proceeding with the description of seclusion, it is necessary to make one important matter clear, viz. that I am here dealing only with the seclusion that forms a part of the initiation cycle. There is another seclusion, viz. that through which girls must pass at the age of puberty. It appears that the manner of internment is in both cases much the same, but in order to avoid confusion I shall mention the distinction between them, calling one the initiatory seclusion and the other the puberty seclusion; and I shall reserve a description of the latter until the end of the chapter. A girl enters her puberty seclusion immediately upon her first menstruation, and may pass through it alone. Subsequently she may be one of a batch of youths and girls who are to undergo initiation together, and in that case she will pass through a second seclusion, viz. the initiatory seclusion. It is this which I shall proceed to deal with.

881 344 Seclusion is practised by all the tribes, north and south; and it appears that the same general rules are observed in all cases. The house of seclusion, removed a little distance from the village, stands in a small enclosure (*sama*) fenced about with palm-leaf barriers some thirteen or fourteen feet in height. The house is called *oro* (Aiga)[1] and may in some instances, I am told, accommodate both boy and girl candidates; for it is said that they are all 'brothers and sisters' and may, therefore, be trusted to behave. Usually, however, those who arrange the matter are less trusting, and the two sexes are confined separately. One house of seclusion which I saw was about 9 feet by 15 feet in area and consisted of a single large room in which nine boys were confined. The house was closed in on all sides and the eyes of the inmates seemed very wide in the perpetual semi-darkness. 881 The secluded children are called *i-tekari-mei*, 'The children who are shut up above', or simply *i-mei*, 'the on-top children'. They occupy the upper part of a pile house, the actual ground floor of which is used by the old men who

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[1] Binandele *ouwe*; Hunjara *ihow* (Chinnery and Beaver).

look after them. They discard all ornaments, but it seems, 881 nowadays at least, to be a matter of indifference whether or no they wear a *bo*. They must not wash, and it is said to be the proper thing to keep the house warm by a fire underneath; though this, I believe, is not meant as a trial to the initiates, but rather to make them comfortable. Whenever they please they may exercise themselves in the *sama* enclosure, and occasionally they go farther afield in the bush.

Chinnery and Beaver give a number of rules and precepts which the children are supposed to learn in their seclusion;[1] and I have been told that during this period they are instructed to be honest, obliging, and diligent. But we must not picture the *sama* enclosure as a severe school of tribal morals. It is certain that the initiates live a thoroughly indolent and easy life, doing no work save the plaiting of armlets and such tasks, in which there is more of amusement than labour. Their hardest task is that of learning to 881 play the flutes (*sepiri*, *inagu*, or *gauro*), and it is said that the duration of their seclusion will be regulated by the skill 533 which the school attains: the sooner they learn, the sooner they come out. But there is no doubt that the regulating factor is really the supply of food for the feast.

The method of playing these flutes has already been described (p. 89). It may be added that of the pair, which are invariably played in duet, one is called the male (*sianja*) and the other the female (*buega*). In Divina Kovari the former was called *sepiri* and the latter *inagu*; in Wasida, where *inagu* was a general term for 'flute', the male was called *otobu*, and the female *eb*. There seems to be no essential difference between the two save one of pitch.

While engaged in these very easy occupations the initiates 881 are eating heartily, one might almost say deliberately 262 battening. There is no restriction in the variety of their food, though it is served to them, not by their womenfolk who cook it, but by some old men who frequent the *sama* enclosure. It is the duty especially of the candidate's *nobo* and his wife (the candidate's *tata*) to ration him during seclusion.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 76.

881 The internees must avoid being seen by people of the
village—in particular, it would seem, by their own fathers
784 and mothers. Sexual intercourse is prohibited. Chinnery and
Beaver speak of other tabus: 'Should a boy happen to talk
over loudly, one of the guardians would say, "Be silent, I
will thrust a spear through the floor". Should a boy happen
to drop taro through the floor, he would be killed.' This
latter penalty is, of course, no longer inflicted in these slip-
shod days, and personally I am very doubtful whether such
severity could ever have amounted to a rule.

Début and Decoration

881 The initiate is not called an *ehamei* (or *meiba*), i.e. a 'new child', until he or she has terminated the seclusion and made a formal début. This is a spectacular occasion, the main purpose of which is perhaps to do honour to the initiate. It is signalized by the youth's first appearance in the feather head-dress, which thenceforward he is entitled to wear. Hitherto it has been strictly forbidden him, so much so that I have known a serious quarrel between two men resulting from the fact that one of them had given feathers to the other's younger brother before the right to wear them had been formally granted. The following description is drawn mainly from a ceremony which I witnessed near Divina Kovari in the Hunjovarehu country.

On the day of their formal reappearance the initiates, who
have remained unwashed during their long internment, are
881 taken down to bathe at early morning. They then gather
in the bush beyond sight and earshot of the village, and in
302 this sylvan tiring-room undergo the lengthy and laborious
361 process of being decorated. Each sits on a mat and places
himself entirely in the hands of the man who is dressing him.
There are many others watching or helping: with a party
of twelve youths and four girls at Divina Kovari, there must
have been seventy or eighty onlookers. The tails of hair
which have grown long during seclusion have red streamers
tied to their extremities. In the middle they are gathered
tightly together and bound with bark-cloth, so as to form
a base for the mass of feathers which is to be tied on to the

initiate's head. This decoration consists not only of feather- 881
sets but of shell and ivory ornaments, particularly strings of 302
dogs' teeth wound round and round the bunch of hair. One 301
boy, when I saw him submitting patiently to the ministrations of his attendant, already had nine strings of dogs' teeth round his hair at the back, each consisting of perhaps 150 teeth, and he was then waiting for more. It will be easily imagined that the weight of this portentous mass of feathers and ornaments is very considerable, and as the process of decorating lasted some hours the eyes of their wearers were already blinking with fatigue at this early stage of the day. Oppressed either with the weight or the magnificence of their headdresses, they held their heads as still as possible or moved them stiffly, like a man unaccustomed to an evening shirt.

I have been assured that it is the function of the *nobo*, or 881
maternal uncle, to present the *kokumbari*, for which he 624
receives payment from the initiate's father in the form of a 431
pig, and from his mother in the form of a pot (*obu*), a wooden bowl (*tuwa*), a water calabash, a *bo*, a netted bag (*eti*), a fish-net (*eutu*), and a spear. But, as so often in the case of such rules, we find on looking into the matter that other relatives may equally well perform the function. Thus in the present instance I recorded more cases where the *kokumbari* was given by the paternal uncle than where it was given by the maternal uncle. In other cases, again, it was given by the elder brother. On the whole, however, it may be regarded as proper for the *nobo* to give the *kokumbari*, as I have also heard that it is proper for him to attend to the initiate during his seclusion. But neither of these rules is observed with strictness.

While the decoration of the initiates is going forward, 881
guests are arriving in the village. On such occasions it is the 574
custom, not for the hosts, but for the guests, to perform a 535
dance. (On a future occasion the invitation will be returned, and the hosts in the present instance will then be the performers.) In the ceremony at Divina Kovari two such parties of dancers arrived, one before and one after the formal entry of the decorated initiates. It is not necessary

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574 to describe their dances, which are entirely conventional and
have no bearing on the ceremony in hand. They are, as far
536 as I know, merely a form of entertainment.

The initiates make an ostentatious entry. The dancing is
881 in full swing when a loud roar of voices is heard, and the
535 *ebamei* appear assembled at the entrance to the village. They advance swiftly, flanked and covered in the rear by a mass of supporters so that the whole body forms a dense phalanx. Met with various gestures of resistance from the people in the village they come to a sudden halt in the centre, bracing themselves for a moment, and then advance again in the same irresistible manner. At the end of the village they turn about and charge down its length once more, and having done so, the compact body breaks up and resolves itself into the old-fashioned dance called *Kuru*. The boy initiates join in this, while the girls in the usual way dance apart, either in front or rear.

All the *ebamei*, both male and female, carry mock spears of light white wood, each with a piece of red-dyed bark-cloth tied near the point. Many of them also carry stone clubs. Both boys and girls wear their *bo* which have been newly put on for the ceremony (though they have probably been in the habit of wearing garments of this kind long before). They almost stagger under their gigantic head-dresses, and their persons are festooned with frilled yellow grass, tassels of which hang over the face so as to form a partial disguise.

The *ebamei* soon withdraw from the *kuru* dance, and while this and the other dances proceed with undiminished vigour, stand in line watching them, evidently uncomfortable and apparently almost stupefied.

Presentation of 'Otobu'

881 Late in the afternoon a number of the *ebamei* were presented with their *otobu*. Whereas every initiate receives his *kokumbari* feathers, not every one of them receives an *otobu*. However, as it is very usual to make this an occasion for presenting an *otobu*, I may pass on to describe the method of presentation as if it formed the next step in the series of

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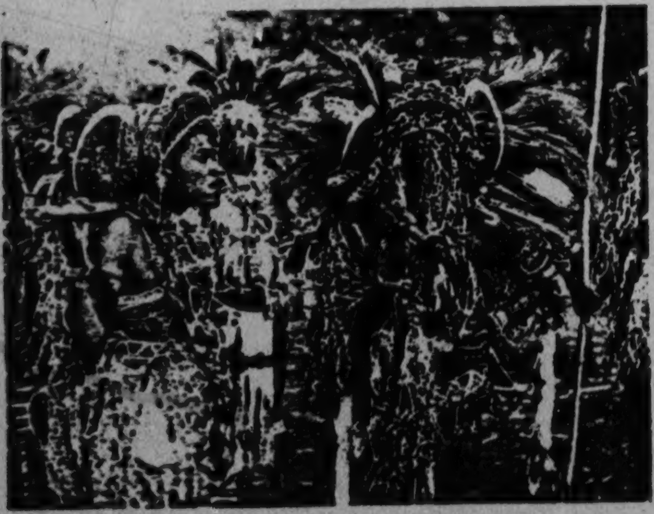
(*a*) Formal appearance of the Initiates



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(*b*) Initiates wearing *Kokumbari* feathers

PLATE XXV [Facing p.188

88| ceremonies. I shall return to the difficult question of the significance of *otobu* at the end of the chapter. For the present it may be said that it is a ceremonial ornament of great value and often of great beauty which is commonly bestowed on the occasion of the début and *kokumbari*.

[554] It is the invariable custom to call upon some old warrior of distinction to bestow these ornaments: such a man is called *aguma* or *atemba*. On this occasion at Divina Kovari there were three of them, and I shall describe their part in the ceremony at some length.

The first was an old man of Togahu. Firm and self-possessed, he advanced to where the *otobu* had been laid on a mat, grasped them in two handfuls, and marched back and forth along a path which the spectators had formed between them, nearly a chain long and two or three yards broad. His business was to cry out the names of his own early victims, and having done this, he turned aside and handed over the *otobu* to the second *aguma*.

This was an old man named Handaupa of Hamara. Sitting somewhat apart he seemed loth to perform the office, and something like a murmur of applause was heard when he finally accepted the two bunches of ornaments and began. He was doddering with age and showed a tendency to corpulence or pursiness which is unusual in an Orokaiva. He commenced by shouting that as he was now a very old man he might not be able to summon all his conquests back to memory. Accordingly two younger men who remembered his exploits better than he did himself took their places one at either end of the path between the spectators. Handaupa now began to cry out the names of his victims, the tribes to which they belonged, and the circumstances in which they had been killed. He would run the length of the path while he dealt with each victim, and as the list continued the old man grew more and more energetic. He would bend his ear to the prompter at either end. Then, when a few words had roused his recollections, he would turn, hardly waiting for the prompter to finish, and career down the path again, shouting at the top of his voice. He gradually showed signs of fatigue, discarded first one bundle of *otobu*, 881 then the other, and finally retained only two light switches of cassowary feathers. The catalogue of victims seemed inexhaustible. The sweat was pouring down Handaupa's lined old face, his voice was hoarse, and he was shaking with exhaustion and excitement. He paused to drink from a coco-nut and went on again, but just as his emotions seemed to be getting the better of him entirely, he suddenly said he must stop as he was tired, and with that he sank abruptly into a sitting position, and drained another coco-nut which one of the spectators held ready for him.

The third *aguma* was a very aged man from the neighbourhood of Divina Kovari. Feebler than Handaupa, he had a better memory, and was not so ambitious as to begin with the two weighty bundles of *otobu*. He was supported on either side by a younger man, and further assisted himself with a stick, but even his footsteps quickened as he warmed to his work and recounted the exploits of his youth and named his five victims.

881 The *aguma* exhorts the *ebamei* to bravery, and the reason
for telling of his own prowess is to give them something
867 to emulate. Such a demonstration, I understand, always
marks the ceremony of investiture with the *otobu*. It is
typical of a savage people to whom valour or mere bloodthirstiness
is one of the first virtues. The Orokaiva is not
only brave enough but exceedingly vainglorious: he loves to
make a great show of martial prowess. It is interesting to note
that this, like other ceremonies, has a sort of ambivalence,
wavering between belief and make-believe, or between
881 seriousness and banter. While the distinguished warrior is
shouting his exploits, a chorus of young men stand by
522 beating their drums and making fun of the old man in their
songs. I have recorded one of the songs appropriate to the
occasion:

Poponi opi be kajari keko

which means that the old *aguma* is a boaster and a liar, that he never thrust his spear through the body of a man, but merely poked him with a shoot (*opi*) of the *Poponi* tree.

881 When these lengthy declamations are over, several logs

are laid end to end and the *ebamei* sit down on them in a 881
row, all facing in the same direction. They must not sit on the ground lest through contact with it they run the risk of some physical deformity. A man stands behind each boy (or girl), and the man who is to invest him with the *otobu* stands in front. (In the normal instance this would be the old warrior or *aguma*, but in the present case other men officiated as well. The *otobu* is thrown above the boy's head and caught and returned by the man behind him. This happens again and again until the man in front leans forward and binds the ornament in its place on the boy's forehead. This throwing back and forth, called *ketumbari*, or *iketumbo* ('giving and taking'), is said to be a precaution against subsequent baldness in the initiate.

In other tribes the *aguma* will offer the *otobu* to the initiate and, as the latter stretches out his hand to receive it, will snatch it away again. This (called *itarabo*?) is likewise done again and again till the *aguma* fixes it on the initiate as a general might pin a medal on the breast of a private. Another method of tantalizing the recipient is to throw the *otobu* from one to another of the spectators before finally giving it to him.

It is properly at this stage, while the initiate is waiting 881
to receive his ornament, that the *aguma* lays upon him certain injunctions of an ethical character. These are always 867
associated with the *otobu* and, as we shall see, they throw some light on the obscure meaning of the word. As he proffers and withdraws the ornament, the officiating *aguma* exhorts the candidate to refrain from thieving, from adultery, from quarrelling, and from such lawless acts as killing a neighbour's dog. It seems likely that the tantalizing delay in bestowing the ornament is itself a means of showing the youth that he must practice restraint, that he must wait his turn, in fact that he must not snatch.

Subsequent Rites: Prophylaxis and Purification

The greater number of the initiates at Divina Kovari 881
received these *otobu* as well as the *kokumbari*, which is an inseparable feature of the ceremony of début. When the in-

881 vestiture was over, the *ebamei* crowded on to the *obu* platform at the end of the village on which were already strewn heaps of high-smelling pig flesh. It was by now growing dusk, but there was still enough daylight for them to make a brilliant patch of colour against the dark background of forest trees. The reason for this move on the part of the *ebamei* was said variously to be (1) that all the people should see them, (2) that they should see all the people, and (3) that they should see all the pig meat.

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785 During the whole of this time the *ebamei* have had to support the weight of their *kokumbari* feathers and ornaments, to which has now in most cases been added that of their *otobu*; and they have neither drunk water, nor, except for banana and sugar-cane, broken their fast since morning. These ordeals, however, must continue throughout the
881 night, which is occupied with singing and dancing and with
786 the *ai sumbasiona*, or abusing of the women. This latter
[533] consists of highly obscene choruses and action songs, to which the women respond in kind and with no lack of spirit. It may be that under the circumstances morality is loosened. I quote a sentence of Chinnery and Beaver's: 'In ordinary circumstances an initiation is a time of somewhat general licence, promiscuous intercourse being permitted between any initiated man and woman.'[1] Witnesses have assured me that such promiscuity is confined to the initiation ceremonies. The initiates bear no part in it, but between their elders it is unrestricted. No husband might object if another man made free with his wife, for, it was said, he would fear retaliation by sorcery if he interfered. Needless to say I have no more than verbal evidence for this licence, but there is little doubt that at these times it does occur.

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784 Next morning the *ebamei* are subjected to a rite called *ate-ate*, which appears to mean literally 'demonstration'. Once more they sit in a row on the logs, each with a man behind him armed with a stout stick. In front of the initiates stand their respective mothers holding a taro in the left hand, and the sharp peeler of oyster or coco-nut shell

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 77.

called *kari* in the right. When all is in readiness the women 881
deftly slice off a piece of the taro, and with one motion send 784
the fragment and the peeler across the head of the initiate
to fall at the feet of the man waiting behind. The latter
immediately smashes the peeler with his stick. This, I am
informed, is a formal way of ending the tabu on the mother's
cooking. Formerly, it appears, the cooking for the *ebamei*
has not been done by his mother but by his *tata*;[1] hence-
forward after this rite his mother may cook for him without
risk of any kind. It is said that this rite is once more a safe- [757]
guard against baldness, the idea of which an Orokaiva so
heartily hates. In other parts there is the custom of breaking
a coco-nut above the initiate's head and allowing the fluid
to fall over him; and for this the same reason (somewhat
often called into service) is given, viz. that of preventing
baldness.

But the partial fast of the initiates does not come to an 881
end with the performance of this *ate-ate* ceremony. They
are merely allowed to remove the heavier of their orna- 785
ments, a relief for which they must be heartily grateful.
They continue to eat nothing more than banana and sugar-
cane, and are still denied water until on the following day
they eat the *suna*.

By this time all the guests have dispersed, carrying with 881
them their presents of food, and the village is left very untidy
indeed after the feasting, but in comparative quiet. The 262
eating of the *suna* is a rite which pertains only to the initiates
and their fellow villagers. The *suna* itself is a stew, a highly
composite dish of which the ingredients seem to vary in
different tribes. At Divina Kovari they were taro, pig
flesh, *Tauga* nuts (*Terminalia Okari*), the fruit of the tree
Puga, *Ina* (a kind of *andropogon*), and the leaves of the trees
Ega, *Houra*, and *Sigoga*, and of the croton *simbiri*. The whole
is stewed with the addition of coco-nut oil and pig's blood.
I have been unable to discover any magical significance in
any of these ingredients: except for the leaves, they are all

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[1] Though other informants have said that the mother does cook for her own son while secluded. The matter is evidently of no great consequence, and the prohibition of the mother's cooking is not universal.

881 common articles of diet. Comparing five lists made in
different parts of the Division, I find that they all contain
262 taro, pig, and coco-nut in common; three contain *Puga* and
Tauga; two bread-fruit and a kind of banana; while the other
ingredients are various, with the exception of *simbiri*, or
croton, which occurs in four of the five lists.

The initiates gather round the dish of *suna* and bend over
881 it so as to be fumigated by the rising steam. They hold their
264 hands in the steam, and then withdrawing them massage
783 their joints. They take handfuls of the hot leaves and apply
them to their private parts, their hip-joints, their elbows,
their arm-pits, &c. They end by eating the stew. The other
villagers stand by, themselves partaking and sponging their
bodies with the leaves. The *suna* is sometimes set out in a
wooden dish (*teva*) and a hot stone placed in it to increase
the volume of steam, while the initiates stooping over the
dish may be covered with pandanus mats to give them
something like a Turkish bath.

After partaking of the *suna* the initiate is at liberty to
resume his full diet. (During the last two or three days he
has eaten nothing but banana and sugar-cane.) But even so
he must be cautious. Before passing him a piece of taro one
of the elders will pass it under his legs—a queer precaution
which appears again and again in Orokaiva ceremonies,
either as a purification or as a prophylaxis. Having thus
received the taro, the hungry initiate must nibble it only and
put it aside for a while. Furthermore, he must not handle it,
but convey it to his mouth on a piece of stick as a fork. If
826 he should handle it and afterwards scratch his head the
penalty would be the severe one of baldness.

Meaning and Purpose of the Ceremonies

881 *Initiation*. The actual occurrences of the initiation cycle
having been described we are now in a position to discuss
their meaning and purpose. We may begin by considering
the initiation ceremony described on pp. 180–3. Laying
special stress upon the fact that the terrifying threats of the
spirits against the candidates are apparently averted by the

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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(*a*) Eating the *Suna*

(*b*) Girls newly emerged from Puberty Seclusion

PLATE XXVI [facing p. 194]

881 prayers or efforts of the latters' elders, Chinnery and Beaver interpret the ceremonies as follows:

> 'As far as can be ascertained at present, the underlying idea of the ceremony seems to be to instil absolute and lasting terror into the candidates, and to make them think that their elders have beaten off the spirits; while in this receptive and chastened frame of mind, the lads, imbued with the idea of the power of the men, will pay attention to the instruction given. There appears to be an idea that the spirits of the dead are present, and that the initiated, i.e. the living, are keeping them away from the candidates.'

There is no doubt that the Orokaiva, whatever his age, has a very real dread of the real *embahi*. According to the above interpretation the initiated elders play upon this dread in the uninitiated juniors, and pose as the latters' saviours in order to reduce them to a receptive and obedient mood.

It seems to me that this interpretation may emphasize too strongly the pedagogical aspect of the initiation. We may reasonably doubt, I believe, whether the elders have any serious intention of reducing the initiates to a fit state of mind for subsequent instruction (though one does not deny that the painful experience of the youth may have considerable educative value in itself).

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534 Furthermore, the interpretation does not, in my opinion, lay sufficient stress on the actual paraphernalia, viz. the bull-roarers and flutes, which play a more important part in the ceremony than would appear. The bull-roarer and the flute are esoteric objects in that they are never seen but only heard by the uninitiated, and it is always pretended that the notes and noises of these instruments, together with that of A the hollow shell whistle called *koni pamoni*, are the voices of the *embahi*. Indeed, it might be said that the bull-roarer, the sacred flute, and the *koni pamoni*, together with the pretence that their notes represented the voices of the spirits, constituted the secrets of a secret society. The society is so comprehensive as to include the whole of the adult tribe, i.e. all those who have duly passed through the initiation cycle, and, like some generous societies who bestow a fellowship on receipt of a subscription, it is always ready to take any one into membership who can provide a pig.

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To the uninitiated juniors who, at a discreet distance, have heard the mysterious sounds of flute and bull-roarer coming from the quarters where their elders are known to be, it has always appeared as if the latter are hobnobbing with the *embabi*; and this pretence, viz. that the initiated are in league with or familiar with the spirits, is the essence of the adult secret society. Chinnery and Beaver have written: 'The underlying idea about the bull-roarer is that it is a spirit that makes the noise, and this belief is strongly impressed by every device upon uninitiated women, children, and those who have not passed through the ceremony. This belief will usually be found wherever the bull-roarer is used in Papua.'[1] But it seems to me that in their interpretation of the ceremony they have not allowed as much importance to the bull-roarer (and the flute and whistle) as these paraphernalia deserve.

At an initiation ceremony, of which I saw some of the stages at Doboduru, the supposititious *embabi* were stamping, crouching, and leaping in the conventional manner as well as uttering their alarming cries, but they were also continually blowing the flutes, and one of their number was from time to time sounding the bull-roarer. Indeed, the flute and the bull-roarer formed very essential features of their demonstration; and it would, I think, be a mistake not to allow these instruments some importance in an interpretation of the ceremony.

The initiation ceremony, therefore, as practised by the southern Orokaiva would seem to be the acceptance of the junior into the adult society, and the process of acquainting him with the secrets of that society.

But why should the initiation involve such painful experiences for the initiate? One may hesitate to credit the elders with any serious motive. If they behave so as to reduce the initiates to a condition of fear and obedience it is not expressly in order to make them apt pupils for subsequent instruction. Rather would I compare the initiated to the members of a secret society who, on admitting new candidates, take the opportunity of enacting their pretence to

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[1] Chinnery and Beaver, *loc. cit.*, p. 71.

the full, and incidentally of giving the candidates a thorough 881
ragging. This is always the privilege of those who are already 'in the know'. In this case their pretence is that they are on terms of familiarity with certain dangerous and terrifying creatures—the *embabi*—who utter weird cries. They accordingly imitate the *embabi* in their gestures and conduct, and their cries on the bull-roarer, flute, and *koni pamoni*. Before giving away their secret, therefore, the elders make the most of it, and rejoice to see the learners thoroughly frightened.

At the same time—whether this be the deliberate intention or no—it cannot be doubted that this ragging must have the indirect effect of enhancing the power of the raggers. It, so to speak, knocks the stuffing out of a possibly uppish youth, and makes him an amenable member of the adult society to which he is now introduced. By feeling to his sorrow the full affect of this adult society's power he will enter it in a humbler and more appreciative spirit; and we may be sure that when his turn comes to act the ragger he will bear his part with all the greater vim for having been roughly handled himself.

I have previously spoken of the curious intensity of native make-believe, and it is quite possible that not only the candidates but also the adult impersonators may give themselves up to the belief that *embabi* are actually present. But I cannot imagine that such serious belief long retains the upper hand, and I feel that the ceremony admits of two constructions, that it may be viewed (not only by ourselves, but by those who actually practise it) as alternatively solemn and frivolous, at one moment as if the initiates were being brought into the sacred danger of contact with the *embabi*, the next as if the initiated were having a great deal of fun at the expense of the frightened and bewildered candidates.
It may be remembered that, although I have from time to 534
time used the expression 'sacred flute' (a New Guinea term perpetuated by Haddon), yet as far as the Orokaiva are concerned no sacred character appears to belong intrinsically to the flute or the bull-roarer.

Seclusion and the Purificatory Rites. We may next consider

881 the purpose of seclusion and of the purificatory rites which follow it. It is often supposed that the seclusion through which natives commonly pass about the age of puberty is a period of intensive education in tribal lore and manners. I cannot find that this is so among the Orokaiva. It is true, I was told, that the youths and girls are instructed to observe certain laws, as e.g. against theft and adultery; but there is no evidence that they are consistently schooled, and indeed the suggestion that the house of seclusion was like a 'school' caused a great deal of laughter. As we have found, the internees spend a very idle time, and except for mastering the long flutes among the southern tribes, they have no set tasks to perform. I cannot think, therefore, that the purpose of seclusion is mainly educative.

If one asks either the elders or the initiates themselves for the reasons of seclusion, one will almost invariably receive the same answer: boys and girls are secluded to make them grow big. They do no hard work; they are advised to keep warm, still, and silent; they are forbidden sexual intercourse; they are overfed. It is said that to walk abroad and be seen by those who should not see them would impede their growth. The initiate's father and mother will not see him during his seclusion, but from time to time, I am informed, his *tata* will take the circumference of his arm or leg with a piece of string and show it as a register of progress to his parents. When they first set eyes on him on his emergence from seclusion it is appropriate that they should *titimirari*—'be astonished', or 'hardly believe their eyes' at the progress he has made. If they were to see him during his seclusion it would, for some reason never made plain, check his growth. The real explanation for this queer prohibition is perhaps simply this, that for the boy's near relatives to see his progress at an intermediate stage would spoil the effect at his début, when, to their surprise and delight, they behold a son who has developed almost beyond recognition. He does not grow imperceptibly under his mother's eyes, but rather like the lad who, returning from a boarding school, seems to have leapt into long trousers.

The ideal Orokaiva is not a fat man, but well-conditioned.

The ideal Orokaiva is not a fat man, but well-conditioned.

Either by nature or by manner of life he is prevented from 826
'running to fat', so that the ideal never borders on adiposity. 881
But he admires plumpness as he abhors skinniness. I was 192
never able to discover a word in his language for fat, stout, or obese (indeed, there are, generally speaking, no such figures to be seen); but for a comparatively well-fleshed body he simply uses the word 'good'. Altogether I think we may attach a good deal of value to the native's own explanation of seclusion, and may conclude that the principal purpose of that seclusion is to make the initiate put on flesh, to bring him as near to an admired condition of plumpness as the physical make-up and the *milieu* of an Orokaiva will permit.

Just as the native admires a well-conditioned body, so he [732]
has a peculiar sensitiveness regarding physical deformity, and a horror of projecting bones and skinniness. An interesting evidence of this is found in the swear-words or terms of abuse which he uses. Besides such expressions as *Sovai-ta-mei* (son of a *sovai*) and *Pureambo* (waster or lazy-bones), there are *Temburite* (skinny-ribs), *Teperete* (spindle-shanks), *Kumuperete* (which means that the backbone is visible), *Abo-pokumo* (too much of the sacral vertebrae), *Utu-jabuti* (elephantiasis legs), *Tunga-dipori* (long neck),
Tengeu-pepeki (big ears). Not a few of his ritual precautions 881
are aimed at preventing these deformities, and it appears 826
that he is specially liable to contract them at the end of his
seclusion. Hence the precautionary and purificatory ob- 751
servances which we see at the end of the cycle. For instance, the initiate is not allowed to sit on the ground for fear of *baupeni* (elephantiasis of the scrotum). It is necessary to provide a mat for him to sit on while he is being decorated, and a log while he is going through the *ate-ate* ceremony. Similarly there are various precautions against baldness, which I have mentioned; and before he is quite free to come and go as he pleases he must pass through a general purificatory rite, viz. that of the *suna*. The object of the *suna* is expressly to prevent bodily deformities or afflictions such as the prevalent glandular swelling in the groin or the swelling or distortion of joints.

881 In fine it may be argued that the seclusion, together with
826 the purificatory rites at the end of it, aim (the one in a posi-
tive manner, the other in a negative or precautionary man-
ner) at the physical perfection of the initiate.

I have never met with any native rationale for the *suna*
755 *gua* ceremonial observance; but a very similar process is
881 sometimes used in the treatment of sickness; and as the
783 argument is in this case fairly clear it may throw some light
upon the rite in general. A man who has for some time been
suffering from headache and general pains submits himself
to treatment called *jura*.[1] Various leaves (*Tebo*, *Hamanya*,
[824] *Bakimo*, *Haiva*, *Hamburi*, *Kore*, *Urga*, are the names of some of
them—but there are many recipes for *jura*) are scraped and
pounded in a wooden dish with coco-nut oil. The patient
squats over it covering himself with a pandanus mat, a hot
stone is slipped into the dish, and he sits in a cloud of steam.
The only remarkable feature about the leaves used is that
they all possess a more or less strong smell (*mune*), that of
the *tebo* being in European nostrils nothing short of abomin-
able.

[753] Now it is a very common Orokaiva theory that sickness
may be due to the immanence of the spirits of the dead in
the patient, and I have been assured on more than one occa-
sion that they may be driven out by noisome medicines,
simply, it is said, because they cannot endure the smell. The
object of the *jura* fumigation, therefore, seems to be to drive
out the malignant spirits; and (although I have not noted
whether it possessed any strong smell) the ceremonial *suna*
may possibly be used with the same idea. The novices
881 during their true initiation in the *embahi* ceremony, and
783 during their subsequent seclusion and association with the
flutes and bull-roarer, have been in intimate association with
the spirits of the dead—*sovai*, *embahi*, or *siango*. The fact that
there is a vast deal of sham in the whole cycle of ceremonies
does not altogether preclude a belief that the *embahi* are
really present. As we have observed, make-believe and true

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[1] See p. 297. The word is sometimes given to the ceremonial rite which I have called *suna* throughout, but I have not heard the word *suna* given to the 'medical' process.

belief seem with the native to merge into one another: they 881
are too near extremes between which he may be said to 783
shilly-shally. Therefore, when the time comes to be done with the ceremony for good and all, he takes the precaution of removing by a final purificatory rite all possible influences for evil which the *embabi* may have left in the initiates. The same explanation, it may be noted, is offered for the various rites, including the *suna*, observed by the man-slayer, who must rid himself of the peculiarly malignant spirit of the man he has slain.

The Otobu. It remains now to say something further of the 301
otobu. I have already referred to the homicidal *otobu*, or *esa*,
in Chapter XI, and described the rites observed in the be- 554
stowal of the ordinary *otobu* in the present chapter. It is now our task to consider the meaning—or the various meanings—of the word. The *otobu* may for the present be defined as one of a number of distinctive ornaments or objects which, at a price, are ceremonially bestowed, and which the recipient is thenceforward entitled to wear or use.
It will be understood that any one who was, so to speak,
masquerading with an *otobu* would be exposed to obloquy or [626]
ridicule. In earlier days it is doubtful whether any man would have had the hardihood or folly to attempt it. Where, therefore, one sees a man holding a highly ornamented lime gourd with a shell mouth-piece, or a string bag decorated with dogs' teeth, or wearing cuscus streamers tied at intervals with bunches of feathers, it may be concluded that he has paid the price for them (or probably that the price has been paid in his behalf) and that he is fully entitled to their use.

There is a considerable variety of these ceremonial objects, e.g. a specially ornamented *bo* or string bag (*eti* or *betava*), decorated spears or stone clubs, bone forks for eating, lime-pots, belts embroidered with *saima* shells or made of black creeper cord, cuscus streamers, &c. More commonly they take the form of ornaments (*bambo*) for the breast or forehead—hornbill beaks set in a half-circle, *gana*, *buave*, *bomo*, and the like (*vide* p. 39). They are always fine examples of their kind, and in some cases are extremely

301 ornate, with pendants and rosettes of dogs' teeth and scarlet
seeds. They do not take the form of feather head-dresses,
554 which constitute what I have throughout called the *kokumbari*. It will be understood, though, that the word *kokumbari* means literally 'decorate', and might correctly be applied to the *otobu*. A distinction is sometimes drawn between *di-kokumbari* (bird or feather decoration) and *bambo-kokumbari* (ornament decoration), the latter, of course, meaning the *otobu*. However, I shall continue to restrict the word '*kokumbari*' to the feather decorations which every initiate receives, and which are, as it were, cheaper than the *otobu*.

301 I have been assured that, whereas the *kokumbari* is given
554 properly by the *nobo*, the *otobu* is given by the *mama* (not the
actual father, but one of the paternal uncles); but we find
431 that the latter rule, like the former, will not come well out
of the wash. It is customary, of course, for the candidate's
parents to supply the pig which is the price of the *otobu*.
(In some cases he does so himself.) The father will bespeak
[443] the services of some other—a craftsman—to make the
actual ornament, and this man (the *otobu-embo*) is called upon as much for his skill and artistry as for any special relationship he bears to the boy. Among twenty-one cases it appeared that the *otobu-embo* was *mama* to the candidate in nine (in one of them he was the real father), *nobo* in six, *bitepemi* in three, *nabori* in one, *abije* (grandfather) in one, and in the last he was of no recognized relationship but merely *otavo*, or friend, to the candidate's father.

There is no actual social necessity for every man to receive an *otobu*, though it seems probable that at some time or other nearly every one does. And these further points are significant, that one person may receive a number of them at different times, and that he may receive them at any age.

The usual occasion for presenting them is at the *kokumbari* ceremony in which the recipients are sometimes quite young children who are still a long way from puberty. Again, as we have seen, the *otobu* may be given to the man-slayer (though this is not absolutely invariable). But it appears further that an opportunity for bestowing an *otobu* might be made at any and every ceremony. Thus, for in-

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stance, at a dance in Petakiari, when a widow ceremonially 554
discarded her mourning jacket of *baja*, or Job's Tears, she 431
was presented with an *otobu* in the form of a specially decorated *be*, and this with all the usual formalities.

In view of these facts we may regard the *otobu* as embodying a social distinction. It implies that its owner has paid a pig, or that it has been paid in his behalf, and thus the ornament has been formally and regularly acquired. Further, to the native who loves ostentation the *otobu* is worth having for its own sake, apart from any social distinction it may connote: it is a fine thing, for instance, to wear a 'magnet-shaped' shell ornament (*mondo*) passed through one's nose-hole and dangling somewhat awkwardly in front of one's lips, or to sit and rattle one's spatula noisily in the shell mouth-piece of an *otobu* lime-pot. In short the *otobu* has both honorific and decorative value.

It would seem that in Orokaiva custom as we find it there 301
is no very essential difference between the 'pig *otobu*' and 554
the 'man *otobu*',[1] or *esa*. They are of the same nature, but 727
one is bought with the body of a pig and the other with that of a human victim. As we have seen, a victim's body may be used alternatively with that of a pig to satisfy social obligations, as, e.g., in the matter of a bride-price. It is therefore likely that a man who had a corpse at his disposal might equally acquire an *otobu* with it, and in this view it would appear that the homicidal *otobu*, or *esa*, was less an *insigne* conferred, *causa honoris*, upon the man-killer as such, than an ordinary *otobu* purchased with the body of his victim.

Against this view, however, are the facts that certain of the *otobu* ornaments assuredly do stand more or less distinctively as homicidal insignia, and that in conferring an *otobu* a warrior of renown always recites his past conquests and sometimes calls upon the candidates to follow his martial example. These facts may hint that all *otobu* were originally dependant upon the slaying of a man, the pig *otobu* being nothing more than a poor and unromantic sub-

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[1] See p. 178; also Beaver, 'Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 98.

301 554 727 stitute. If such be the case, however, the change must have taken place or the substitution have been allowed in the very distant past, for we find that the well-established custom of the Orokaiva was to grant *otohu* both for human corpses and for pigs, and not only to man-slayers, but to boys, women, and young girls. So that an *otohu* together with the social *éclat* and dignity which its possession implies, is not only for the man-slayer but is within the reach of every one.

301 554 196 But the *otohu* with its social distinction may involve some social obligation. And this brings us to a discussion on the meaning of the word, which proves indeed a rather baffling subject. Beaver (who uses the Binandele form of the word, viz. *kotopu* or *Kortopo*) has said: 'I am not altogether clear whether the word "Kortopo" is strictly applicable to the act, the ceremony, the thing, the donor, the recipient, or to all of them, and, in describing the ceremony, therefore, the word may be used rather loosely. The Anglican Mission uses the word in the Binandele language to translate our "set apart", and therefore "holy". The sense, I gathered from my informants, was that of "superman", and indeed it is no great tax on the mind to connect the two.'[1]

While I would not deny that both these meanings may attach to the word, I still have not met them in my own inquiries. The only time I heard anything approaching the meaning 'superman' was when an Orokaiva, who had settled in another part of the Territory, gave *kotopu* as the equivalent in his language for 'chief'. The meaning of 'set apart' or 'holy' perhaps comes nearer to the results of my own questioning.

Adjectivally, the word seems to indicate 'well-behaved' in the widest sense of the term. It was applied to a law-abiding and amenable member of society, and perhaps the nearest equivalent in our language would be 'decent' or 'respectable'. The emphasis is certainly laid on the milder virtues rather than the more heroic. Thus a man was *otohu* or *otohu-embo* who did not quarrel, who did not beat his wife or children, who did not ill-treat his dogs and pigs, and who did not steal. According to one informant, an *otohu* man

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 98.

was he who went about his work quietly, who returned 301
from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, 554
and then chewed his betel without 'rowing'. Diligence 196
bears some part in this rather complex ideal, and so certainly does generosity: an *otobu-embo*, I was assured, would never refuse a request for tobacco. But it is on the negative virtues of respectability that the greater stress is laid.

Now I am bound to think that this concept of *otobu* as a 301
good character bears directly on the instructions which the
aguma gives the initiate at the bestowal of the *otobu* ornament. 554
I have heard a number of versions of these instructions: the 867
youth is adjured not to quarrel or brawl, not to steal, not to 881
commit adultery. He is told to be diligent in the garden, in hunting, and in fishing; and to be generous and helpful, never refusing to fetch wood and water, or to give betel-nut to his friend. So a woman is told to lend an ear to what her husband says, and never give him 'strong talk' in return; to accompany him wherever he goes; to be faithful to him; and to keep her hands off other women's property.

It is at the actual presentation of the *otobu* ornament that these injunctions are laid upon the youth or the girl, and thenceforward, it appears, the initiate must live up to the *otobu* character. I have been told that a man might refuse to enter into a quarrel, saying, No, I am an *otobu-embo*; whereas one who had never received the *otobu* would grow up bad-tempered and a ne'er-do-well.

We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an *otobu* does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable member of that society.

I would not claim that this meaning, viz. decent or amen- 301
able to society, was necessarily the basic meaning of *otobu*. 554
I should think rather that the name belonged in the first 196
place to the concrete object or ornament, and that it came to be used for the negative virtues of respectability because those virtues were impressed upon the youth when the ornament was given him.

I am quite unable to offer any useful conjecture as to the

381 554 196 derivation of the word. It was observed that *otobu* was the name given to the 'male' flute at Wasida, though this seems to throws no light on its meaning. More interesting perhaps is the fact that among the Baruga, southern neighbours to the Orokaiva, *kotopo* means a clan badge; and that this badge commonly takes the form of some arrangement of white ovulum shells which are presented to the initiates (fixed to their arms or legs) when they emerge from seclusion. It is not impossible that the Orokaiva *otobu* (or *kotopo*)—although it has no clan significance—should have been originally identical with the clan badge of the Baruga.

Girls' Puberty Seclusion

881 The puberty seclusion of girlhood together with the formal ceremony of emergence may be treated separately, although they are in principle similar to the initiatory seclusion and the début which have been described in the foregoing pages. This last section should be regarded as an appendix to the present chapter.

[841] As explained on p. 184, the girl enters seclusion directly her first menses appear. After a term of varying length she makes a début similar to that of the initiates and receives her *kokumbari* or feather decorations. She may be content with this, marry, and never pass through her initiation. But very commonly she will qualify for initiation and an *otobu*, and this will necessitate a second seclusion among the initiates. It is the first, or puberty initiation, which I shall now briefly describe.

The girl is confined in a specially constructed compartment of the house. I have cases in which this was variously the house of her father, her maternal uncle, and her husband's father (for a girl may go to the house of her husband's father before she has reached the age of puberty). She is commonly confined alone, though, if by a happy coincidence several girls in the neighbourhood reach this point of development at about the same time, it will be arranged that they come down out of their seclusion on one and the same occasion. It thus happens that the duration of their confinement varies considerably, one girl having to wait for another.

The seclusion will probably last several months; but in this, 881 as in most other cases of seclusion, the time is not fixed, but depends upon the pig[1] and the garden produce. When these are ready the seclusion may be brought to an end.

The girl's confinement is not always of the strictest. She may retire to the bush either by means of a passage between palm-leaf walls at the rear of the house, or else she may walk out wrapped in an *obi* mat. These precautions are meant, of course, to screen her from the view of the village. The compartment in which she lives is small and dark, perhaps a walled-off corner, though she is not confined there perpetually. In some cases I noted that she was allowed the freedom of the whole house. She is well fed, and lives in complete and probably contented idleness; nor can I hear of any special instructions which her elders may impart to her during this period. Her body is covered with a mess [302] of coco-nut oil and charcoal, the effect of which is supposedly to make her complexion fairer (*panjari* or *bohoma*). In the broad daylight the skin of a secluded girl wears a somewhat yellow or sallow tint which is deemed attractive. She must avoid being seen by men, though this rule evidently does not apply to her father and immediate male relatives.

When preparations for the girl's début are complete she [482] is carried down to the river at earliest dawn on the shoulders of a woman, and there the oil and charcoal are washed off. This operation should be over in time for the girl to be back in her house before full daylight, but one may be up in time to witness the curious spectacle of a woman staggering through the village with a full-grown girl, completely naked, sitting astride her shoulders. In the very touchy or susceptible condition in which a girl finds herself at the end of seclusion, it appears that there is a source of danger in contact with the ground. But this risk, if it is always felt, is sometimes ignored, for on one occasion I saw several

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[1] One pig, indeed, may serve for several quite independent ceremonies. A man Tembari, for example, has his pubescent daughter and his widowed sister both interned in his house. He has a pig fattening, and when it has reached a satisfactory size it will serve for a feast at which his daughter and sister will terminate their seclusion and his son receive a perineal band.

881 girls who ended their seclusion together go down on foot to the river. Here they were washed by a number of older women, who engaged in a boisterous water-fight, and then all returned in a body dancing and singing extremely indecent songs.

After this bath at day-break the remainder of the morning is given to decorating the girl. Her skin is oiled again, the hair is shaved back a little from her forehead (merely for effect, I believe), and she is bedecked with feathers and ornaments.

The actual début of the girl, or in many cases of the girls, is made with some little dramatic effect. They have been brought together in one house, before which is set up a screen of palm-leaves with an opening or gateway concealed behind curtains of bark-cloth. When all is in readiness, the curtains are drawn apart and reveal the girls standing abreast, with a young man on either flank, apparently as escort. The girls are armed with spears or pineapple clubs; and in one hand they may carry a bunch of ripe betel-nuts, or a new-painted *bo*, rolled up, which will presently serve as a dancer's shawl. The striking feature of their make-up is the
[292] *bo* or bark-cloth skirt which they are actually wearing. This is of plain bark-cloth, unornamented save for splashes or smears of red; and in front and rear it has a hole which purports to expose their genitalia to the view of the onlookers. Thus attired the young women move slowly and in silence across the village and sit in a row on a log which their escorts have procured for them. After remaining some ten minutes on the log they rise and seat themselves on a coco-nut mat (*tere*) spread on the ground; and then after another ten minutes or so they rise once more and mingle with their friends. They will subsequently join in the dance which has been organized for the occasion, and they will not discard their
[783] ornaments till sunset. The ceremony has not ended until they eat the purificatory stew called *suna*, and steam their bodies over it.

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751 I have never succeeded in obtaining any satisfactory explanation for the details of this procedure, i.e. the weapons, the betel-nuts, &c. The perforation of the *bo* is to the native

an old custom: in after-life a girl would be put to shame if 881
she were reminded that she had made her début without 751
observing that inexplicable but important detail. Some said that the holes in the *bo* were safeguards against the bodily deformities and swellings which the Orokaiva so much dreads; though why they should have this effect remained a problem. It may be that the red smears on the bark-cloth were symbolical of menstrual blood, though no native witness gave that interpretation or any other to them. The sitting first on a log and then on a *tere* mat are both precautions against physical deformity: they exemplify the same ceremonial avoidance of contact with the ground which we have seen with initiates in the *kokumbari* ceremony. Lastly, the fumigation or steaming over the pot of *suna*, and the application of it to parts of the body, are all directed against the same possibility, that of physical deformity.

Among the southern tribes the girl continues to wear an 291
ordinary *bo* (i.e. without perforation) after the ceremony. Among the northern she goes naked until her marriage.

XIII

CEREMONIES OF MOURNING

764 765 BEFORE commencing a full account of mortuary ceremonies it will be as well to anticipate by a summary to which the reader may turn back for reference in the course of a long and perhaps bewildering description.

(1) First comes the ceremonies of actual burial, which are followed by the widow's seclusion (pp. 210 ff.; 215 ff.).

(2) The widow emerges from her seclusion and assumes the jacket which is the special sign of mourning (pp. 218 ff.).

(3) The widow discards her mourning jacket, and the other mourners give up the voluntary tabus they have undergone (pp. 224 ff.). After a protracted general tabu on the food supplies, there follows,

(4) An important ceremonial feast and dance, accompanied among the northern tribes by a dramatic performance.

(5) The last of the mortuary ceremonies is the ritual disposal of the paraphernalia of this dance and drama (p. 253).

These five stages or landmarks may be separated from one another by intervals of many months. In the course of the present chapter and the next, continual reference will be made to them in order to keep the sequence of events clearly before the reader. The fourth and fifth stages will be dealt with under Dance and Drama, Chapter XIV.

Death and Burial

763 When death occurs in an Orokaiva village the women burst into loud lamentations, and rush to the nearest swamp to bedaub themselves with mud. Sometimes they mistake coma for death, and the dead man awakes in the midst of the lamentations. Sometimes—one might say usually—they begin wailing as soon as they are convinced that the patient is sinking and death is not far off.

I well remember such a scene about a dying infant. The poor child—if it retained consciousness enough to care—might well have been annoyed by a deafening clamour of

grief, and its last moments were no doubt rendered fewer 763
and more uncomfortable by the attentions of its relatives.

When the victim of this solicitude is finally dead, he is 764
stretched out on his back. His face is painted and his head
decorated with ornaments and a feather head-dress. Some
of these will be buried with him; but his children will
remove and keep the more valuable. The corpse of a man
is entirely naked; that of a woman wears a *bo*.

If the deceased be a man of any importance, his body is
laid out on a sloping platform (*babari*) in the village. It is 417
made of logs set at an angle of about 20 degrees, and the
corpse is laid upon it feet downwards and with arms outstretched.
This *babari* is said to be meant for the convenience
of the mourners who wish to embrace the corpse.

The posthumous honour of a *babari* is denied to a woman 764
for a curious reason which I have heard several times 562
repeated. Women are too fond of *bivije* or adulterous intercourse,
and are therefore undeserving of the dignity of an
elevated position. They are laid on a mat on the ground,
and the only real regret for them is said to be on the part
of those who have enjoyed their favours. And since these
latter are ashamed to weep for fear of betraying themselves,
the woman goes unwept and unhonoured to her grave.
This explanation, needless to say, was derived from male
informants, and, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief
at a woman's death are hardly less extravagant than at a
man's.

The mourners flock in from all villages in the neighbourhood, 764
pausing on the way to smear themselves with mud,
pusu (from which they get the name of *pusu-embo* or 'muddy
men'). They desert their gardens or whatever work they 202
have in hand at the sound of the *bui*, which repeatedly gives
a very long-drawn note as a signal of death. Their attendance 576
is not entirely obligatory, but it is regarded as a
matter of decency to attend the funeral of a neighbour: and
the relatives of the deceased will be offended if there is not
a large muster. It is to be suspected, moreover, that the 764
mourners derive some satisfaction from the very exuberant 152
way they have of showing their grief, and, in the case of the

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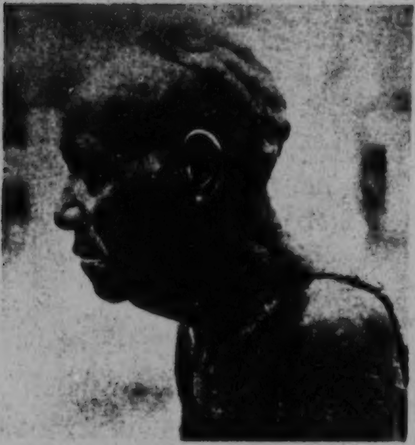
many who are but remotely connected with the deceased, it is possible that they find some actual pleasure in surrendering themselves to a violent emotion. Nevertheless, one may definitely discount the belief of some Europeans that the grief of natives in bereavement is not genuine. My own observations have led me to form the contrary opinion, viz. that their grief is distressingly real. The fallacy may have its origin in the fact that a great number of the mourners do wilfully abandon themselves to the excitement of an emotion which is conjured up for the occasion. But one need only look at a bereaved parent or a widow to see that her sorrow, at any rate, is no counterfeit.

At the death of an old man, Handau of Korisata, when his body had been removed from the *babari* because of rain and laid under his house, there was a continual striving among the mourners to get near him. Squatting or kneeling around they would hold him by the hands, the feet, or the neck, or fling themselves down and embrace him. One man, standing with legs astride the corpse, would jog continually up and down and howl in a manner which gave one an actual sensation of hoarseness by listening to him. Another was shaking, apparently uncontrollably, in every limb, while a friend tried to quieten him. A woman was dancing outside, or perhaps rather flinging herself about, while a second woman held her from behind with arms under her arms and around her breasts in the endeavour to restrain her.

It is, in fact, customary at such times for those who are less deeply affected to restrain or protect those who are really besides themselves with grief, or who, in other cases, are shamming too realistically; and sometimes these guardians may even tie ropes about the waists of their charges and thus follow them in order to keep them the better out of mischief. Women make a practice of cutting their foreheads, cheeks, and shoulders with quartz, glass, or knives. They beat themselves on the back with heavy stones. They will lick 'sand-paper' leaves till their tongues bleed, saying, 'He used to give me pig and taro to eat in my mouth: now I will make my mouth bleed'. It would seem that men are somewhat less severe on themselves, though they may cut



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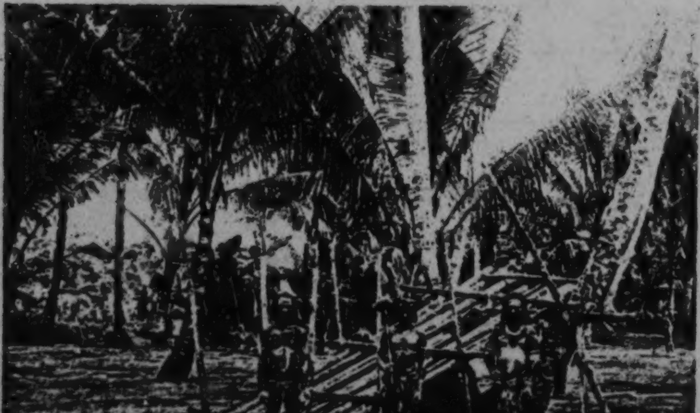
(*a*) Hair shaved in Mourning.
Not an usual mode



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(*b*) The *Bahari* or Exposure Platform for the Corpse

PLATE XXVII [facing p. 212]

764 their shoulders or beat themselves on the forehead with
152 their clubs. Mourners will chew a poisonous root until
their mouths and throats are severely corroded; and I know
one man whose scarred buttocks afford irremovable evidence
of the fact that he deliberately sat down in the fire at a
764 funeral. Even cases of suicide are not altogether uncommon.
A village constable not long ago poisoned himself
152 with 'New Guinea Dynamite' after his wife's death; a
762 woman who saw both her brother and her son die within a
short space of time went and hanged herself with a strip of
bark-cloth; and a distracted widower of Wasida took a flying
leap (though strangely not a fatal one) over a cliff of some
thirty feet into a rocky river-bed. I dislike capping my own
story with another man's, but cannot forbear to quote one
of Mr. Flint's:

> 'An old man informs me that some time ago a woman held a tomahawk above her head and brought it down with such force that her skull was fractured. She died three days later from the effects of the injury. This woman had evidently been in the habit of hitting herself with a stone club and, to use my informant's words, "Did not savvy the white man's axe".'[1]

764 A woman once gave me an odd reason, but perhaps an
152 understanding one, for these violent manifestations of grief.
Grief itself is called *jo*, and this woman said that drastic
measures such as the hacking of cheeks were meant to put
a speedy end to the *jo*. Otherwise it would remain with the
mourners for a long time.

764 After lying in state, so to speak, for perhaps a day and night, the body is wrapped in pandanus-leaf mats and bark-cloth for burial. The grave (*use*) is 3 or 4 feet deep. It contains an oblong 'coffin' (*detemba*), the floor of which is made of palm-wood strips like that of a house. The *detemba* is really no more than a strong framework of size sufficient to accommodate the body in a supine position. It is eventually covered with a roofing of poles and a large sheet of bark (*gapa*) to protect the corpse from the earth when it is thrown in.[2]

[1] *Annual Report*, 1924–5, p. 47.

[2] In the Sangara tribe (and possibly in others as well) the grave is undercut on one side at the bottom, the reason being once more to protect the body in its *detemba*

764 The grave is dug with knives, sticks, and finger-nails, and the earth scooped out with a wooden dish (*teva*). In one instance a number of young men acted as grave-diggers; the deceased (a woman) stood in the various relationships of *aja*, *tata*, *imboti*, *du*, and *bovatu* to them, and they came from six different villages. It seems clear, therefore, that the function of grave-digger does not belong to any particular relatives.

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152 The body, whether of man or woman, is usually carried from the house to the grave by women. Many crowd around, and when the body is laid down in line with the grave there is a veritable scrum of mourners about it. Each is wailing or dirging independently, and to a listener at close quarters the atmosphere seems to be fairly dancing with the discord, though at a distance their combined voices resolve themselves into a rich monotone. The lamentation of the adult takes a lyrical turn in which extempore words are chanted loudly and with some semblance of rhythm, but I do not forget hearing the young son of a dead woman repeatedly scream, '*Aja, aja!*' as if perhaps his grief were too great even for the restraint of a dirge.

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775 When for a few moments comparative quietness has been secured, an elderly man, holding in one hand a spear and in the other a bunch or ornaments, stands by the corpse and, pressing upon its feet with one of his own, as if to rouse (*ajari*) or attract its attention, he declaims what we might call a valediction. Of this I have several renderings which agree in essence but differ sufficiently to show that this farewell address is not a set form. The gist of it is as follows: 'Go now to a good place, not an evil one; go to the road of the sunshine, not to the road of the rains; go where there are neither mosquitoes nor march-flies, but where there are pigs in plenty and taro in plenty. Send us pigs and send us taro, and we shall make a feast in your honour, and pay-

from the superincumbent earth. In the hilly country of the Dirou tribe there is a system of cave burial which is foreign to the Orokaiva at large. The body is here wrapped in bark cloth and encased in a roughly meshed structure of cane. This, supported on a pole between two trestles or props, is set up in some inaccessible cave or fissure in the rocks, and allowed to decompose and fall. I am told that when the package has fallen to pieces and only the skeleton is left, the valuable beads or ornaments which were attached to the body are removed.

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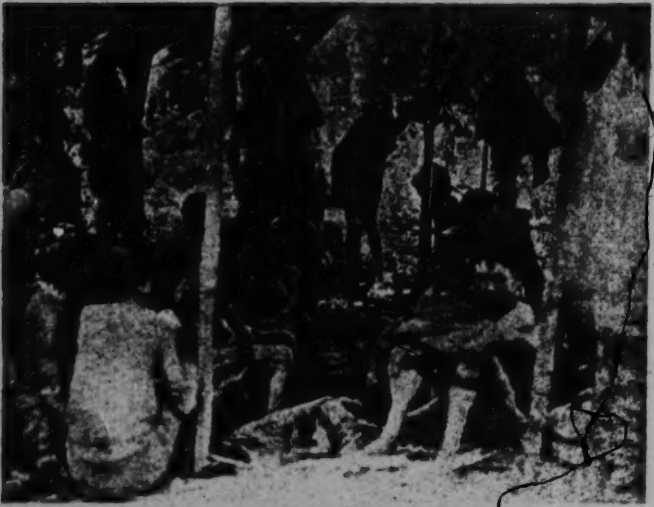
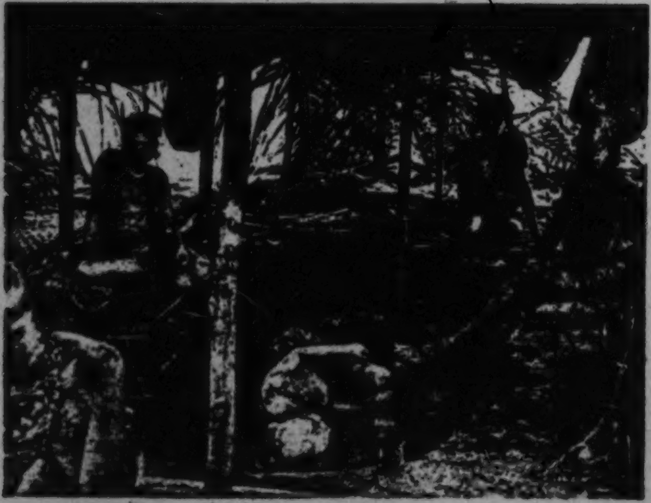


(*a*) Crowding about the Grave



(*b*) Widow lying in the Grave

PLATE XXVIII

[facing 214]

764 537 776 ment to those who have mourned for you.' The 'road of the sunshine' (*iji-deita*) was said (when I asked where it was) to be in the east, and the 'road of the rains' in the west, where there are great downpours on the slopes of the Central Range; but it may be said very emphatically that there is no idea of a general Paradise or Elysium in the east, but only of various scattered *sovai-ta-na* or 'villages of the spirits', which are usually in fairly close proximity to the villages of the living. The contrast between sunshine and rain really points to the desired contrast between cheerfulness and gloom, not to that between east and west.

The spear and the handful of ornaments are presented—only in form—to the dead, and he is adjured to present them in turn to the other *sovai* whom he is to meet. He is told to announce his name to them, and the name of his father, to call upon them 'to make way for him, to blow the trumpet, beat the drums, and prepare a feast', and he will hand them these as, it would appear, conciliatory gifts.

764 152 When this address is concluded the body is lowered into the grave. The women who are still clinging about it must first be dragged or thrown aside, and this is done by one or two young men with a roughness which is not inexcusable. The grave is only partly filled, and the earth stamped down. In the shallow depression which remains the mourners throw themselves down—as many as can find a place—and veritably wallow in their grief. They almost jostle for position, so much so that I have seen a bereaved husband compelled to push and shoulder his way through a throng of mourners to secure a place at the grave of his wife.

Mourning Seclusion

765 It is customary among all the tribes for a widow to go into seclusion for some time after her husband's death. In certain tribes the widower is also secluded under similar circumstances, but as this latter custom is not universal I shall in the following section deal solely with the seclusion of the widow.

When the excitement—for such it is—of the funeral has died away, the widow (*doru*) of the deceased is left, perhaps

765 with one or two other women, at his grave. Formerly the
grave was under the house of the deceased; now by Government
[764] regulation it is in the bush at some distance from the
village. It is natural that the natives should do their best to
evade this regulation, because the custom of burial under
the house is no doubt based on sentiment. Informants
765 repeatedly state that they dislike burying their dead at a
152 distance because they are sad or 'belly-sore'. I have also
heard that they dislike the thought of a grave neglected and
overgrown; but the principal idea is, as informants have
stated it to be, that the living cannot bear the parting with
the dead. They cling as long as they can even to his inanimate
presence. Sometimes in these days the dead are
actually buried in the village, though if the fact is discovered
or betrayed, the mourners are likely to work out their
sorrow in gaol. More commonly the difficulty is overcome
by a rather pathetic subterfuge. The grave is placed in the
bush not far from the village, and a small house is built over
it in which the widow secludes herself, just as in former
times she would have been secluded over her husband's
grave in her own house. When a Government patrol
draws near, the grave shelter is of course empty.

765 The widow's seclusion is a long one, and the greater part
of it she spends in her own house, i.e. that of her deceased
husband. It is not clear when she is transferred from the
grave shelter to the house, though it appears that this may be
made the occasion of a feast. (Regarding this feast I have
very little information, but it is of minor consequence at
any rate, and cannot, I think, be regarded as a regular
feature of the cycle of mortuary ceremonies.) While in the
shelter the widow sleeps actually in the grave, above the
corpse of her husband, which is covered only with a shallow
layer of earth. I am told that she will from time to time
765 burrow with her fingers in the earth, and whenever she dis-
775 covers some maggots (*[illegible]*) she will carry them off and
deposit them in one place in the bush nearby. Here they
accumulate and disappear, being supposedly transformed
into the *sovai* of the deceased. I do not know whether this
belief and practice (which I found among the Aiga) are of

general distribution. At any rate they illustrate only one 765 of the theories as to the transformation of human beings into 775 *sovai*. It is after this disagreeable rite has been performed that the widow moves from the grave shelter to the house, or in former times, we may assume, from the ground under the house to the living room above.

It is the general rule for the widow to be secluded in the 765 house of her husband, though in some instances it appears that the house in which the deceased lived is tabu, being 784 avoided on account of fear. But such cases are evidently exceptional. In the event of evacuation it was not the custom to destroy the house but to leave it, probably surrounded by a tabu string. A house is left when it is thought 775 to be 'haunted' by a *sovai*, and it is not only in a house of recent death that this supposed situation can arise. I have known a young married pair abandon a house because their baby was continually ailing, a fact which they attributed to the presence of a *sovai*. Similarly a whole village may be deserted if its inhabitants get the idea into their heads that it is haunted by malignant spirits.

It is only upon the widow, not upon the other women- 765 folk of the deceased, that rigid seclusion is enforced; though a mother will voluntarily remain for a long time at the grave of her child. In some tribes the widower undergoes seclusion. This is so, I understand, in the Wasida, Sangara, Sauaha, Yega, and Tain-Daware tribes. Among the Aiga and the Binandele he is not secluded. Of the other tribes I have no reliable information.

During seclusion the widow (or the widower) is engaged in making the mourning jacket *baja*—so called because it is [292] made of *baja* (*coix lachrimae* seeds, or Job's Tears). She has no other work to do. She receives frequent friendly visits from the women of the village, who make her pre- [431] sents of food and assist her to make the *baja*, for which the seeds are gathered by her son or some relative of the deceased. She is not seen by the villagers, and her voice is supposed to remain unheard. Indeed, while living for some months in a village rest-house I was completely unaware that a widow was secluded in the house opposite, and that

765 not more than thirty yards away. The reason given for the long seclusion of widowhood was the curious one of 'shame' (*meh*). The woman, it would appear from this explanation, cannot bear to face the people of the village; though I cannot believe that it is merely her grief which she is afraid of showing, for natives are not in the habit of hiding this emotion.

'Gorukari': Ending the Seclusion

The widow's seclusion comes to an end with a feast and a ceremony called *gorukari*. This, it will be remembered, marks the second stage in the cycle of mortuary ceremonies (*vide* p. 210).

765 When, in former times, the widow's husband had been
slain by an enemy tribe, her seclusion must continue till
628 a victim had been secured from that tribe; and it was the
[266] corpse of this victim which constituted the *pièce de résistance*
of the feast. She was compelled to remain in seclusion till
revenge was satisfied. In the fable where a crocodile de-
765 vours a man, his wife goes into seclusion immediately; but
when on the following day her son captures the crocodile
and drags it to the house, she comes down, stands on the
creature's body, and cries, 'Why did you take my man?';
and then the people dance the *kuru* dance, and her seclusion
is over.

In peaceful modern times the victims would be unprocurable, and by the same token the necessity for them does not arise. The seclusion, therefore, is brought to an end when there is a suitable accumulation of food, and its duration is correspondingly variable. The feast on this occasion is called *pusu-ijuka*, lit. 'the counting of the mud', i.e. the reckoning by which the *pusu-embo* (p. 211) are paid for their efforts at the funeral. The people of the deceased husband provide the bulk of the provisions for this feast, but they are assisted by the people of the widow. All the mourners who paid the deceased the final compliment of bedaubing themselves with mud, of wailing, or of digging his grave, are invited to receive their 'payment'; but relatives on both husband's and wife's side will contribute. Apart, however,

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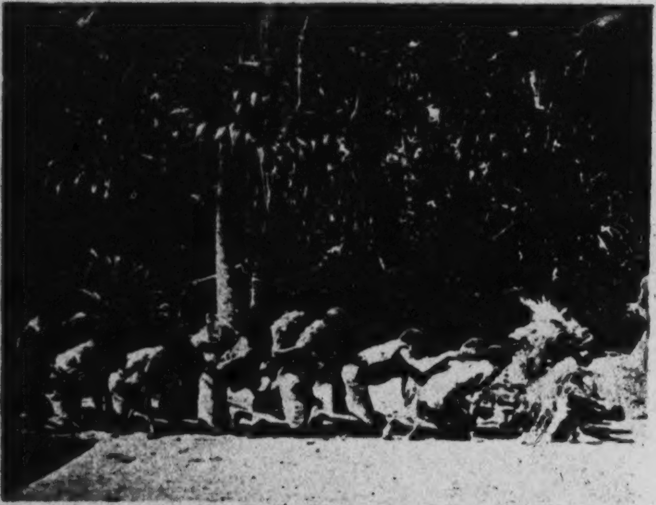
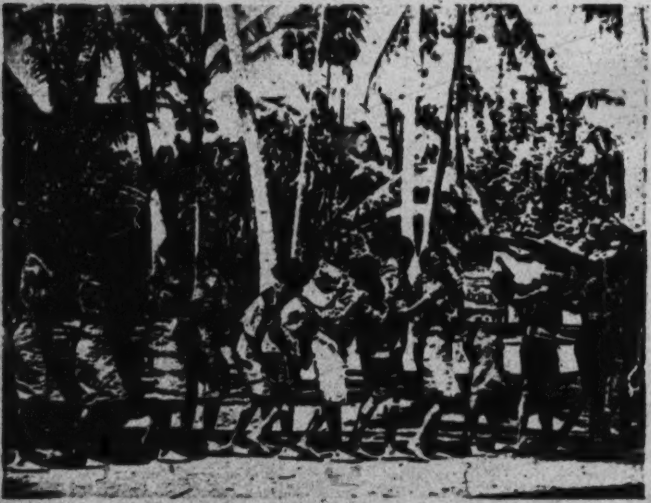


(*a*) First stage of the *Gorukari* or Emergence of the Widow from Seclusion



(*b*) Second stage of the *Gorukari*

PLATE XXIX
[facing p 218]

765 from this paying of the nondescript body of mourners to which both groups contribute, it is evident that on the occasion of the *gorukari* the people of the deceased husband make some payment of food to those of the widow. In fact, amid some confusion of evidence it appears that it is virtually the people of the deceased husband who provide the feast which makes it possible for the widow to emerge from seclusion.

A few days prior to the actual *gorukari*, or emergence of the widow, the principal man of the village performs an interesting rite called *jage* or 'hailing'. Soon after dusk the people of the village are assembled, the younger men holding drums and standing in readiness for a dance. Now, while all maintain a tense silence, the chief man raises his voice and in long-drawn notes cries out the name of the deceased. There is heard an inarticulate reply from somewhere in the bush, and the old man then continues in the same sounding tones to bid the deceased to be present and witness the descent of his widow from the house of seclusion, and to witness the feast and dance. Then the drums strike up and the youths begin the *kuru* dance. The old man and the listening villagers appear to be fully satisfied that they hear the voice of the deceased, and, indeed, it is regarded as essential, for failing the encouragement of a reply the *gorukari* could not go on. I witnessed the performance of this rite on two occasions. On one of them I confess I heard nothing that resembled an answer from the bush, though the villagers declared they did, and seemed fully satisfied. On the other occasion there was a very distinct reply, an inarticulate halloo, which seemed louder than any echo I had heard in the neighbourhood. I could only conclude that a man had posted himself some distance away in the bush; but it is worth adding that this mundane explanation was laughed to ridicule by the natives present, and no one confessed to having played the part of the deceased.

A number of people will have assembled to witness this formal reappearance of the widow, or *doru*. As so often on such occasions one and the same ceremony may suffice for a number of candidates, so that several *doru* who have been

765 secluded in the neighbourhood may come out simultaneously. They are brought together in one house which is surrounded by a barricade of palm leaves. Here they are attended by a number of women and girls who spend the morning in decorating themselves behind the concealment of the barrier. Four men, who are to assist in the ceremony, also array themselves in full dancing-dress. Soon after midday, when the waiting spectators have already been entertained with a small feast, a few palm leaves are suddenly wrenched away, and in the gap there appear two of the men squatting on their heels and tapping their drums. Behind them is a long single file of kneeling women with two more men bringing up the rear. They all advance slowly, the women on their knees, the men shuffling on the soles of their feet. The *doru*, who wear their jackets of *baja*, are placed in the centre of the line. They cling to one another, or to the women in front of them, and are in turn supported by the women behind them. They wear a voluminous hood or cowl (*pobu*) of bark-cloth embroidered with [292] Job's Tears, and they hang their heads so that their faces are invisible. Having crawled forward in this manner for some twelve or fifteen yards they all rise to their feet, and, without increasing their pace, proceed to follow a semicircular course through the village. Then the four men withdraw, and the women sit down in a group on some palm leaves which have been laid ready. In their midst are the *doru*, their heads hung low, and their faces completely veiled with the *pobu* cowls.

The whole ceremony is somewhat melancholy. The line moves very slowly, the *doru* dragging their feet and leaning heavily for support on the women in front of them. The spectators are seated in a wide half-moon, tapping drums very softly, and now and then intoning a solemn low-pitched '*O*——, *O*——!' But this solemn performance may be succeeded by a dance, which of course gives a new complexion to the scene. On one such occasion which I witnessed, the dancers made their appearance somewhat prematurely, breaking cover at the edge of the village with an inspiring thunder of drums. One of the principals rushed forward dramatically waving them back, but, disregarding him, the dance swept into the village, while the solemn 765 *gorukari* procession went steadily on. In this case the *doru* were helped on to a house verandah, and the younger girls in the procession turned hastily to join in the more animated and attractive entertainment of the dance. Throughout the rest of the day, which witnessed a dance, a dramatic performance, and a feast, the *doru* (of whom there were three) sat on the house verandah without as much as raising their heads to see what was going on.

After this ceremonial emergence the seclusion of the *doru* is over. She continues to wear the *baja*, but may come and go at her ordinary work. She is free to marry again, [587] and marriage may take place before the later ceremony in which the *baja* is discarded. It is said that the halting gait of the widow and her clinging for support upon her neighbour are due to the weakness of her legs after long seclusion; though if we feel inclined to accept such an explanation it must be merely symbolic. The gradual assumption of an upright gait, however, marks in some manner the caution which the native regards as essential in all transition stages. The hiding of the *doru's* face is again attributed to the *meh*, or shame, which was said to be the reason of seclusion in general.

I was assured that among the southern tribes, who practise seclusion of the widower, there was no ceremonial emergence: the widower's legs were supposed to stand the strain of inactivity and he walked out of his seclusion unassisted. But this cannot be altogether correct, for Mr. Wurth has described, in reference to the Eroro district, a solemn procession in single file, each individual resting his hands on the shoulders of the person in front of him, and [292] the widower wearing the mourning jacket of Job's Tears—in fact a ceremonial that corresponds in all essentials to the emergence of the widow.

Signs and Observances of Mourning

The widow continues to wear her jacket of *baja* (*vide* 765 p. 217), and among the coastal people she smears her face 292 and limbs with mud, which dries white and gives her a 302 sufficiently ghastly appearance. (I have not noted in detail

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292 the distribution of this latter custom, but it is not practised [302] among the Aiga or the Binandele.)) The *baja* jacket is worn also by the widower, and various relatives of the deceased bear Job's Tears about their persons as a sign of mourning, sometimes in the form of jackets, sometimes merely as [301] armlets or neck ornaments. The seeds appear to be of two varieties, pale grey or fawn, and with the addition of red and black seeds the *baja* jacket may be very effectively decorated. Except in the case of the widow, it appears that the *baja* may be put off at will: a man will wear it when he 'walks about', and doff it when he works. It is, in fact, rather in the nature of an ornament than of sack-cloth and ashes. However, I have been informed—quite gratuitously—that the *asisi* of the dead is in some manner immanent in the *baja*.

The hood (*pobu*) is either of bark-cloth or of netted string, in either case thickly embroidered with the seeds. A fish-net may be used for the purpose, or the *betava*, i.e. string bag, which belonged to the dead man, and which now figures as a memento.[1]

765 301 There are many minor indications of mourning. A woman will wear mementoes of her husband such as a thick necklet made from his *bo* rolled as if into a rope and covered with *baja*, or a series of pendants—a fragment of the pot in which his food was cooked, a chip of the tree he chopped, his coco-nut spoon, his leglet, a tuft of his hair; and a widower may wear his late wife's taro peeler or her bodkin of flying-fox bone. A recognized symbol of mourning is a necklet of large white beads formed of cooked taro which has hardened. A man will wear a beard and cut his hair 765 302 short in mourning. Both these practices are in the nature of self-castigation, for the Orokaiva fancy a glabrous beauty, and if a man have long head-hair it is felt to be a glory. In one case (to which I have previously drawn attention)

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[1] An interesting mark of mourning is the *rami* or skirt of palm leaf. This is by no means universal, but is found in the Dirou tribe (where it is of coco-nut), and among the people of the lower Opi (where it is of pandanus). In regard to the latter people, it is said that the women of an earlier population, associated with a semi-mythical character, Bubugasere, all wore palm-leaf skirts; but that they dispersed, some to the north and some to the south, so that nowadays these skirts are to be seen on the one hand on the river Waria and on the other about Cape Nelson.

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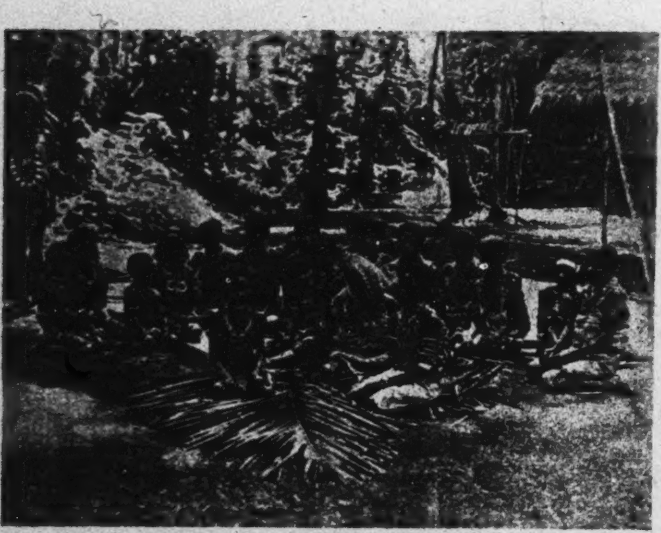
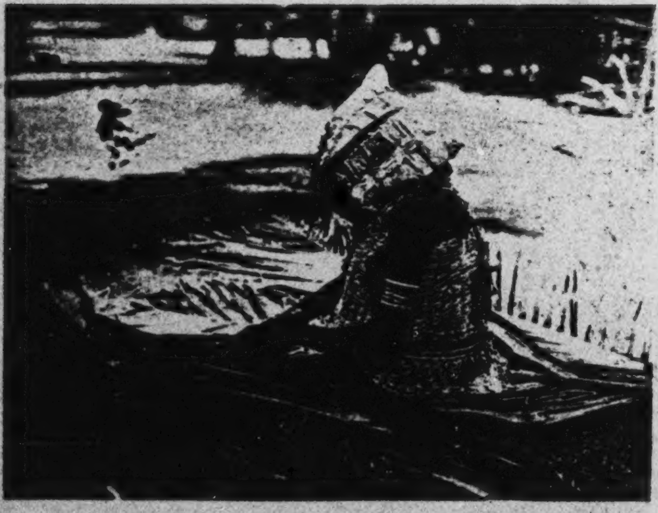


(*a*) The Widow sitting among her attendants



(*b*) The Widow, showing *Baja* jacket and *Pohu*

PLATE XXX [facing p. 222]

765 a man had shaved his hair in mourning for his brother, but 302 left a series of concentric rings; but this, which had a distinctly decorative, and, as the circles were slightly askew, an almost jaunty effect, was, I imagine, quite unusual. [152] Women, who in the excess of their grief hack at themselves with jagged quartz, often bear permanent raised scars on their breasts or shoulders.

Formerly it was the custom to cut down one or more of 765 the coco-nut palms belonging to the deceased. This is now 152 prohibited by the Government, but it appears that the rule 768 was always adjustable to circumstances: if a man had many dependents and few coco-nuts it was not carried out. The felling of palms is only an example of the destruction of some part of the property of the deceased, which is attributed to the *jo*, or sorrow, of his survivors. Pots, for instance, or wooden dishes are dashed to the ground and broken. 'He ate from this dish,' they say, 'therefore we break it'; or 'he ate the fruit of this palm, therefore we cut it down'. I have never heard it suggested that the utensils or the palms were in any way unclean or dangerous. The reason for the destruction is always said to be *jo*. It may be another instance of the native's habit of punishing himself in sorrow, or simply a method of letting off steam: the pots may be smashed in a fury of grief, just as wine-glasses are sometimes smashed in ebullitions of a more joyous emotion.

765 However that may be, I think there is enough in the 152 severity of the native's mourning observances—so much severer than our own—to argue the sincerity of his grief. I may refer lastly to the self-denying tabu of mourning. Such a self-inflicted abstinence is called *bajai*. The mourner may abstain from pig-flesh, taro, tobacco, or betel, &c., or dispense with such articles as a painted *bo* or a string bag. These are very serious deprivations to an Orokaiva. Once more the native is punishing himself in his sorrow. One finds a man, for instance, who voluntarily does without his *betava*, or string bag, that veritable *vade mecum* which is the receptacle for the lime gourd and many other indispensables. His *nabori*, he may tell you, used to help himself in a friendly way to the betel-nuts and lime pot in the *betava*;

765 152 now that his *nabori* is dead he will make do without a *betava*, and carry his lime pot in his hand. Another, who used to dance in a pair with his brother, has forsworn dancing after his brother's death. Another, who used to act as a clown in the plays with his brother (while the latter lived), has given up this also.

Discarding the Signs of Mourning

765 We may now turn to the third stage in the mortuary cycle (*vide* p. 210). Such tabus or *bajai*, as have been described above, are not for ever, but come to an end with a formal ceremony called *tepurukari*, which means literally 'forsake', or 'abandon'. (Another word applied to it is *ate-ate*, which we saw in connexion with the somewhat similar rite described on pp. 192–3.) The mourner makes a payment to an immediate relative of the deceased, and is in return formally relieved of his tabu. He is, for instance, presented with a new *betava*, and may thenceforward use it; or he is presented with the conventional costume of a clown, and may thenceforward act his part. When the tabu is upon some particular food a peculiar rite (to which perhaps the term *ate-ate* applies more specifically) brings it to a formal conclusion. The subject holds his hands, palms downward and fingers interlocked, before his breast, while a little of the tabued food is placed upon them. This he throws backwards over his head, and the tabu is at an end.

The discarding of these *bajai* or tabus is properly made to coincide with the more notable ceremony of discarding the *baja*, which marks the third stage in the series of mortuary ceremonies. As, at the assumption of the *baja*, the feast was provided mainly by the husband's people, so on the occasion of discarding it the feast is provided mainly by the widow's people, who pay a pig to those of the husband, and make over to them the *baja* which the widow has been wearing.

Before the actual ceremony the widow, I am told, goes again to the grave of her husband, taps the ground with her foot, and cries out that she is soon to discard her mourning jacket. Later, when the pig has been slain at the feast, the woman takes off the *baja* and places it on the animal's body.

It is finally wrapped up with some of the fat and entrails and 765 buried. In other cases it is hung up in the garden of the deceased and there left to rot in the sun and rain. This garden has been allowed to fall to rack and ruin since his death: none of its products have been eaten, though the young taro shoots may be transplanted to a new plot. In the Wasida dialect the word *kisa* was applied to such a garden. It appears that in this case the neglect of the garden [753] was less a self-denying tabu than due to an actual fear of evil consequences—such as sore eyes, tooth decay, skinniness—if its products were eaten. And it is noteworthy that such effects would be felt only by the immediate relatives of the dead. It was possible, in fact, to make an exchange of 765 gardens, so that the bereaved relatives would not be left 775 without resources, the *kisa* garden being passed over to one who would take no harm from it, and another being given in exchange to the relatives of the dead. The evil potency of the *kisa* garden is apparently attributed to the malignant spirits of the dead—an explanation for which I have the direct testimony of one informant, although in many other cases it remained inexplicit. It is in keeping with the belief (which is a basis for a system of divination, cf. p. 281) that the dead revisit or haunt their gardens, and in general with the fear which the Orokaiva feels for his deceased relatives *qua sovai*. Among the various mourning tabus which have come to my notice, however, this, viz. the forbidding of the garden to the relatives of the deceased, was the only instance in which the motive was apparently one of fear. All the others were rather manifestations of sorrow.

The Naterari, or Tabu Post

The fourth major mortuary ceremony is a dance, which 765 among the Aiga and Binandele is accompanied by a dramatic 535 performance. The fifth is the ritual disposal of certain 536 materials used in the fourth ceremony. Now I do not believe that the dance and drama are purely and wholly a mortuary ceremony, but that they are at least partly so appears from the facts that the dead are called upon to witness the proceedings, and that, when the proceedings are over, certain

765 paraphernalia connected with the dead are ceremonially and
535 finally disposed of. On the other hand, the dance and drama
536 have their own intrinsic value as forms of art and amusement, and, furthermore, they commonly occur in connexion with the initiation and seclusion of a number of youths and girls.

765 The whole subject of dance and drama, however, will be
784 discussed in the next chapter. In the meantime I shall deal
778 with the tabu upon the food-supply which precedes the
fourth stage, and which makes possible the large feast which is perhaps the most important feature of the proceedings in so far as they are of a mourning nature. The mark of this tabu is the *naterari* or tabu post, which has already been referred to in Chapter VIII, p. 117. As we saw there, it usually takes the form of a rough-hewn pillar or post, standing a few feet high in the open space of the village. Properly speaking it is made of the *heratu* wood of the clan; but when the *heratu* is not of a suitably solid nature the *naterari* may consist merely of a piece of light timber called *pamba* tied to the butt of a palm, or perhaps to a croton bush. *Na* means 'village', and *terari* 'to close up', as a creek is dammed up with stones, or as the hollow drum is closed at one end with the lizard skin. The Binandele word is *ao*, apparently a contraction of *ago* (another dialectal form): I cannot make any suggestion as to its real meaning. In Wasida the same object is called *itembari*, probably a compound of *i*, 'tree', and *tembari*, 'to place on top'. In Doboduru the word was *natembabije*: *na*, 'village', *temba*, 'to place on top', *abije*, 'ancestor'.

Some months after the man's death the *naterari* is set up in the centre of the village, and from this moment the coconuts are not eaten green but allowed to ripen and fall, until at last there is a tremendous accumulation, perhaps laid out in lines on the ground or else piled on a mountainous tripod. Meanwhile the *naterari* has been standing in the village clearing as if silently watching the slow preparations, somewhat weatherbeaten by now, and with its originally garish make-up a little faded. It is, however, treated with a certain amount of care and respect. It is not uncommon to see a

miniature four-legged shelter to protect it from the rain, 765
with a gabled roof of sago thatch, and perhaps underneath 784
the roof a little platform. On this platform may be found 778
an old bamboo cylinder pipe, a lime gourd, perhaps a handful of withered betel-nuts; and besides these a few fragments—fresh or mouldy—of cooked taro. These are so placed for the spirit of the departed, or, to use the Aiga word, the *sovai*. It will come by night and refresh itself to that extent which is proper for a spirit, or as a native will say, with a twinkle in his eye, taking no more than an ant might eat. In addition to these offerings, there may be found certain mementoes of the deceased—an old banana-seed necklace, a shell bracelet, in one case a broken gourd that had been a urinary for an invalid and bed-ridden old man.

When the preparations for the entertainment are complete the *naterari* is removed, and with its removal the coconut tabu comes to an end. Normally, it would appear, the *naterari* stands through the time of feasting and is removed afterwards. Sometimes, I am told, the provisions for the feast are displayed before the post—row upon row of wooden dishes piled with cooked food—and it is called upon to witness the feast in its honour.

There is still something of reverence in the final disposal 765
of the *naterari*. When I suggested chopping it up for fire- 778
wood I was made to feel that this was rather a bad joke. In the inland village it was put aside in the outskirts of the bush, sometimes with a small platform close by for a continuation of the food offerings, and there allowed to decay. On the river Opi it is placed, with other paraphernalia of the dance, upon a raft; with some little ceremony this raft is guided into midstream and released to follow its unattended course toward the sea. Sometimes the *naterari* is stowed away in a house. At any rate it is not simply thrown away and disregarded. For this two reasons are given: first, that the *sovai* or spirit would be angry; second, that the people feel too sorrowful to treat the *naterari* thus.

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It is worth referring to the forms or patterns of the tabu 778
post. The variety is very great, for each example seems to 532

765 take shape from the individual carver's imagination. There
778 is no such thing as a distinctive clan device; and there are
532 no names for particular patterns. In one village a newly erected *naterari* of an unusually pretentious character had been recently substituted for another of inferior workmanship. The latter, though discarded, had not been destroyed. Both belonged to the same clan and village and were set up for the same occasion, but they were wholly different in pattern and appearance.

The treatments range from the very simplest of formal designs to somewhat elaborate representations of the human figure. The latter probably throw some light upon the former. For instance, the prevalent device of cutting through the post so as to leave two separate supports may be reminiscent of the obviously human-like legs of more elaborate figures. There are many *naterari* which apparently do not conform to the implied explanation, but nevertheless it may be said that many do show a slight, and others an unmistakable, anthropomorphic character. The sketches (Fig. 25) were made at various times and entirely at random.

Enough has been said to show that the *naterari* is very closely associated with the dead man for whom the feast is to be made. I do not remember hearing in so many words that the *naterari* actually represented such and such a dead man; but, if I may repeat what was written in Chapter VIII, the fact that the feast is definitely made for the dead man, the care with which the *naterari* is treated, the offerings made to it, the mementoes of the deceased which are attached to it, and the ceremonious way in which it is finally disposed of, would all lend colour to the suggestion that it is regarded as a representative of the dead and is in imagination identified with him. One could not go so far as to say that it was actually an image of him; but in view of its occasionally striking anthropomorphism, it is not impossible that originally the *naterari* was in reality set up as a crude model of the dead. I may give one illustration to show that this idea, or a similar one, has not been entirely forgotten. In one sketch primitively painted on one facet of a post, may be

seen the figure of a man. The *naterari* was cut out, set up, 765
and painted by one Bararipa, pending a feast in honour of 778
his deceased father Komona; and the figure, by Bararipa's 532
word, was a picture of Komona himself.

A further bond between the *naterari* and the dead resides 765
in the fact that the tabu post is normally formed of the parti- 778
cular wood which is his plant emblem, and hence is likely
to be his clan namesake.

The most interesting point in regard to the *naterari* is the fact that food offerings are made to it. Of this subject I shall speak at greater length when we discuss the belief in survival after death. In the meantime I may give an account of the dance and drama which have at least some significance as ceremonies of mourning.

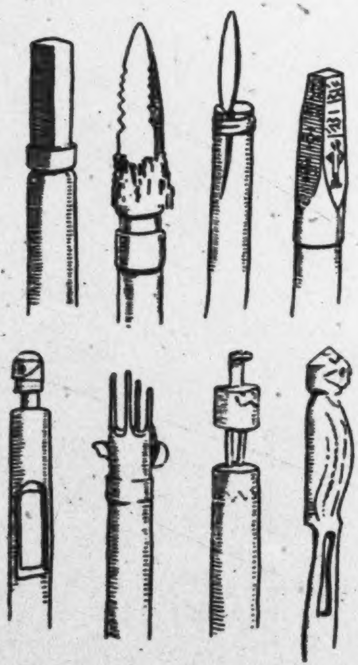

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FIG. 25. Examples of *Naterari*, or Tabu Posts

XIV

DANCE AND DRAMA

796 535 BEFORE describing the dance and drama in detail it may be as well to set down a brief programme of events, i.e. the sequent stages of the festival. We may assume that the tabu is on the village and that it will remain until the occasion of the feast. If this feast is to be a considerable one, the [345] first step will be the construction of an *arijo*, i.e. a men's house, which will be frequented by the men alone, and used for singing. This may be built a month or so before the festival, and from time to time the old-fashioned dancing (*kuru*) will take place in the open space before the *arijo*.

As the time for the festival approaches, the dancers practise the dance specially arranged for the occasion. There may be an enclosure, *java bamboru*, in or on the outskirts of the village, where they may rehearse in private. (Note that this *java bamboru* may be in the village where the feast and dance are to take place, or in another village. The latter is [574] frequently the case because the dance is commonly performed by *visitors* who have previously undertaken to present it. They therefore rehearse in their own village, and stage the finished performance in the village where the festival is taking place.)

The preparations for the feast are now finalized, food being brought in from the gardens, and platforms or booths erected to stack the provisions or provide shelter for the guests. When everything is in readiness there is a formal semi-public rehearsal of the dance called *pamoni kiari*, or 'Demonstration before the Women'. This takes place on the afternoon before the festival, and is not witnessed by any save the villagers who are making the dance.

The remaining stages may be summarized as follows:

(i) During the night the stage fixtures are set up in the village, and any movable stage paraphernalia placed ready in the bush.

(ii) The morning of the festival sees all the guests as- 796
sembled. The performers are decorating themselves in the 535
bush.

(iii) The ballet makes its appearance at some moment during the afternoon.

(iv) After dancing some ten minutes or more the ballet goes off and brings back the movable stage properties.

(v) While they resume the dance the actors, *buvivi* and [536]
binei, make their entry and proceed with the play. This
being concluded, they dance off and disappear in the
bush.

(vi) The ballet proceeds for a while with the main dance, and then breaks off into a series of minor 'nature' dances.

The performance of the dance and drama may be said to end here. The paraphernalia of the play, however, are brought together, and finally disposed of in a ceremonial manner, but this may be a matter of months afterwards. I shall now proceed to deal with the Orokaiva dance in detail, giving an account—confessedly slight—of its technique.

The Dance

The general name for 'dance' is *java* (Binandele *ya*). As 535
far as I have ascertained there are five main kinds practised 533
by the Orokaiva, viz. (1) *Kuru*, (2) *Paruka*, (3) *Arijo* or
Saunda, (4) *Puga*, and (5) *Si*. Only the first two are accom-
panied by song, and only the last three are accompanied by
the drama.[1] The first, *kuru*, is without any definite forma-
tion save that of a group of men and boys clustered about
several drummers. They dance slowly in one direction and
then back over the same ground, singing meanwhile. Their
movements are quite unpretentious, and might be described
as rhythmical shuffling. In all the other dances the per-
formers are in pairs one behind the other, forming double
file. Each kind has its appropriate drums and rhythm, the [534]
drums being carried by the dancers themselves.

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[1] The drama is not an invariable accompaniment of *Arijo*, for I have seen a performance of this dance without it. I cannot speak with certainty of *Puga* or *Si*, though I am given to understand that they are always associated with a dramatic performance.

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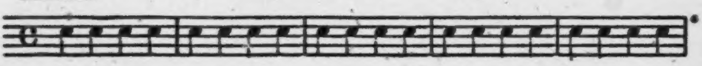
(1) *Kuru*; also called *Gatari, Puruto, Jiwari.*

Form: Dancers clustered about drummers.

Drum: *Ino* (large) and *Ebu* (medium); accompanied by singing.

Rhythm: Regular continuous beat. (Spondaic.)



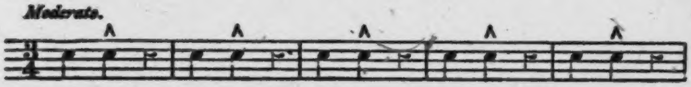
No Drama.

(2) *Paruka, Baruga* (the name of the southern neighbours of the Orokaiva).

Form: Dancers in double file; the movements are lighter and more rapid than in 3, 4, or 5.

Drum: *Ebu*; accompanied by singing.

Rhythm: Time of three, with the stress on the second beat, the third being missed or made with an almost inaudible tap of the finger-tips. (Iambic.)



Natives call this rhythm '*Gurru Gúrru—Gurru Gúrru—*.' In pronouncing, the two syllables of *Gurru* must be run as nearly as possible into one.

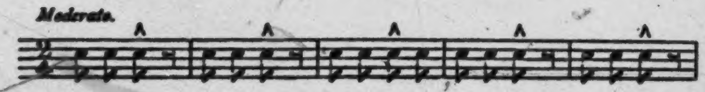
No Drama.

(3) *Saunda* or *Arijo* (*Saunda*—the small drum; *Arijo*—men's dancing or singing house).

Form: Dancers in double file.

Drum: *Saunda* (small); no singing.

Rhythm: Time of four, stress on third beat, fourth beat usually missed. (Anapaestic.)



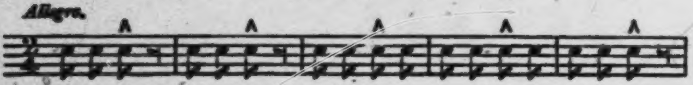
Drama.

(4) *Puga* (*Puga*, or, in the Binandele form, *Bua*—the empty shell of the *Puga* fruit, used as a rattle. *Torepa*, which means the same, is another name for this dance).

Form: Dancers in double life.

Drum: *Saunda*; no singing.

Rhythm: Same as *Saunda*, but quicker, and the fourth beat heard more often. (Anapaestic.)



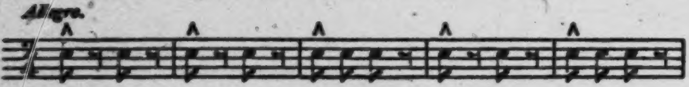
Drama.

(5) *Si*, *Shi*, *Ji*, &c. (the word means 'weeping').

Form: Dancers in double file.

Drum: *Ebu*; no singing.

Rhythm: Time of two, stress on first beat; occasionally varied by three short beats instead of two. (Trochaic and occasionally dactylic.)



Natives call this rhythm '*Kingi Kingi Kigigi*', &c.

Drama.

I can give very little information as to the origin of these several kinds of dance. It is generally admitted that *kuru* is the most primitive of them. It is of universal distribution, and seems to have attained to no kind of specialization. It is merely the old style of singing together and moving in unison, and is ready for any occasion. *Baruga* is a popular dance, and appears to be universally distributed. It is said to have come, as its name implies, from the south, but whether it is earlier or later than *Saunda*, *Puga*, or *Si* I am unable to say definitely.

Arijo (or *Saunda*) is now widely distributed, though informants have declared that it comes from the northern Orokaiva. As to *Puga* and *Si*, it seems likely that they at

535 least were confined to the Aiga and Binandele until comparatively recent times. It is said that *Pega* originated among the Jeva Buje of the lower Kumusi, and that *Si* originated among the Aiga. One need not attach much value to these accounts, but I repeat for what it is worth a tale of the discovery of *Si*. An old man, Ororo, was seated on a platform in the village of Petakiari, lost in contemplation of the river which swirled by in a flood. Something catches the old man's attention and he cranes his neck. Is it a crocodile? No, a *sasa*, that is to say, a branch or tree trunk all but submerged in the river. The water pours over the *sasa* and presses it under for a moment until its resilience brings it to the surface again, and this process goes on so that the branch sways rhythmically up and down. Ororo, reaching for his drum, lightly taps out the measure that the *sasa* shows him, and thinks out the movements for a new dance. Meanwhile his wife, watching the old man tapping his drum, is for some reason so moved by the spectacle as to burst into lamentation. Thus the swaying of the *sasa* gave Ororo the inspiration for a new dance, and the weeping (*si*) of his wife supplied it with a name.

It will be seen that, with the exception of *K*[illegible], all the dances have double-file formation. When they begin the dance the performers are two by two facing in the same direction; and throughout all the movements this formation is retained, or at least regained from time to time. It is very usual for the couples to be composed of boyhood friends or *otavo* (see p. 166), who have been accustomed to dance together, just as they shared many other tasks or exploits. These couples have various parts to perform according to their positions in the column; and these positions have definite names, from 'head' to 'tail', as if the column of dancers represented an animal or reptile, though there is no such picturesque fancy in the native mind. The most active part is taken by the leading couple, who are called *bobera*, the 'head'; and a characteristic detail of the dance is seen when they, or the third couple, *saseri*, beat their drums over the faces of the second couple, *tunga*, who bend their bodies backwards as they dance.

(*a*) Dancers in the *Si* Dance

(*b*) Scene in a village during a Dance

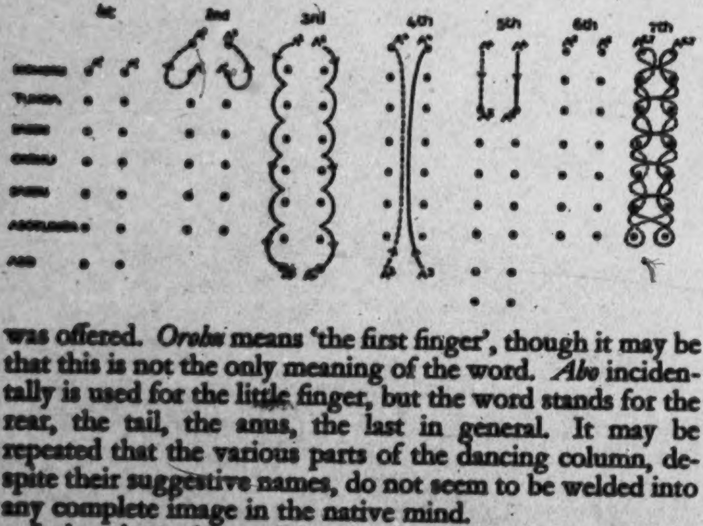
(*c*) Performers of Dance *Arijo*

PLATE XXXI [Facing p.234]

The couples from front to rear are named as follows:

o o	*Hoboru* .	. Head.
o o	*Tunga* .	. Neck.
o o	*Sasuri* .	. The branch set up as a shelter from the sun.
o o	*Orobu* .	. The first finger.
o o	"	
o o	*Sasuri.*	
o o	*Abo-tunga*	. Tail-neck.
o o	*Abo* .	. Tail.

It will be understood that the column varies in length according to the number of dancers available. I imagine that any extra couples take their places in the middle, and are called *orobu*. As to the meanings of the words, that of *sasuri* seems unsatisfactory, and no plausible explanation was offered. *Orobu* means 'the first finger', though it may be that this is not the only meaning of the word. *Abo* incidentally is used for the little finger, but the word stands for the rear, the tail, the anus, the last in general. It may be repeated that the various parts of the dancing column, despite their suggestive names, do not seem to be welded into any complete image in the native mind.



It has been impossible to record the figures of the dances in any detail. The above examples, however, which were noted at a performance of *Si*, may be regarded as typical. The leading pair, *boboru*, are marked A, Ā, and the numbers show the positions they occupy at the beginning and end of each figure.

The column moves forwards and backwards more than it is possible to indicate in the diagram, and it must be understood that every dancer is continually in action. In the fourth figure, for instance, while A^3, A^3 are dancing down the centre to their new position A^4 A^4, the rest of the dancers move in the opposite direction. In the fifth figure all the performers dance backwards for some distance, beating their drums heavily, and then in the sixth they advance on tiptoe over the same ground, stooping and tapping their drums almost inaudibly, all of which forms a very quiet and pretty contrast to the previous movement. The seventh figure, called *Tebokari* or 'crossing', is a favourite, and very effective. It will be remembered that the above are merely typical examples and do not pretend to be a complete list of dance figures.

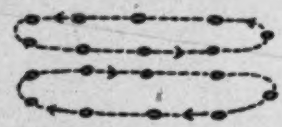
While dealing with the subject of dances in general we must notice the minor class of what might be called mimetic or nature dances. These, as reference to the programme on p. 231 will show, are usually performed after the drama. They are not to be regarded as essential parts of the major dances, but are in the nature of extras, cheerful little items which are added at the end of the entertainment. They are very numerous, and it appears that they are severally associated with one or other of the major dances, i.e. some are performed after *Si*, others after *Paruka*, &c. They are brief and animated. The dancers perform them with obvious zest, and pass rapidly from one to another as if they had any number at the tips of their toes. A brief description of a selection will show their general character.

1. *Gosevo Ijukari—'Threading the Fish on a Line'*. The fisher-woman, whenever she catches a small *gosevo* fish, threads it (*ijukari*) through the gills with a withe, until presently she has a whole succession of *gosevo* trailing behind her. The dancers form single file and move rapidly in a circle.

2. *The Purere Bird*. The *purere* is a small bird which seeks its food on the ground. The men dance on their heels and each revolves in a half-circle, regaining the usual two and two formation. The *purere* is hopping about in search of its food.

3. *Umo Ganigari—'The Rushing through of the Waters'*. When

fishing in the creek the native will dam up the stream and bale out the water below his dam. Sometimes the dam breaks, and a continuous stream of water rushes through. The two ranks of the dance column begin by moving in one direction, then turn outwards, back, and in again, so as to form a continuous swift movement:



4. *Huruga—'The Frog'*. The two ranks of dancers face inwards. They advance towards one another by short hops; the ranks pass through one another and about turn. The drums beat a slow deliberate rhythm which is reminiscent of the 'knocking' croak of the frog.

5. *Hobora—'The Cock'*. The dance divides into two bodies each in the usual double-file formation. A spear being set up between the two parties they dance towards it from either side, raising their drums as they do so; then they retreat, stooping, and with drums lowered. Meanwhile one man in the centre dances round the spear keeping his eye fixed on it. The whole dance is a pretty one, though it is not easy to explain its symbolism. The advance and retreat of the two parties, however, is oddly suggestive of the cock flapping his wings as he crows.

6. *Tongiju—'The Spirit of the Slain'*. The dancers form two bodies, each in a single file and each facing toward a spear set up between them. They all take several steps to the right, then several steps to the left, first shaking or jerking their heads to the right, then doing the same to the left. The *tongiju* is the spirit of a man who has been clubbed on the head and is trying to jerk the blood out of his ears.

7. *Ba Utera—'Pulling the Taro'*. The dancers sink almost on to their heels, striking the drums. Then they leap upright, raising the right hand as if pulling a taro from the ground.

8. *Pengoro—'The Tadpole'*. The dancers are in the usual two-and-two formation. Almost squatting on their haunches

535 they run forward a few paces and halt, and as they halt the two leaders rise, turn, and beat their drums over the heads of the pair behind them. The action, which is repeated again and again, is suggestive enough of the large-headed tadpole making short darts through the water.

535 The costume of the dancer requires some description. The first of the major dances, *kuru*, does not call for any
292 special decoration, but in all the others the performers appear in what may be called full costume~~, viz.~~ feather head-dress, face-paint, ornaments held in the teeth, and *ando*, i.e. voluminous skirts or mantles of grass or palm leaf, frayed and dyed. It is unnecessary to dwell on the effectiveness of the *ensemble*. Bunches of croton add to the already brilliant colouring, and the dancer, with his massive head-dress and sweeping draperies, seems to be magnified far beyond human size.

It is worthy of note, however, that the costume constitutes a virtual disguise, which is in some cases made more complete by a veil of shredded palm leaf which hangs from the forehead. This disguise derives extra significance from the fact that there is at least an affectation of secrecy as to the identity of the dancers. At the formal rehearsal before the women, called *Pamoni kiari*, the parts are deliberately 'faked': the various positions are not taken by the men who are to take them in the final appearance on the following day. Again, prior to a dance which I witnessed, the names and positions of the personnel were told over to me, but in a whisper, and only within the confines of the *java bamboru*. The native reason for this secrecy was that the effect upon the women and the guests would be spoilt by divulging the names of the performers.

There is one particular in the costumes to which I would draw attention. In some of the dances—I have not carefully noted which—certain of the performers wear a conical head-dress of croton leaves. It is usually the leading pair (*boboru*), and perhaps also the last pair (*abo*), who appear in this uncommon headgear. Now at Bovera on the river Eia, which is practically the northern boundary of the Orokaiva, I have seen in a man's house several conical head-dresses strongly

made of cane and bark-cloth, which were virtually masks; 535
and Mr. C. H. Karius informs me that he has seen on the 292
river Waria what we should definitely call masked dancers,
whose mask was once more of the same conical shape.

These particulars—the secrecy, the virtual disguise, also 535
perhaps the use of palm-leaf skirts and mantles, and cer- 292
tainly the conical head-gear—all remind one of the masked 171
dances of the Western Papuan, and in particular of the
typical conical mask of the '*kaiva kuku*'. I would, therefore,
put forward the very tentative suggestion that in the ceremonial dances of the Orokaiva we have a faint replica of the masked dance of the west. If this were so we should have a fair case for viewing the dance as a mortuary ceremony in which the dancers originally represented the spirits of the dead. For the present, however, this may be laid aside as no more than a conjecture.

The Drama: Stage Accessories

We may now turn our attention to the drama which 536
always appears as a well-defined episode, and thus admits of separate treatment. I have used the word 'drama', despite its pretentious sound, because it is really the most noncommittal; though 'mime' or 'farce' might have been more descriptive. As dialogue is almost completely absent, the expression 'dumb-show' would have been perhaps the most accurate of all. It is very difficult to discover a native word for the drama as abstracted from the remainder of the performance, i.e. the dance. The most satisfactory is *sesena* (Binandele *tetenya*) which means simply 'play', or 'play about'. Sometimes it is called *sovai-sesena*, 'the game played by the *sovai*'. Another word, of which I do not know the literal meaning, is *tebua*; and yet another—*yavetu*. It will be remembered that the play is proceeded or ushered in by the ballet. When the dance has been in progress for some ten minutes or more, the dancers suddenly leave in a body, retire into the bush near by, and reappear bearing the movable stage properties. These naturally vary according to the subject of the drama: they may, e.g., consist of a garden platform on which one of the actors is to sit, or a sago-log

536 (represented by a stalk of a banana plant), or the ladder from the ground to the elevated hiding-place in which some of the actors are already placed. This stage-moving is done with rather remarkable expedition, and the dancers contrive to keep the stage furniture hidden from the spectators' view. This attempt at secrecy is rather noteworthy. Women spectators, for instance, may seize their mats and rush forward to help in concealing the stage properties as they are brought on, already well enough concealed as they are by the throng of stage-movers.

Very often some kind of fixture has already been erected in the village. This usually takes the form of an elevated place of concealment, and may consist of a hollow tree-trunk set on end. Sometimes the branches of a growing tree are lopped off short, and the tree is felled and set up in the village during the night. Upon the base formed by the spreading branches is built a closed superstructure, and in this retreat one or more of the actors must take their places before dawn and remain cramped and uncomfortable until they receive their cue in the afternoon.

When the dancers have set up the stage furniture to their satisfaction, they fall into their places before it and resume their dance. Now everything is in readiness for the appearance of the actors.

A Typical Drama Described

As a composite description is hardly possible I propose to give a fairly full account of one Orokaiva drama as I saw it, together with a brief abstract of several others. This method should suffice to give a fair idea of the drama as a whole.

The example chosen for description has this to recommend it, that having been performed at a 'Christmas' on a Government station it is devoid of obscenity. This does not mean that the performance is other than typical, because obscenity, although very common, is certainly not invariable or essential in the native drama. This has been selected from among the five examples which I have personally witnessed merely because it is, for the reason suggested, more easy to

describe. It was performed at Christmas, 1923, on the Buna 536
Bay station, by a party of Jeva Buje natives from the Kumusi.

The play is based upon the following legend or legendary 536
incident, which was recounted to me shortly after by some 773
of the players themselves:

A large *Boru* tree had fallen into the river (informants suggested the river Waria), and in the dark pool beneath this tree there sheltered a *dera*, or sword-fish. Now two girls came down the river fishing with a line, the younger taking charge of the fish as the elder caught them. When they came to the *Boru* tree and cast their line into the dark pool beneath it, the bait was seized by the *dera*. The united efforts of the girls failed to land so large a creature, and the line ran hot through their hands.[1] So they made it fast to a tree-trunk, and ran back to the village for help. On the way they were met by two youths who had followed them with the express intention of *kigi*, i.e. clandestine courtship. But the girls are too excited to dally with these young men. They tell them to wait till they call their father from the village, when all will go down to the river together and kill the *dera*. This all happens as they desire. The *dera* is dragged from the water, tied to a pole, and carried to the village where (to give a good ending to the story) it is cut up and eaten.

This simple and somewhat pointless story forms the plot 536
of the drama which I now proceed to describe.

The scene of the performance was the parade ground, towards one end of which there had been set up during the night a small, roughly constructed shelter of palm leaves, about four feet high and six feet square, and with one side (that facing down the parade ground) left open; this shelter represented the *Boru* tree hanging over the water.

On the sea beach, perhaps a hundred yards away, and thus quite out of sight of the spectators, there was another piece of stage furniture. Under the shelter of a canoe, and completely covered with mats, lay a representation of a

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[1] The only Orokaiva methods of line fishing of which I know (see p. 37) seem hardly in keeping with the details of this story. It has probably derived something from modern methods.

536 sword-fish (*dera*). This, which was made of wood, measured eleven feet. The body of the structure consisted of a hollow tree-trunk split down the middle, but various boards had been affixed for fins, and at front and rear there were features to represent the monster's 'sword' and his long tail. The model had been used on a previous performance,[1] and had evidently been well finished and decorated, though it was now somewhat out of repair. (During the performance it sustained further damage, but was kept nevertheless, possibly to be used on a future occasion.) Underneath, or rather within, this wooden model, which may be referred to as *dera*, the sword-fish, there lay a man whose business it would presently be to supply the fish with motive power and intelligence. I do not know low long he had lain in this hot and cramped position, but he was evidently bearing the discomfort quite cheerfully. It is worth noting that informants showed some reluctance in allowing me to see the *dera* and what it contained before the proper moment for its appearance.

The dancers and actors had meanwhile been attiring themselves in some place apart. In the present case I believe it was the police barracks, though in the usual village performance the 'green room' is merely a convenient spot in the surrounding bush. When their preparations, which occupy several hours, are complete, it is time for the performance to begin.

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535 It is part of Orokaiva stage art, and quite in keeping with the affectation of secrecy which surrounds the dance, that the ballet should make its appearance upon the 'stage' from some unexpected quarter. Thus they do not enter a village by the usual pathway, but after a toilsome detour they make a spectacular incursion from the bush or the concealment of the long grass. They announce their arrival by a thunderous tattoo (*keke*) on the drums, and one turns to see the column of befeathered dancers stooping or crouching at the edge of the clearing. The drums suddenly break into the

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[1] It may be noted that the most valuable stage properties, i.e. those which have been very carefully made, are sometimes spared in the formal destruction. I have seen two well-made puppets kept apparently as mementoes of dramatic performances, or perhaps to serve in a re-enactment.

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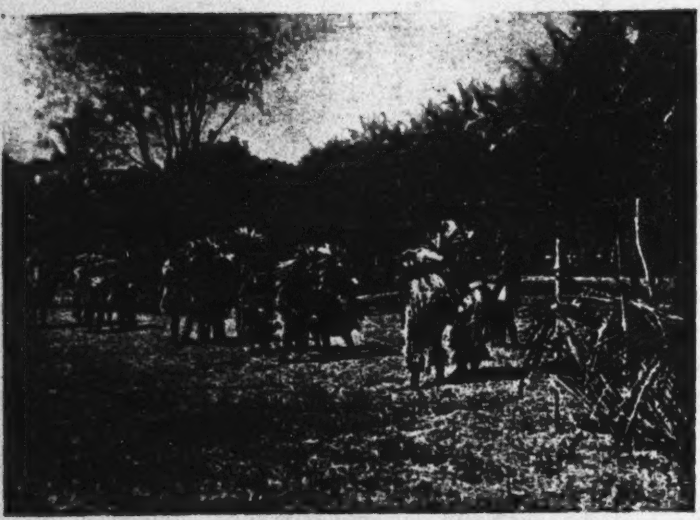

(*a*) The Ballet

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(*b*) Bringing on the *Dera*

THE DRAMA *DERA*

PLATE XXXII [Facing p. 242]

536 rhythm of the dance, and the leading couple (*boboru*, the
535 'head') spring upright and come dancing into the open. Only a dozen or so paces and they dance back again, to be accompanied next time by the second pair (*tunga*, the 'neck'). Now the two couples dance back once more, and on the third advance are followed by the whole body of dancers, who, performing the ordinary evolutions meanwhile, move across the open and take up their position (which, in this instance, is opposite the shelter of palm leaves at one end of the parade ground). Here they continue the dance for some ten minutes or longer. I can give no more detailed account of this dance (which was of the kind called *Puga*) than has been given already in the general description, pp. 233 ff.

It is usual for the ballet to leave the 'stage' at the conclusion of this initial dance in order to bring on the paraphernalia, but on this occasion they were still performing when six men appeared carrying the *dera*. The ballet now dances forward to meet them, breaks up and surrounds the party so that the *dera* (which is covered with blankets) can hardly be seen. As this drama is being specially performed for the magisterial 'Christmas', it is not surprising that several rather officious village constables, carrying their books, should accompany the bearers and issue a multitude of instructions. These, however, though well-intentioned are quite unnecessary. The *dera*, which still contains the man whom we may call its manipulator, is carried to the shelter and placed underneath it, the blankets are removed, and the bearers and dancers withdraw, the latter to renew their dance. They are now, as previously, formed up before the open side of the shelter, and at a distance of perhaps fifteen paces from it.

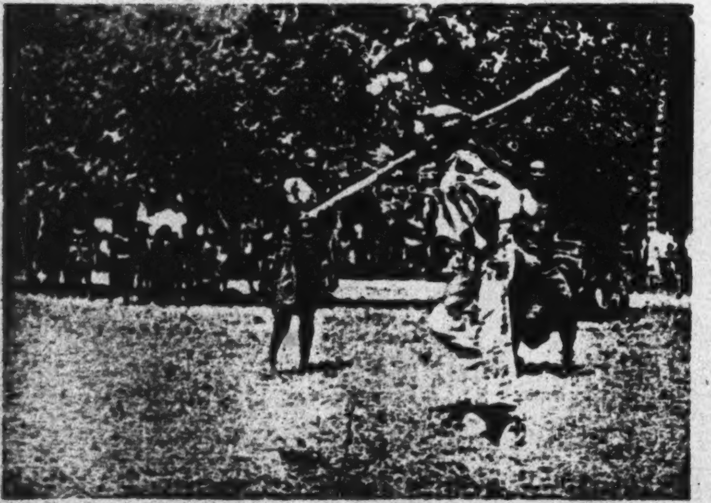
536 The performance goes on for a moment or two when the attention of the spectators suddenly turns to two 'girls' who come dancing and leaping very gracefully through the coconut palms toward the parade ground, one following the other. These are, of course, the two sisters, who are impersonated by male actors called *buvivi*. Each carries the women's quarterstaff completely bound with red material,

and the elder of the two has under her arm a fish-line with shell rattles attached to the end. When they have made an almost complete circuit of the ground the elder girl unwinds her fish-line and continually casts and draws it in as she dances. By now they are approaching the shelter where the *dera* is concealed, and the girl casts her line into it. This time she draws it in with a small wooden fish attached. The man underneath the *dera* has seized it and affixed one of a bundle which he carries. Three or four times the girl tries her luck under the shelter, and as often succeeds in catching a fish, which she unhooks and throws to her younger sister. But now she tries again, and this time it appears that she has hooked the *dera* or sword-fish himself. The girl attempts to draw in, but the *dera*, who still remains concealed, holds the line fast. The younger girl comes to the assistance of her sister, and together they pull without avail, until suddenly the *dera* comes scrambling a little distance out of his concealment. The girls are alarmed, but they drive a stake into the ground, secure their line to it, and dance off the stage as gracefully as they came on to it.

In a moment they reappear accompanied by two gaily bedecked youths. These are two more *bwivi*, the girls' lovers, who had followed them down the track. At some distance behind them comes a grotesque and hideous figure who represents the girls' father. He is an actor of another kind, called *samuna*, 'the bad one', or *sovai* (Binandele *bimi*), 'the spirit of the dead, the devil-devil'. Staggering and lurching as he approaches he continually brandishes his mock spear of light *pamba* wood. He wears a ragged singlet and torn trousers, and his face is almost covered by two halved coco-nut shells, worn goggle-fashion.[1] Drawing near the spectators he makes darts and sallies, scattering them right and left. He hurls his light spear at any one within his

[1] It appears that the *samuna* (*bimi*, *sovai*, or 'clown') sometimes wears European trousers nowadays; merely, I think, because they are in themselves ugly garments, and as foreign as one could conceive to the usual garb of the native. A missionary who saw a *samuna* attired in this fashion, and wearing the coco-nut shell goggles, told me he thought the man was 'taking off' the European, and adding a contumelious touch by imitating his spectacles. I think, however, he was mistaken. The coco-nut goggles (called *[illegible]*) are quite usual: they are one of the conventional means of making the *samuna* look hideous or absurd, and probably the trousers were meant to serve the same purpose. For the usual costume of the *samuna* see p. 231.

(*a*) The Girls fishing



(*b*) The *Samuna*

THE DRAMA *DERA* [facing p. 244]

PLATE XXXIII

reach—not sparing the small party of white spectators—and follows with prodigious bounds to recover it. For a while the fun is running high, and the *samuna* is frankly concerned with his own antics rather than the action of the play.

At last he turns to where the four *buvivi* have surrounded the *dera* in their efforts to capture it. The monster rushes forth again and again while the youths and maidens dance lightly around. But now at last the *samuna* has directed his attention to the work in hand. He lunges at the *dera* with his spear and after a few more capers succeeds in striking it dead. The wooden model has suffered more or less serious damage during the play, and it is necessary for the actors to mend it or bind it about with withes. This they do very expeditiously, and, the manipulator of the *dera* having scrambled out of it, the two *buvivi* youths shoulder the wooden shell and go prancing off through the coco-nuts. Behind them follow the two girls, and the *samuna* still hurling his spear about brings up the rear.

The Plot of the Drama

The drama which I have just described is evidently founded upon one of the innumerable Orokaiva legends, if, indeed, one is justified in applying the word legend to such an artless tale. These legends, or *bibi*, no doubt furnish the plots of many dramas (see, e.g., No. 1, p. 247), but more frequently, it would appear, the theme of the play is even simpler, consisting of some trivial incident of village life. Almost invariably this incident is one of comedy, so that the drama may be little more than the re-enactment of a standing joke. The following is an example. A woman of Poho, named Anyanya, was fishing in a creek, and had left her baby son, Barari, sitting on the bank. Seeing some reflection that pleased him in the water, the child bent over, tumbled in, and was nearly drowned. The mother, however, recovered him in time and, terrified and weeping, held him up by the legs, while the water ran out of his mouth. Another woman, Kombera, heard the uproar and ran to the village to call the child's father, Saunda, and the latter's

536 brother, Evai. They all rush to the creek and rejoice to find that the mother has brought the baby round.

This incident, which must have happened some eighteen years ago (for Barari the baby is now a plantation boy), obviously held some farcical possibilities, and within the last few years was made the subject of a play by Evai, who is now the principal man of Poho. The mother and father of the child are dead, but the others survive. In the drama the parts of the above-named men and women were taken by four actors, and that of the baby by a wooden puppet.

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522 I give another example which may be regarded as more typical. It was enacted at Deunia on the Kumusi, where I had the good fortune to see it. Many years ago when Kove, the present village constable of Deunia, was a little boy, he was sent one day to the gardens to gather wood. Approaching a sago-place he heard the sound of a man at work and paused a moment at the edge of the clearing, where he witnessed an occurrence which eventually became the theme of a play. Bigaba, a man of Deunia, was at work scraping the sago log, while his wife, Warari, seemed to be pestering him with amorous advances. At first Bigaba roughly rejected them, but gradually his manner changed, and finally Kove observed the couple in the act of sexual intercourse. All this he told of in the village, and it became a standing joke of which Bigaba and his wife were probably not unaware.

It was probably fifteen or twenty years after that the drama which I witnessed was played. The part of Bigaba was taken by Kove himself, who was a particularly clever buffoon, and hugely amusing to the spectators; that of the woman Warari by a young man; and that of Kove by a little boy, who played the part of Peeping Tom, with a bundle of sticks balanced on his head, as Kove carried a bundle of firewood fifteen years before. The oddest feature of all is that both Bigaba and his wife, now old people, witnessed the performance. It was by chance rather than intent, I fancy, that as Kove (in the character of Bigaba) went dancing off at the close of the drama, he encountered the real Bigaba face to face, almost indeed colliding with him.

Bigaba, who, whatever his feelings, wore an imperturbable 536
countenance, stepped aside, but Kove met the situation by 522
swinging a terrific blow at him with the long digging-stick he was carrying. The pole missed the old man's head by inches and met the ground with such force as to be shattered to pieces. After this improvisation, which earned him a parting roar of laughter, the clown went off, alternately shambling and bounding, to change his costume in the bush.

The following brief abstracts will help to give a general 536
idea of the drama. I have actually seen only Nos. 7 and 8; the others were described to me.[1] It may be noted that there are two kinds of actors, the *bariri*, whose parts are attractive, and the *samuna*, whose parts are at once comical and ugly.

No. 1. 'Totoima.'

Totoima was a man-monster who, in the early days, used 536
to slaughter the Orokaiva. He was armed with tusks which, 773
at the end of his day's work of killing, he would take out and sharpen. He was invincible until one day two youths secured these tusks which he had left aside while he bathed in the river. The youths had previously prepared a pig-trap, *bage* (see p. 48), and now pursued by Totoima, who is anxious to regain his teeth, they lead him on to the *bage* and throw them into it. Totoima blunders in after them and is caught. In the drama a pig-trap is erected in the village. Totoima (*samuna*) appears holding in his mouth the common two-tusk ornament (see p. 39). The boys obtain this from him and after a long pursuit throw it into the pig-trap, which collapses upon Totoima as soon as he enters it.

No. 2. 'Orehaha and the Drum.'

The Orokaiva did not know of the drum and *bui* (see pp. 86, 88) until they obtained them from Orehaha, the carpet snake. Orehaha used to beat the drum and blow the *bui* and, when the people came to discover the cause of the noise, would retire out of sight. This went on until they set a small boy to spy. He revealed the whereabouts of Orohaha,

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[1] Another thoroughly typical example will be found in *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 14.

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whom the villagers came and killed, thus obtaining the drum and *bui*. I have not the particulars of stage appointments, &c.

No. 3. 'The Snake in the Ants' Nest.'

A snake-man lived in an ants' nest (*siribo*) on a tree which leaned over a creek. A man and two girls come to bale out the water in order to fish, and as they work the snake puts out his head (made of cane and bark-cloth), and sways back and forth above them. Suddenly the man looks up and takes to his heels in a fright, shouting to the girls to follow. But the snake puts aside his skin and becomes a fine man. He overtakes the girls, and leads them into his *siribo* house.

No. 4. 'Cuscus Hunting.'

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A woman goes to the garden accompanied by her dog. They come to a tree with a hole in it, at which the dog whines and scratches. Introducing a stick into the hole the woman prods, and from the noises which ensue concludes that she has found a cuscus. Now she goes to bring her husband, who appears as a *samuna*. The woman recommends obtaining further help, but the husband declares he is strong enough, and prods again and again. Finally a second *samuna* appears, who quarrels and fights with the first. Young men and maidens (*buvivi*) come from the village, but the cuscus is not caught until the dog finally drags him out by the tail. Then there is a pursuit, and it is finally killed by the *samuna*.

The parts of the dog and the cuscus are taken by small boys blackened with charcoal.

No. 5. 'The Girl in the Tree.'

A girl (*buvivi*) is found in a tree by a youth (*buvivi*). He brings his friends (*buvivi*) and one of them climbs the tree and brings the girl down. Now all desire to possess her, and there is a scuffle in which a *samuna*, who has appeared in the meantime, joins heartily, finding ample scope for his favourite methods. It appears that the drama ends when one of the *buvivi* secures the girl and the *samuna* is left lamenting.

C

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No. 6.

A youth had visited the Mission at —— in order to pay addresses to one of the Mission girls. He was waiting in a tree by the track at a point some distance from the Mission where he hoped she would keep her assignation. It appears that in this he was disappointed, but while he waited he saw a man (of a village near his own) returning with his wife from the Mission, where they had been to make some purchases. Directly under his tree they stopped and had sexual intercourse. The youth did not reveal his presence but afterwards, of course, made the tale public in his village, where it subsequently became the theme of a thoroughly typical drama. This is a good example of the dramatization of a local incident.

No. 7. 'Roasting the Corn.'

A man and his wife (both *samuna*) go to the garden to plant taro. He works very energetically and scolds her for her laziness. She works with him for a time, and then, building a fire near the garden platform, proceeds to roast corn for a midday meal. Having finished his work the husband returns to the platform, and climbs on to it groaning with fatigue. From here he watches his wife, and his frame of mind changes. When she brings him the roasted corn he makes amorous advances to her, which, however, she rejects. He then turns his back on her in a huff, and refuses to eat her corn. At last she yields to him, and they have sexual intercourse on the platform. At this point a youth and a girl (*bwvivi*) come into the garden, and dance round and round the platform. Suddenly the man, finding himself observed, leaves his wife on the platform, and scrambles underneath it to hide. After a few moments she also becomes aware of the spectators, and follows his example. The *bwvivi* now dance away, followed by the disgraced husband and wife.

No. 8.

An old couple (both *samuna*) have been at work in the gardens. The wife returns first, feeling indisposed, and lies groaning on a mat by her house. A lover (*buvivi*) appears, arouses the old woman, and endeavours to have sexual intercourse with her. He is disturbed by a whistle, and dances about the village trying to discover whence it has come. In the meantime the husband returns from the garden carrying wood and vegetables as a woman does, for he is doing his wife's work. He throws these down and, in the usual fashion of the Orokaiva drama, begins to make advances to her. But he now finds evidence that she has been visited by another in his absence, and there is an angry scene. Meanwhile the lover has discovered that the whistle was made by a boy and girl in the woman's house. These two (*buvivi*) thereupon come dancing down, and all the actors leave the stage.

There was some confusion as to the interpretation of this plot. The most sensible version I heard was that the two children were son and daughter of the old woman, and that they had whistled in order to prevent the lover from interfering with their mother.

The foregoing examples will show that the theme of the play may be furnished by some domestic incident as well as by one of the accredited *bibi* or legends; and, indeed, the former is more usually the case.[1] Any episode that provides sufficient scope for farce and indecency may be turned into a play.

Actors, Stage, and Audience

It will be readily imagined that there is no playwright, unless one can give that name to the man who suggests the theme for the play. It would appear that the selection of a plot devolves upon the individual who institutes the feast and the accompanying dance and drama. But his ear is open to suggestions. Thus we find a man of Papaki who goes first to Totemburari, then to Ohoraburari, and finally to Poho for a plot, and in the last village accepts the *bibi* of Orehaha (No. 2, p. 247). Another (No. 8, p. 249), performed at Petakiari on the Opi, actually came from a plantation 536 near Samarai in the Eastern Division, where the story was told one night in the labourers' sleeping quarters.

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[1] I find that Beaver made the same twofold division of the subjects of the drama: 'The Yavetu may be broadly divided into two classes—(*a*) myths or legends, (*b*) märchen, in which may be included imitations of local or village incidents and farce.' Quoted by Sir J. H. P. Murray, *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 14.

If there are no playwrights there are, nevertheless, those whom we might call actors. Certain men become celebrated for a gift of buffoonery. They are called *ate-buso*, i.e. expert in *ate*, or the art of demonstration, or *sovai-buso*, i.e. expert in representing the *sovai*. Such men are much in request, and I have been surprised to note—though this may not be invariable—that the man who takes the *samuna's* part, viz. that of the *binei* or *sovai*, is usually one of years, character, and some importance. It is not a part for the village idiot. The *buvivi*, who play prettier but less important parts, are usually young men of good appearance. There are no actresses on the Orokaiva stage: all female parts, whether of *samuna* or *buvivi*, are played by men.

The acting consists almost invariably of dumb show; and dialogue, where it does occur, is no more than elementary. In only one of the dramas I saw myself did any of the actors open his mouth to utter more than an inarticulate cry; though it is true that in this instance (No. 7, p. 249) the two *samuna*, husband and wife, kept the audience amused by shouted interchanges. As a rule, however, the *samuna* relies on exaggerated gestures and silent caricature.

The conventional costume of the *samuna* is made of 536
pipiga, an extremely rough and ragged kind of bark-cloth, 292
and it covers him like a hooded cloak. By immersion in swamp mud it is dyed to an evil grey-black, and where it leaves his limbs exposed the actor may apply charcoal. Over his eyes he wears a pair of half coco-nut shells, like huge goggles, which are pierced so that he may see through them. These great eyes are called *kiti monjo*. His make-up is rendered more terrible or absurd by such things as boars' tusks for teeth and fringes of cassowary feathers for whiskers. A red *bega* fruit represents a sore between his buttocks, and if he is a male he wears very ostentatiously an imitation penis. Altogether his aim is to make himself hideous enough for a real *binei* of the bush, and to behave obscenely and comically enough to make his audience laugh.

536 The paraphernalia of the stage have already been described, but I may draw attention in passing to the disguises or devices for representing animals, &c. Babies were evidently represented by puppets. I have been told that the parts of dogs and cuscus were taken by small boys blackened with charcoal. A snake, or the head of a snake, was made of cane and bark-cloth. We have already seen that players could go to considerable trouble to make a wooden model of a sword-fish, but there is in the Papuan Collection a representation of a crocodile which is a far more finished piece of work. It is almost nine feet in length with gaping jaws. Its back is studded with small pyramidal prominences which give a very fair idea of the creature's rough skin, and the whole is skilfully hewn from one piece of wood. This model was acquired by Mr. C. F. Jackson at a dance on the Mambare. Mr. L. P. Armit informs me that in the same district he saw a representation of a flying-fox which stood three or four feet high and had reticulated wings which were made to flap during the dance.

The action of the play goes forward in the open space of the village. There is nothing in the nature of a stage or a closed arena, and if I have used the former of these two words in the course of the present chapter it is only metaphorically. Nor is there any accommodation for the spectators. It is true that booths are erected for the visitors, but these are meant for shelter during the heat of the day, not for grand-stands during the performance of the drama. The spectators in fact cluster round the actors, and though sometimes they do not display as keen and silent an interest in the play as one would expect, their interest is, nevertheless, curiously sympathetic. When, e.g., the stage furniture is brought on by the ballet, some of the spectators will lend a hand to set it up. When the *binei* breaks his mock spear, a spectator runs to supply him with another. Or you may see a bystander offer his bamboo pipe to one of the players, or spread a mat for the old woman when she is about to lie down, or bring a fire-stick when she wishes to light the fire. The actors, in fine, present their play not before the spectators, but among them. It may be worth remarking, incidentally, that the audience does not always thoroughly understand the action. I have been surprised at the diversity of interpretations placed upon one drama by different members of the audience. The plot was not divulged previously, and when the play had been performed those whom I questioned as to its story or meaning seemed somewhat mystified and, be it confessed, somewhat indifferent. 536

Disposal of Paraphernalia

Before attempting a general appreciation of the drama and the dance there still remains the last episode to describe, viz. the final disposal of the paraphernalia. This has been spoken of before as the last of the mortuary ceremonies (*vide* p. 224), and it usually follows the dance and drama, which constitute the penultimate ceremony, by a space of one or more months. A brief description of this rite will help us to understand the ceremonial significance of much that has been described in this chapter. Some time after the performance of a dance and play in the village of Horanada I received an invitation to witness the rite called *sirari*, lit. 'pushing away'. The *pipiga* costume of the *samuna*, his imitation spears, and his wooden phallus had been kept since the day of the drama. They were now placed on a raft with some cooked taro and pig, and a little boy (son of the deceased man for whom the dance and drama had been made) waded out pushing it before him into the current and there let it go. I was told that the *sovai* of the deceased, for whom the dance and drama had been celebrated, travelled on this raft. 536 165

On another occasion, which I did not witness, it appears that even the timbers of the men's house and all the *ando*, or costumes, of the dancers were put on rafts and sent down the river, the chief man crying out the names of the deceased for whom the dance had been held, and bidding them begone from the neighbourhood of the village. And obediently, I was informed, the *sovai* would go aboard the raft and drift down to the sea. It can hardly be doubted that there is some connexion between the paraphernalia of the dance and drama and the spirits of the dead for whom these ceremonies were performed.

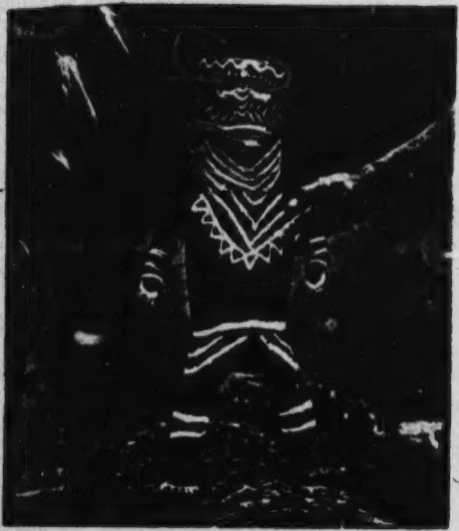
Ceremonial Significance of Dance and Drama

535 536 It remains now to attempt an appreciation of the dance and drama in respect of their functions and value, to connect them with what has been described in the previous chapters, and to place them correctly in the life of the community.

The combined dance and drama of the Orokaiva have, I believe, less real value as ceremonial than as art or play. However, we may for a moment ignore this latter and more important aspect, and consider what meaning—latent or otherwise—they may possess as ritual.

535 536 765 In the last chapter I implied that the dance and drama constituted a mortuary rite. Earlier it was suggested that they were in some degree or in some instances an initiatory rite, taking the place among the Aiga and Binandele of the *embahi* ceremony among the southern tribes. It seems probable that the set performance, combining dance and drama, sometimes fulfils both these functions together.

We have seen that the occasion of it brings to an end the tabu on the village coco-nuts, which was instituted expressly because of the death of a villager. The *naterari*, or tabu post, may be presented with offerings of food at the feast which accompanies the dance and drama, and it is made clear that these offerings are to the dead whom the *naterari* apparently represents. Before the dance and feast begin, the *sovai* or *binei* are hailed and bidden to attend, though information has not been entirely consistent on this point, some saying that the words are addressed to the particular individuals for whom the tabu was instituted and the feast is now being made, others that an invitation is offered to the spirits at large. In more than one straightforward instance, however, it appeared that the ceremony was definitely performed for one deceased individual; and in one of these instances it was affirmed that when the dancers began, the *sovai* of the deceased would 'get up and dance with them'. Again, while the ballet is going forward, the widows of the village wail and slash their cheeks, being reminded, it is said, of the time when their husbands danced and made merry. Lastly, when the performance is over, the para-



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(*a*) Puppet used in the Drama at Poho

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(*b*) The *Sinari* Ceremony

PLATE XXXIV [facing p.254]

535 phernalia of the play are stacked together, and so await a
536 last ritual disposal, when the *sovai* of the deceased is bidden
765 farewell. These facts, then, should be enough to show that
the dance and drama can be regarded as a mortuary rite.

The actual significance of the rite remains a matter for conjecture. The native informant will say that it is celebrated in honour of the dead, who is called upon to be present and witness it, and to partake of the feast. It is plainly in the nature of a placation, and when it is all over it is hoped that the spirit will take his departure for good.

One is inclined to think, however, that it is the feast rather than the accompanying dance and drama that is the real act of placation. If this be so, what is then the function or significance of the dance and drama? One or two points of evidence have hinted at a possible explanation. An informant once told me that the spirit of the dead man for whom the feast and dance were being held would be present and dance with the dancers. There is again the queer practice of the widows, who, when the dancers appear, may break forth into lamentation and slash their cheeks and foreheads with quartz. They are said to be reminded of their husbands. It is as if in the semi-disguised figures of the dancers they saw their own men-folk returned from the place of the spirits.

The rite called *sirari*, i.e. the ritual disposal of the costumes, &c., of the actors and sometimes of the dancers, is not out of keeping with this idea. What remains of the *samuna* or of the dancer, i.e. his costume and paraphernalia, is put aboard the raft and abandoned, and it is said at the same time that the *sovai* of the deceased travels aboard the raft. It is difficult not to associate the two, almost difficult not to identify them. It might well enough be that the *samuna*, grotesque and foolish as he is, was in some manner impersonating the deceased, and that now the disguise in which he did it is being mentally identified with him.

There is something, moreover, in the secrecy as to the identity of the dancers and in the more or less complete disguise they wear—matters which have been already referred to (*vide* p. 238). These, together with a point of similarity

535 in costume, have suggested a possible affinity with the
536 masked dance of the Western and Gulf Papuans, and the
765 suggestion here put forward—be it remembered, in an entirely tentative manner—is that the performers in the Orokaiva dance and drama originally impersonate the spirits of the dead, who foregather to partake of the mortuary feast.

The feast is the real act of placation. It is provided for the spirits, and in order to make the donors of the feast feel more satisfied that it is accepted by them, the spirits are brought on to the scene in the persons of the disguised dancers and actors. It may be repeated that no native ever placed this interpretation on the dance and drama, and that, in the absence of more telling evidence than I have been able to supply, it is intended for nothing more than a conjecture.

535 We have next to consider the dance and drama as con-
536 stituting a rite of initiation. I regret that during the whole
881 of my stay among the Aiga and Binandele there was no opportunity of witnessing an initiation, so I can bring forward only verbal evidence that the *ebamei*, or 'new children', i.e. the initiates, make their appearance together with the dancers, and witness the performance of a play. I have also been told that in some cases the initiate bears a minor part in the play, viz. that of a *buvivi*. At any rate, however, it may be regarded as certain that the dance and drama form part of the cycle of puberty ceremonies among the Aiga and Binandele.

The question is whether they constitute the essence of the ceremony, i.e. whether they correspond to the meeting with the *embahi*, which is the essence of initiation among the southern Orokaiva. Here again it may be remembered that no native has ever spoken of the two rites as corresponding, and the suggestion that the dance and drama have some initiatory significance is my own. It is based upon the following facts: (1) The dance and drama always form part of the puberty cycle. (2) In the dance the performers are virtually disguised by their costumes, and their identity is meant to remain secret, just as it is with the *embahi*, who are supposedly irrecognizable to the initiates. (Further, as I have just indicated, one is tempted to conjecture that the

disguised dancers among the Aiga and Binandele originally 535
represented spirits of the dead.) (3) In the drama we find 536
the same kind of secrecy. The identity of the actors is not
revealed, and the plot of the play is not divulged before its 881
performance, nor does any one care to pry into these matters. Furthermore, in the drama there always appears at least one *binei* or *sovai*, i.e. spirit of the dead.

The gist of initiation among the southern Orokaiva is to bring the candidate into contact with the supposed spirits of the dead, and make him acquainted with the bull-roarer and the flutes which are the voices of the spirits; whereas among the Aiga and Binandele, who know neither the bull-roarer nor the flute, the candidate is, nevertheless, brought into contact with the spirits of the dead in the drama and conceivably also in the dance which accompanies the drama.

This interpretation of the ceremony, viz. as a rite of initiation, may be thought unnecessary in view of the other, which gives it a mortuary significance. It will be noted, however, that the two are not incompatible if there be any truth in the theory that the dance and drama bring forth impersonators of the spirits. It may be noted that, since the confinement of a batch of youths and girls is a comparatively rare occurrence, the dance and drama appear usually in their mortuary guise alone.

In fine the combined dance and drama seem to me primarily 535
of a mortuary nature, but this may make them all the more 536
suitable for initiation, an essential idea of which is, apparently,
to bring the initiate into contact with the supposed spirits 881
of the dead. For the present, then, I shall set down only 765
this much as a conclusion, viz. that the dance and drama (whatever their real significance) constitute a mortuary rite, and possibly also an initiatory one, and as for their significance it is suggested that the performers in the dance, and at least the main actors in the drama represent spirits of the dead.

Aesthetic and Recreative Value

So far I have spoken of the ceremonial functions of the 535
dance and drama. I now wish to draw attention to their more real, 'live', functions, viz. the aesthetic and recreative.

535 The dance or ballet is one of swift, swinging, vigorous action. There is no place in it for cramped or stilted movement, and, although all figures are strictly regulated, they never lose a certain dash or impetuosity. At the same time the dancers must be intent on their work, for the figures are not without difficulty, and are only perfected after many rehearsals. But when their dance is in full swing it is obvious that the dancers take great pleasure in the successful performance of a difficult work of art. And this pleasure is, of course, intensified in each by the fact that all are acting in concert. The dance is a fine piece of 'team-work', conducted to a stirring rhythm which the dancers themselves create, for each holds and beats his own drum.

It goes without saying that every performer, brilliantly befeathered and draped with flowing garments of dyed grass, feels a delightful titivation of his self-regarding impulses. The folk-tales dwell upon the personal successes of dancers, and it is well known that young female spectators are sometimes ravished into matrimony.

Altogether it may be claimed that the Orokaiva ballet is a beautiful and valuable creation. No spectator could withhold his admiration for the brilliancy of its colour, for the charm of its figures, and for the grace and vim of its performers, while to the performers themselves it clearly means aesthetic satisfaction, *camaraderie*, and heightened self-esteem. If such a comment may be ventured in this report, I do not know of any more charming and admirable feature of native life than the Orokaiva dance, nor of any that is better worth preserving.

536 The drama, or dramatic interlude in the ballet, is of special interest. It may be that the faculty for dramatic representation is strongly developed in most primitive peoples, but comparatively few at the low cultural level of the Orokaiva have evolved a set form. Whatever may have been its original ritual significance (and I have suggested that it is a mortuary, and perhaps also an initiatory rite), it has practically reached the stage when it is an end in itself. Although seldom, if ever, performed without some ceremonial pretext, it nevertheless possesses an interest which is

independent of any ceremonial purpose. Often tastefully performed it is definitely an activity which gives scope for the exercise of art and talent.

Its tastefulness, indeed, is very commonly marred by gross obscenity. But here, as in so many other instances, the European, who would appreciate native art, must wink at unpleasant accompaniments. And this broadness will be in some measure excused when we remember that the play is essentially comedy or farce, and the success of a performance is judged by the amount of laughter it causes. I cannot agree with one charge which has been levelled against the Orokaiva drama, viz. that its obscenity serves to arouse the passions of the spectators and prepare them for an orgy of immorality. I have no evidence that any such orgy takes place, and, furthermore, the obscenity of the play is far too gross and comical to have the effect ascribed to it. Some of the actors, those known as *buvivi*, play respectable parts, and their manners are as charming and their movements as graceful as native art can make them: the others, known as *samuna*, or 'the bad men', appear in the role of *sovai* or *binei*, and their behaviour and appearance are merely those of an inconceivably ragged circus clown. Both kinds of actors enjoy their own performance. One may be almost amused at the expression of complacence on the face of a dancing *buvivi*, and I have watched a *binei* helpless with laughter at his own antics. We have seen also that the audience finds pleasure in the performance and is in remarkable sympathy with the actors. On the whole, therefore, we may agree that the drama, like the dance, is a thing of charm in itself, and a valuable element of native culture. Quite apart from any ceremonial significance it may have, it is valuable as a source of pleasure and amusement, and as an art that is its own reward. Here, if anywhere, we have an instance of a purely native product which deserves to be perpetuated, and which contains seeds of development which are worth the tending.

XV

THE SPIRITUAL SUBSTITUTE

771 811 THE two following chapters, more than any others, show what difficulties may attend even a work of mere ethnography. When the observer is confronted by a mass of vague and very tangled beliefs, it becomes a rather delicate task to set them down in a manner that will be intelligible to the reader and yet have an honest regard to their limitations. The first difficulty arises in the fact that a native's beliefs are largely inexplicit; he has never tried to frame them in words, and thus one is sometimes compelled to fall back on inference. The next difficulty arises in the fact that of even the more explicit beliefs many turn out to be mutually irreconcilable. Whereas a modern educated mind must be continually raking over its beliefs and conscientiously casting out any inconsistencies, the mind of the native (like the mind of an uneducated modern—only more so) remains blissfully unaware of these inconsistencies. Thirdly, the native's beliefs are not always firmly held. There is no such thing as strict orthodoxy, and, indeed, it may be claimed that abstract belief, compared with practice and ritual, is to him of small account. Where we find uniformity of practice we may also find a variety of theoretical explanations, and the same informant may cheerfully switch from one explanation to another, or simply declare that 'he doesn't know'. In fine, natives are unable or reluctant to formulate their beliefs; the beliefs when formulated are often inconsistent with one another: and not less often they are light, inexact, variable things, qualified with a non-committal 'perhaps' or 'who knows?'

771 Those beliefs which relate to the spiritual and the supernatural are probably hazier and more confused than any other. It is the business of these chapters to set them down as far as possible systematically, yet resisting the temptation to manipulate or trim them, or to force them into a system that may be intelligible to the reader but does not neces-

sarily exist in the mind of the native. More specifically our subjects are the beliefs concerning what may loosely be called the spirits of the living and the spirits of the dead. Out of the confused mass of evidence we may extricate two propositions, and set them down definitely as a groundwork. (1) Of every creature and thing there is a 'spirit' or immaterial counterpart called *asisi*. (2) Every human being survives death, and the entity which thus survives, whatever its form, is called a *sovai*.[1] These two propositions are matters respectively of native philosophy and religion. We shall continue here to discuss the first, and shall reserve the second until the next chapter. 771

The Meanings of Asisi

The word *asisi*[2] is, I believe, in general use. One hesitates to lay down its literal meaning, but it is used for 'shadow', and for 'reflection', and these are the simplest of its meanings and probably fundamental. There is thus far no psychic implication in the word. Shadows and reflections are ordinary phenomena to the Orokaiva, which he observes and accepts without beating his brains for an explanation. But there are other manifestations which take a rather more psychic turn. Such are the appearance of human and other beings in dreams and visions, and to these the name *asisi* is extended without, of course, implying that they are identical with shadow or reflection. In this connexion *asisi* stands for the immaterial counterpart which is visible. In so far as the native bothers to form a theory of dreams (*etare*), he says that in his sleep he may be visited by *asisi*, or, on the other hand, that his own *asisi* may travel.[3] It is not necessary to give examples of dreams, but merely to repeat that in them the *asisi* is regarded as the immaterial but visible counterpart of the person or thing dreamt of. 774 828

But when, in the native's dream theory, the *asisi* of the

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[1] For other dialectal forms see p. 267.

[2] In the 'Taro Cult' (Report No. 6 in *Orokaiva Magic*), which dealt with a movement originating among the Binandele, the Binandele form *atiti* was used throughout. *Asisi*, in accordance with the rule adopted in this book, is the Aiga form.

[3] It is also said that a man's *eye* travels as he dreams, though there is, of course, no notion of a material eye-ball passing through the air.

774 dreamer travels, it is not necessarily implied that it is visible,
and this brings us to another meaning of the word, and
828 necessitates a widening of definition. We may say that
the *asisi* is an immaterial entity, not necessarily visualized,
but identified with, or acting as substitute for, some person,
in this case the dreamer. Thus when Dasiga, the visionary
of Manau,[1] received his commandments, it was his *asisi* that
went up into the sky and saw God, and such a use of the
word is not due to any external suggestion, as, e.g. of
Christianity, but is typical of Orokaiva usage. Dasiga does
not have a cut-and-dried theory for a 'soul' which leaves his
body for the time being as a mere inanimate clod while it
travels the skies; he believes that he himself ascended in
immaterial form. His *asisi* is merely a substitute for himself
in Dasiga's own mind; for he has never thrashed the matter
out and formulated a definite theory of body, soul, and
774 spirit. Such a conception is not limited in reference to
human beings. Animals and inanimate objects may also
have their *asisi*. When, for instance, a hunting magician
feels a certain sensation in his right side, 'like the kicking
of an unborn puppy in its mother's belly', he says that it is
the *asisi* of a pig which has entered him. We must not press
him too closely for a definition of the form of *asisi*. He has
not thought this out and he cannot explain. He thinks that
the pig has come to him in some form or other, altogether
immaterial unless it be for that slight throbbing in his side.
Again, when a mourner declares that the *asisi* of the dead
is immanent in the mourning jacket of *baja* (Job's Tears),
he has no definite idea of how it got there or of what form
it takes, except that it is obviously both immaterial and invisible.

[794] The best example of the reference of *asisi* to inanimate
nature is found in the doctrines of the Taro Cult, whose
originators were possessed by the *asisi* of the *ba*, or taro,
itself. And it is instructive to note, as illustrating the
[787] confused conception of the form of the *asisi*, that the originator
of the cult saw the spirits of the actual taro plants
in the shape of young men who danced before him.

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[1] See 'Taro Cult' in *Orokaiva Magic*, pp. 74 ff.

In short, we see that *asisi* is a loose word covering a 114
variety of conceptions, and we must seek a correspondingly wide definition.

The Asisi as Spiritual Substitute

Now, for the time being, we may dismiss the idea of an *asisi* or 'spirit', and view certain native beliefs apart from any ulterior, i.e. spiritual, explanation. It would, then, seem as if the native believed that persons and things could on occasion act, exist, or be present to consciousness in a manner independently of their concrete selves. To take the last of the above-mentioned examples, for instance, it would seem that in native belief the taro plant could influence the human being although he had no contact whatever with the actual vegetable.

For this proposition in general there is a mass of evidence 114
—dream appearances, trance journeys, spirit possession, the
action of charms and medicines, &c., all of which are 153
familiar to anthropology. A few concrete examples from the Orokaiva, however, may be added. A man has eaten sugar-cane, which is for some reason unwholesome or harmful. So long as the wind does not blow he is comfortable, but when it rises and sways the sugar-cane in the garden it sets up a synchronous disturbance in the victim's stomach and makes him ill. Again a man attributes his cold in the nose to the numerous unripe bread-fruit. Why? According to his own explanation they are as yet of a watery consistency, and so by their mere presence make him rheumy, inclined to spit and snivel. A youth, having offered a cigarette to his sweetheart, pokes the butt into a nest of ants. The ants bite the cigarette, and the girl is stimulated into loving him. A woman has eaten of a pig whose flesh is for some reason harmful. Her child falls ill and is supposed to have imbibed the cause of its sickness together with its mother's milk. Two women live in parts of the same house. One of them has eaten carpet-snake, cooking it in a pot over the fire. Subsequently the other woman cooks some taro in the ashes of the same fire and gives them to her husband. He falls ill and ascribes his sickness to the unwholesome carpet-snake.

774 When Buninia, the originator of the Taro Cult, was preaching his doctrines the people would lean on him, embrace him, and rub their axes and digging sticks over his body, so that the taro which was influencing him should also influence them and their gardens.

Now it is not our business here to determine the real psychological basis of such beliefs (though I cannot imagine that the native looks at every-day things through a haze of mystic potentialities as some psychologists would have it; rather would I adhere to the older idea that he feels there is some physical interaction between things that he associates in his mind). The question is merely that of his own explanation, the scientific worthlessness of which need not concern us.

Now here, as in so many other cases, the native is inclined to take matters for granted. This thing, he feels, has an influence on that thing, or this process over that process; and he does not usually bother his head about an explanation. But when for some reason or other he pauses to think the matter out, what explanation is he to put on it? I believe his stock explanation is that when one thing acts on another, exists, or is present to consciousness, apart from its concrete self, it does so by means of its *asisi*; though, to repeat, this is commonly a forced explanation, for he usually takes the matter simply for granted. It is the *asisi* of the taro plant which enters Buninia and which is in turn passed on to the bodies and the garden implements of those who embrace him; and, if we tax the native hard enough, he will probably tell us that it is the *asisi* of the carpet-snake, which passing in some manner from the pot into the ashes of the fire, and thence through the taro into the body of the man, causes his sickness.

When anything (person, creature, or object) functions, apart from its concrete self, he feels that it does so by means of a second self which is identified with, but for the time being separated from, the concrete. We might call this a spiritual manifestation of the concrete thing, or an immaterial self which co-exists with the material self; but in more general terms it is simply the native's undefined mental substitute for the concrete thing. Perhaps the phrase 'spiritual substitute' would make the best definition. Whenever the native thinks of this spiritual substitute in the abstract and feels it necessary to give it a name, he, very naturally and suitably, extends to it the word *asisi*, which means 'shadow' or 'reflection', and thus affords a very close parallel. 114

Elsewhere, particularly in the Taro Cult, I have translated *asisi* by 'spirit' (as I have translated *sovai* by 'spirit of the dead'). This is only, of course, an approximation, and the word has been used, at the sacrifice of some accuracy, simply to make the subject more readable. That is the only defence I can offer for the use of a term, which in our language is so fluid and ill-defined. And it may be as well to emphasize at this point that some of the accepted implications of 'spirit' do not belong to the concept of an *asisi*. I cannot, for instance, discover from my informants that the *asisi* is regarded as an entity separate from but residing in the body to which it belongs. It is not a 'breath of life', a vital principle, or an animating essence. Such ideas are, I believe, in advance of Orokaiva philosophy as we find it. Accordingly I have avoided the word 'soul' as being rather more unsuitable for a translation than 'spirit'. No informant has ever given me a theory of survival after death other than this, that the *embo be*, 'real man', becomes a *sovai*. At any rate it may be confidently stated that there is no conception of a vital principle or 'soul' which inhabits the body but survives it; and such a meaning cannot be attached to the word *asisi*.

To repeat a conclusion, therefore, the *asisi* is the native's name for a spiritual manifestation of anything; or for an immaterial self which co-exists with but is separable from the concrete self; or, in other words, whenever anything functions apart from its concrete self, it does so by means of a spiritual substitute which is called its *asisi*.

Asisi of the Dead

The word *asisi*, which is thus seen to be of very wide meaning, may stand not only for a manifestation of the living, but also for a manifestation of the dead, i.e. a ghost, visible or invisible. But it must be made clear that in proper 114 115

174 usage *asisi* is not wholly synonymous with the being that
115 survives death, viz. the *sovai*, though there is some confusion between the two words. Such confusion is largely due to the recent movement known as the Taro Cult which has been dealt with at length in another report.[1] The movement originated on the River Mambare, where its founders believed themselves, or affected to be, possessed by the *asisi* of the actual taro plant. It is not necessary here to describe the ritual, doctrines, and physical manifestations of the cult, but merely to draw attention to the significant change which it has undergone in the course of its dissemination, and the bearing which this change has had on the meaning of the word *asisi*. Near what we may call the dispersion centre of the cult, viz. the neighbourhood of the Mambare mouth, its exponents still affect to be possessed by the taro *asisi*. On the other hand, in the great majority of the whole division through which the cult has spread, its exponents say they are possessed by the spirits of the dead. This is quite in keeping with old belief, and merely indicates that a new and somewhat outlandish cult has relapsed into a form more acceptable to the old-established beliefs of the Orokaiva. But together with other features of ritual the Taro Cult has spread abroad a certain distinctive vocabulary of terms; and among these terms is *asisi*. The consequence is that *asisi* is now frequently used as synonymous with the spirits of the dead by whom the majority of Taro Men think they are possessed. I have been assured by reliable witnesses, however, that this general and regular application of the word *asisi* to the beings who survive death is new-fangled and attributable to the Taro Cult. The old word is *sovai*, which, in the taro jargon, has been supplanted by *asisi*. It is not to be assumed that *asisi* was never used formerly for the spirit of the dead as well as the spirit of the living, but it was not wholly synonymous with the beings who survived death. A fundamental difference exists between the two words. *Asisi* normally stands for an image of or substitute for some other and more concrete reality; whereas a *sovai*, whatever its form, does not represent anything; it exists by itself.

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[1] 'Taro Cult' in *Orokaiva Magic*.

XVI

SURVIVAL AFTER DEATH

NATIVE ideas regarding the life after death, although involved in great confusion, are, nevertheless, easier to deal with than those which concern the *asisi*; for despite many inconsistencies they come near to being explicit, and there is less of inference required in their description. 775

The 'Sovai', or Being who Survives Death

It will be understood that the living man possesses an *asisi*; he neither is nor possesses a *sovai*, but when he dies he *becomes* a *sovai*. That is to say *sovai* means 'the being who survives death', or 'the living form into which death converts a human being'. (In accordance with the general rule of this book the forms of the Aiga dialect have been used. The being who survives death is known by a variety of names:

Aiga	*Sovai*
Binandele	*Binei*
Wasida	*Embabi*
Hunjara	*Siango*

but although there is continual diversity of belief regarding details, the main concepts, as far as they can be abstracted, remain constant throughout the tribes. In order to avoid confusion, therefore, the word *sovai* will be used exclusively in this chapter.)

The *sovai* will be found to take a variety of forms, including those of fiends or hobgoblins, which probably have their origin merely in fear and imagination but are nevertheless classed in native terminology with *sovai*, or spirits of the dead. Such characters, besides existing vaguely in the imagination, are constantly told of in Orokaiva legends, and it appears that some of these 'legendary' *sovai* may be conceived of as still existing and retaining their personality and attributes. Cases of legendary or personal *sovai* are, however, so few as to be almost negligible.

115 Apart from the very faint hint which these last may give us there is nothing to suggest a deity or any supernatural being of independent existence, least of all a high-god. I [112] do not know of any cosmogony, and there is no attribution of divine powers to the phenomena of nature. On the whole it will be found that Orokaiva religion concerns itself primarily with the spirits of the dead.

In any one tribe the beliefs regarding the *sovai* are found to be confused and conflicting to the last degree, and it will be as well for the sake of clarity to set down several conceptions immediately.

(1) The *sovai* is sometimes conceived of as immaterial but retaining human characteristics. (2) It is also conceived of as taking the concrete form of beast, bird, reptile, or fish. (3) It is also conceived of as a semi-human monster of altogether frightful disposition inhabiting the bush; or in this case it might be nearer the truth to say that there are imaginary monsters (fiends, hobgoblins) to whom the name *sovai* is extended, and who are thus identified with spirits of the dead. (4) Fourthly, there are a few instances in which the *sovai* are known by personal names and, apart from their constant appearance in legends, are thought of as still actually existing.

No native, I fancy, would fail to endorse any of the above propositions, nor does he find any difficulty in holding all these beliefs simultaneously. He pictures the *sovai* as ghost, animal, or hobgoblin, and it depends entirely upon his mood or the subject of the conversation which of the three pictures will be on view. It is not to be supposed that he would make a rigorous choice and so definitely and permanently make up his mind as to the real nature of the *sovai*. His conception of it is as kaleidoscopic as his emotions, and changes form and colour as he ranges between affection, distaste, and fear.

Transition from Living Man to 'Sovai'

It is definitely asserted that a man becomes a *sovai* at death, but there seems to be no satisfactory theory regarding the transition. It is very tempting for a European to put a construction on the matter and say that the native must 775 suppose the *asisi* of the living man to leave his body at death and survive in the form of a *sovai*. But, unfortunately, I have never heard such an interpretation from a native, nor do I feel confident that his conception of an *asisi* would allow of it. Save for one or two fanciful explanations which I have heard from isolated witnesses and which will be mentioned presently, we must allow that the native simply takes the transition for granted, as he does so many other abstruse happenings.

On cessation of breathing (*beb*)—about which the native [763] holds no psychic theory—the man is dead, and his *sovai* is hovering somewhere in the environs of the village. It is interesting to note that in native belief a man may die and come to life again. Upon the appearance of coma, which is interpreted as death, the friends and relatives set up a very noisy lamentation. The *sovai* is lurking on the outskirts of the village, but may be so affected by compassion as to return; whereupon the corpse is reanimated. In such a case I have heard the *sovai* spoken of as *sovai isapo*, 'the small *sovai*', but no explanation was offered of how it departed and returned.

To show how singularly confused and, in a sense, ill-made are the beliefs regarding the transition from living man to *sovai*, I quote a case which, despite its rather fabulous complexion, purports, nevertheless, to be true. A man named Hosisi (an exceptionally good informant who told me this story himself) was going to fish in the river. Meanwhile a very old man named Divinopa lay sick in the village. On the way Hosisi saw a cuscus which he immediately realized was the *sovai* of Divinopa, recognizing it, as he explained, by the whiteness of its fur which so resembled the white hair of the old man. Hosisi called the latter's son to his assistance, and together they succeeded in catching the cuscus. They addressed it affectionately as 'grandfather' or 'old man', and took it with them to the village, where they induced it to eat for the next two days. Meanwhile they watched Divinopa, feeling that the appearance of the *sovai* cuscus was a sign that his end was close at hand. On the

775 third day both he and the animal died, and were buried together. In response to a question my informant said that Divinopa's *sovai* still existed as a cuscus. A case such as this can hardly be made to square with the general belief that the living man becomes a *sovai* at death. One can only lay down the generally accepted doctrine and dismiss a case of this sort as a cheerful aberration.

The two ensuing theories are somewhat isolated, i. e. they 775 were not sufficiently verified by being repeated at other times 764 and in other places, so that they probably do not amount to general beliefs. The corpse of an Orokaiva is wrapped in a mat and laid in a coffin-like structure of wood, to which a number of sticks laid crosswise and lengthwise constitute a lid. According to a group of informants on the River Gira these parts of the 'coffin' (*detemba*) are in some manner animated by the stench (*opu*) of the corpse as it decomposes in the grave, and the mat becomes a cuscus, the framework of the coffin becomes a crocodile, the cross-sticks of the lid become a pig, and the long sticks become snakes. It is worth noting that these informants gave 'one man, one *sovai*' as a rule—with which their theory seems hardly in accord.

The other theory has already been mentioned in another connexion (p. 216). It is that the maggots, which appear somewhat inexplicably from the corpse and disappear just as mysteriously, have turned into the *sovai*. (In the one or two cases where this theory was put forward it appeared that the *sovai* took the form of a certain bird, though I do not know whether this latter point is essential to the theory.) How widely the belief itself may be held I am unable to say, though it cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of plausibility and even ingenuity about it.

Except for such somewhat fanciful theories we can only say that the native simply believes that the *sovai* comes into existence on the death of a human being, and that he is content to leave the method of transition unexplained.

The Forms of 'Sovai'

775 When a man dies his *sovai*, as we have seen, is thought to be present in some form about the village. Thus it is that

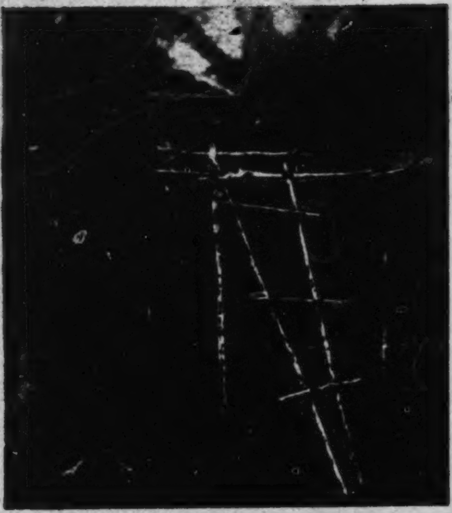
the mourners at a funeral may be startled by any noise in the 775
surrounding bush, the breaking of a twig for instance,
which they will attribute to the *sovai* of the deceased. Approaching
a village where a death had occurred in the early
morning, I once heard a hissing noise in the scrub close
to the track. I imagined that it was probably the hissing of
a snake, but when I asked the native who accompanied me
he answered in rather matter-of-fact tones that it was the
sovai of the man who had died that morning. When I told
the villagers some time afterwards they immediately gave
the same explanation, and that without any collusion. It
seems, then, that the first idea of the *sovai* is of something
quite ethereal and invisible which haunts the village and
betrays its presence by movements or noises. And the
sovai may long remain in this immaterial form. It is thought
sometimes to haunt houses and afflict their inmates with
sickness. It also visits the gardens, and both here and in the
villages may be seen small platforms (*barau*) of food offer- [782]
ings, sometimes with miniature ladders of the most fragile
construction to assist the *sovai* in climbing up (Plate XXXV*a*).

But the *sovai* may appear, more or less disembodied, in 775
human form. When one evening my boys were telling each 781
other spookish stories, one of them, an Orokaiva, suddenly
scrambled across the hut and sat there trembling in every
limb. He had looked out into the darkness and seen the
figure of a man recently dead in the village: what first drew
his attention, he said, was the smell of death which attached
to the *sovai*. Such hallucinations are of common occurrence.
One hears of a mother who was mourning the death of her
daughter, when she looked up and beheld the girl dancing
before her in all her finery. Following the girl, who danced
backwards into the bush, she suddenly found herself surrounded
by *sovai* in human form, whom she thought to be
hostile warriors. In such cases, of course, the *sovai* is an
apparition or ghost in the usual sense of the word. So also
the dead constantly reappear to dreamers in their familiar
living form. Again, in the legends the *sovai* are eminently
human though sometimes betrayed by some small evidence
of death; as when the youth slain in fight returned in *sovai*

775 form to his sweetheart, but was detected by a trickle of
787 blood from his ear; or when the *sovai* woman revisited her husband and would have passed off for living had he not noticed the earth caked in her nostrils, and so suspected that she had risen from the grave.

775 Leaving this conception of the *sovai* as a ghost, visible or invisible, we may pass on to another with which it seems
825 completely at variance: the *sovai* is supposed to take the form of some creature of the bush or river. No native has ever maintained that this form is subsequent, i.e. that the *sovai* is first a ghost and afterwards an animal, bird, or reptile, though there is little doubt that the ghostly form is thought of first when an individual has recently died. The general fact is that a native sometimes pictures the *sovai* in one way and sometimes in another. A great variety of creatures may be *sovai*—wallabies, cuscus, pigs, snakes, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, eels, bats, birds, and fishes; but it will be understood that of these species many members are normal or ordinary animals and nothing more, while others are *sovai*. The latter are commonly detected by some queerness or abnormality. For instance, if a snake were very active and writhed over much it would be called a *sovai*, simply, of course, because its slayers were startled or horrified into thinking it such. A lean and ugly cuscus, or a bush-pig that looked unusually rakish would excite the abhorrence of its captors, and a careful man would refrain from eating it. Sometimes the classification as *sovai* is retrospective. When a man falls ill he looks about him for possible causes, and recollects that he recently ate a flying-fox: he draws the conclusion that the flying-fox was a *sovai*. In several instances that came to my notice it was some association with the deceased that had caused the creature to be classed as *sovai*: when for instance a snake had been seen emerging from the grave shelter of a woman recently dead.

There is very little to say about the behaviour of the *sovai* animal. I was once told that thievish men turned into thievish animals such as pigs, rats, and flying-foxes—in which, however, there was no hint of retributive reincarnation but merely an association of ideas. The *sovai* creature



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(*a*) A *Haraw* with Ladder for the *Sovai*

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(*b*) The Pool Monoda

PLATE XXXV [facing p. 272]

775 826 is naturally regarded with fear and abhorrence: the case of the cuscus quoted above (p. 269) is one of the few in which it does not appear to possess a malignant and dangerous character. But it is not easily distinguished from the ordinary example of the same species, and it has often been killed and eaten before the difference is discovered.

This killing of the *sovai* animal raises the question of what we may call its constitution. It is obviously of a nature sufficiently corporeal to be killed and eaten. What is its relation to the deceased with whom it is identified? It would be tempting to suppose that the *sovai* in immaterial form possessed, or entered into, the animal as the evil spirits entered into the Gadarene swine. But I have never heard such an explanation from a native, and I do not know that we can infer that such a theory is in the back of his mind: on the other hand I have been assured that the animal *is* the *sovai*. Nevertheless, it survives what may be called the second death. A simple illustration of this belief is afforded by the following incident. [787] A bush-pig found rooting a garden was speared and killed. That night the owner of the garden (who happened to be my informant) was visited in a dream by his deceased elder brother, who explained that the pig was himself: he had been hungry and had come to his brother's garden for food (by which news the owner was deeply affected and refrained from eating any of the pig).

The theory that best squares with this belief is not that the *sovai* is only an immaterial entity which can enter a concrete body, but that it is an entity of exceedingly variable nature, sometimes immaterial and sometimes material, which can change from a mere invisible breath to the solid body of a pig, or from that again to the appearance of a human being. Such a power of metamorphosis is often met with in the tales of *sovai*. When, for instance, a girl was supposedly kidnapped by *sovai*, her rescuers at length found her in the bush sitting amid a circle of them; when the rescuers made bold to approach, the *sovai* became birds and flew away. Or again, in one village the mourners found themselves after nightfall in the garden of the deceased and

775 825 engaged in pitched battle with a large number of *sovai*; but whenever they brought down one of their opponents it would turn into a wallaby or a bird and make off.

One may mention at this point several variant forms of the *sovai*. The fire-fly (*svi*) is very commonly regarded as a *sovai* form; sometimes more fancifully it is said that the fire-flies are the eyeballs of the dead. Again, the phos- [824] phorescent fungi *bimbaja* may be *sovai*, though, of course, they are not always so, and little boys will play with them quite fearlessly, fixing them as luminous disks to their foreheads at night time. Again, the *sovai* may take the form of the *siribo*, i.e. the nest of the termite in a tree, which for some reason always has an uncanny suggestion to an Orokaiva. [821] Again the meteor *bera* has been referred to in my hearing as a *sovai*, though I do not believe this to be an important or a general belief.

775 One variant, or rather specific, form of the *sovai* is, however, of great interest. When a man has been slain in fight he becomes a *diroga*, and although the actual form or forms of the *diroga* have never been accurately defined in my hearing, they all have this much in common that they are *i-sovai*—'upper' or 'on top' *sovai*—i.e. they do not belong to the earth or the stream, but flit about in the upper air, where they are sometimes heard to whistle as they pass. This singular, but apparently very general, belief has formed the groundwork of one of the variants of the Taro Cult, and a fuller description of the subject may be seen in the report on that movement.[1]

We may now pass to the third general form in which the *sovai* may appear, viz. that of a fiend or hobgoblin, or of any monstrous creature that inhabits the bush and is liable to attack the lonely wanderer. Various imaginative descriptions are given of the *sovai* in this character. They may have hairy bodies and long fangs; several have pictured them with eyes in the back of their heads; one informant who saw a *sovai* in his boyhood recalled with horror the unnatural skinniness of its arms and legs. It is in this form that the spirits of the dead are represented to the initiates among the

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[1] 'The Taro Cult' in *Orokaiva Magic*, pp. 68–72.

southern Orokaiva (*vide* Chapter XII; among the southern 775
tribes they are called *embabi* or *siango*). They are supposed to pursue their victims, biting and clawing them, and it is with threats of this kind that the initiates are supposedly reduced to terror.

As fiend or hobgoblin the *sovai* appears in a number of 778
cases which deserve a fuller description than it is possible
to give them here. They are cases in which an individual 828
under the influence of some mental aberration 'takes to the bush' under the impression that he has been seized or kidnapped by a *sovai*. We have, for instance, the case of a youth who was missing during the day and found at evening with cuts on his cheek and hand and traces of earth on his face and body. He offered the explanation that he was taken by a *sovai*,[1] who caused the wounds by biting him. No one hesitated to believe him, though, as he was accustomed to fits of violence and was known to fall into the fire on occasion, we should probably be right in supposing him to be epileptic.

There is another case which may perhaps be diagnosed simply as one of sleep-walking. A man named Ogomeni was discovered to be missing one night, and a search party discovered him sitting on the branch of a tree whence he gave them muffled answers to their calls, and from which he was helped down in a half-awake condition. On another occasion the same man was spearing fish when suddenly the poised spear was snatched out of his hand from behind, and he was carried off in a swoon. A search party eventually found him lying covered with leaves, and not far from home. His explanation was that he had been seized by a *sovai*, and fully accepting this as a fact his rescuers tied a liana to his belt on the way home to prevent a repetition of the capture, and once safely in his house he allowed his wife to make him fast by means of the liana to one of the floor joists. Ogomeni seemed a perfectly rational man, and it should be emphasized that the precautions of his wife and friends were not meant to keep him in his place but were levelled against the *sovai*.

It is not necessary to multiply instances. It is true that 775

775 some of these disappearances come under suspicion of fake, some men pretending to have been in association with the *sovai* for the purposes of sorcery or magic, and one case that came to my notice seemed like deliberate kidnap and holding to ransom. But such examples of trickery are merely taking advantage of the popular belief that the bush is peopled by malignant creatures or fiends known as *sovai*, who are always liable to seize and carry off the lonely wanderer.

775 773 It is at this stage that we may briefly consider certain beings who belong mainly to Orokaiva legends, but who, nevertheless, continue to have a vague existence in popular imagination. The legends (*bibi*; Binandele *kiki*) are full of characters known as *sovai*. These are commonly anthropomorphic, and although their dispositions vary, they are more often than not ridiculous or hateful. The Orokaiva, who possess a fine body of legends and fables, are quite alive to the difference between fact and fiction, or between their real beliefs and their fanciful stories, so that while one may quote a legend as illustrating any particular conception, it is, of course, not possible to assume that the legends always embody true belief. When, therefore, a native retells the tale of a well-known legendary character—Korevaja, Hovepakutota, Egovagova, to mention a few such—he does not necessarily believe that such a character ever existed except in fiction, much less that it is still in existence. In accordance with their general attributes he classifies these as *sovai*, and dismisses the matter from his mind.

Yet, despite this general attitude, we come upon sporadic instances in which these legendary *sovai* are spoken of as still existing. The instances that have come to my notice are so few that I will, as briefly as possible, set them all down.

(1) Totoima was the man-monster who formerly decimated the Orokaiva and remained invincible until two youths obtained possession of his detachable tusks, and thus having him at their mercy killed him. He is commonly regarded as no more than legendary, or as an historical being who passed out of existence when the two youths killed him. Yet a man of the River Gira (with which Totoima is specially associated) assured me that it was the custom for

a warlike party to call upon Totoima (as a mighty slayer) 775 to precede them, and fall upon their foes in spirit (*asisi*), 773 after which they would go and deliver their own attack in the flesh.

(2) Jappi Jappi Tururu is the subject of a long tale in which, although an old hag of particularly odious habits, she figures as an invariably successful huntress. A pig-hunting magician who is possessed of certain medicines and who receives visits from the *asisi* of bush-pigs, is in the habit of calling on Jappi in terms which may be translated as follows: 'O Jappi, I go forth into the bush to spear a pig; grant me a pig and make it come near me; I go now in search of one, and having found it I will soon return.' The man who originated this ritual gave it out that Jappi once conducted his spirit into the bush where she gave him the pig medicine, and instructed him how to proceed.

(3) Moraralau was accredited with the origin of the taro. He lived alone, and was eyeless, earless, noseless—in fact devoid of any bodily orifice or member—until visited by a woman who obtained the taro from him and at the same time made a man of him. After this Moraralau fled to a cave where he baffled every attempt at capture. My informants said that his *asisi* still dwelt in the cave. When a man plants taro he may ejaculate 'Moraralau!' (though it was not stated that this was an appeal to him to make the plant grow).

(4) Kokowaio is identified with the 'floating island' on lake Embi, i.e. with the cohering mass of water plants which is sometimes to be seen floating on the surface of the lake. The legend is, that Kokowaio (sometimes represented as female, sometimes as male) rescued, by taking on to her back, a boy and girl, the sole survivors of a flood which led to the formation of lake Embi. Now Kokowaio exercises some sort of control over the lake, which is generally regarded as a place full of danger, except for men of the Umondaha clan, to which it belongs. When, in company with Mr. Ashton, the Assistant Resident Magistrate of the district, I voyaged across the waters to visit the floating island on an extempore raft, our escort was apprehensive of the wind

775 which Kokowaio might send if he were displeased, and continually hailed him with assurances that our intentions 773 were harmless, as if to ask for consideration. Mr. Wurth, the Resident Magistrate, had a similar experience, and his attendant explained that 'he was telling the waters of Embi not to be wild as he was only taking his master to see the island. . . . Had he not done so the canoe would have capsized'.[1] It remains very uncertain what form Kokowaio takes in native imagination beyond his association with the floating island.

775 Mr. Leo Flint, who in the course of magisterial work has given a good deal of study to the Orokaiva, names several of these personal *sovai*. He writes:

> 'The Bines, who are alleged to have the greatest powers are—Koi, who informs the people of the name of the necromancer who caused the death of a certain person; the Umbubuka, who walks the road at night; the Owadegoiari, who controls the spirit of children who die in infancy. Owadegoiari is credited with having a tail, and lives in the sago swamp. The legend of the tail is that it has grown from the umbilical cord of infants who have died shortly after birth, or in the uterus.'[2]

I have met with only the last mentioned in my own inquiries, and the version which I received being somewhat different, is worth recording. *Hovatu-koiari* (to use the Aiga form) does not stand in this version for a single personal *sovai* who controls the spirits of children dying in infancy, but for the spirits of the children themselves. The word means literally 'after birth (*bovatu*)—bury (*koiari*)', and the spirit of the still-born or aborted child survives as a little creature inhabiting the sago swamp. It is a foot or so high, and has a long tail which, as Mr. Flint was told, originates from the navel string. When the *bovatu-koiari* walk the tail drags behind, but when the little creatures sit down to scrape sago it is thrown over the shoulder and hangs in front. They are to be seen and heard occasionally singing a plaintive song in time to the beat of their sago-scrapers. 'Why did our mothers throw us away?', they say.

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1922–3, p. 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1920–1, p. 49.

'Had they but kept us we might have been good children 775 who could work and make sago for them.'

Destination of Sovai

Where beliefs as to the nature of *sovai* are so confused and indefinite we need not expect to find a carefully formulated doctrine as to their habitat or destination. Nightbound in a lonely place, a native would feel positive that the *sovai* were ubiquitous, and if they abounded in one place more than another it would be in his own vicinity. But when his fears were calmed, he could expound some more specific theories, albeit not entirely consistent.

In the first place the *sovai* are felt to haunt the village they 775 lived in as men. I have already given evidence of this belief 782 in relation to the ghostly form of the *sovai* (*vide* pp. 270–2), and it appears that this haunting may be more than merely temporary. There is a custom called *peni*, i.e. 'gift-offering', in which a number of young men do a round of the village carrying a pig on a pole or some cooked food on a dish. Beating their drums as they go, they pause at every house and lay the pig for a moment on the verandah platform, or leave there a morsel of cooked food. This ceremony is a placation of the *sovai* which are thought to haunt the houses. Sometimes it is not the actual village, but the neighbouring bush that is inhabited by the *sovai*. Of this idea the most interesting illustration is the custom of *jage* or hailing, in which the *sovai*, being called by name, gives answer in a long-drawn inarticulate cry from the concealment of the forest.

It seems that in the main, however, it is the *sovai* of the 775 more recently dead who are thought of as frequenting the 765 village. The mortuary ceremonies are at least in part intended as placations of them; and when all due honours have been paid, the final ceremony, viz. *sirari* (*vide* p. 253), is apparently a means of getting rid of the *sovai*, or inducing it to leave the village for good and all. Thus, for example, at the conclusion of a cycle of mortuary ceremonies in the village of Suporosusu certain paraphernalia of the dance were placed on the raft and floated down the river

775 Opi, and the chief man of the village cried out the names
765 of those deceased for whom the ceremonies had been performed, and bade them go right down to the sea and there turn into *sovai* creatures, naming crocodiles, sharks, and water-snakes. After this, he said, the *sovai* would be 'afraid' to remain in the neighbourhood of Suporosusu.

775 It does not appear that the sea or the sea-shore is commonly regarded as the destination of the *sovai*, but there are, on the other hand, a number of definite localities belonging (sentimentally if not actually) to the various clans, whither their people are supposed to repair after death. Such localities are called *sovai-ta-na* or '*sovai* villages', and almost every one of the clans of the Aiga tribe could name its own. They take the form of some well-defined feature such as a hill, rock, or pool. The *sovai-ta-na* of the Samanahu clan, for instance, is a cluster of large rocks which constitute a small island midstream in the Kumusi. It is worth recording an incident associated with this place. A man was fishing nearby; when he looked up he saw the figure of a woman on the steep bank opposite standing in the conventional posture with staff held in both hands and resting on the head. He cried out to her, but she merely turned aside her head and remained silent. When he had repeated his call with the same result, he suddenly felt that the situation was an uncanny one, and returned precipitately to his village, where he found that a woman had died. No one questions that the man actually saw the woman's *sovai* (it is doubtful, indeed, whether an Orokaiva recognizes the possibility of delusion), and the incident verifies the character of the place. I may note in passing that when I visited these rocks the men who accompanied me showed no reluctance to land on them.

Another example of a *sovai-ta-na* is to be seen in the pool Monoda, which belongs to the clan Eugahu. In reality a stagnant backwater of the Kumusi, Monoda lies secluded amid heavy, dank forest, and is certainly dismal enough for a place of the dead. Natives would not approach the pool too closely, and when we disturbed a snake at our feet they would not interfere with it, but watched it glide rapidly down and disappear in the waters of Monoda itself. Even such an incident as this, no doubt, does something to enhance the reputation of a *sovai* village.

It is sometimes thought that the *sovai* foregather in these places (which, of course, have no resemblance whatever to the villages of living humans). There is a *sovai-ta-na* not far from the village of Bologasusu named Henjauti, consisting of a large isolated rock some twenty-five or thirty feet in height. When a young man named Patuna, small and not of a very courageous aspect, was recently returning home at dusk, his way took him past Henjauti, where he was horrified to hear the rustling and whispering of *sovai*. The sounds now came from every direction, and Patuna realized that he was surrounded by the *sovai* who inhabited the place, so he made such speed as he could to climb a tree and shouted for help. A body of villagers armed with torches rescued him from what every one thought a very serious predicament; and Patuna subsequently showed me with some pride the tree—about thirty yards distant from the rock—in which he had taken refuge. Some people have actually witnessed or overheard the union of the new *sovai* with the old. It is thought—or we should say sometimes thought—that the *sovai* of those formerly deceased assemble to receive the new *sovai* and bear him away with them. In the valedictory address at the grave he is told to make himself known to them, and to offer them gifts in order to make sure of a cordial welcome (see p. 215). It would seem that the *sovai* is sometimes reluctant to leave the life on earth. Thus listeners at Henjauti have heard the *sovai* of the newly dead weeping; and when a man hidden under a pile of pig-nets heard the *sovai* passing by on their way to Monoda, the new-comer whom they were conducting to the *sovai-ta-na* was protesting and wrangling with his escort. (It may be unnecessary to explain that the man under the pig-nets was a diviner who made a practice of overhearing the conversation of the *sovai* on such occasions in order to discover the identity of the sorcerer who was responsible for the death. He merely imposes on popular belief.)

The Orokaiva does not think of a happy home for the departed. It is true that at the graveside the *sovai* is bidden

115 to go to some place of sunshine where there are neither march-flies nor mosquitoes to bother him, but there is no definite idea of where this place is nor of what manner of life the *sovai* may lead there; and the description as far as it goes does not seem to suit the tangible examples of *sovai-ta-na* which I have seen. There are one or two tales of sky-dwellers but no hint of a heaven (though there is the extremely vague belief that some *sovai* go aloft, and are accordingly known as *i-sovai* or 'upper' *sovai*. Among these are the *diroga* or spirits of those slain in fight. It was never suggested, by the way, that these *i-sovai* were in any sense superior to the others.) There is also an interesting tale of the underworld into which a man follows his deceased wife, and finds there a very large population of *sovai*, including some of his relatives. But this, as the native often says, is *bibi*—'only a fairy-tale'.

In short, the only places of the departed which Orokaiva doctrine has definitely formulated are the *sovai-ta-na*; and these are natural features—hills, pools, and the like—which are associated with the several clans. In almost every case they are situated on the land belonging to the clan, and where this is not so it appears probably that they are situated on land which formerly did belong to the clan.

Attitude of Sovai toward the Living

We must lastly consider the mental and moral attitude of the living toward the dead. This will naturally depend upon the attitude which the dead are supposed to hold toward the living, and from what has gone before it will be seen that this latter attitude is of a mixed nature. It is alternately benign and malign, though there is little doubt that the latter is felt to predominate.

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I shall first recall evidence that the *sovai* may be well disposed toward the living. The most striking instances are found in their association with magicians, weather experts, and the like. The report on the Taro Cult will be found full of such evidence. The Taro man, who is in effect a spiritual-horticultural expert, most commonly attributes his special powers to one of the dead, who has visited him probably

in a dream and bequeathed him some instructions or a 775
tangible 'medicine'. Sometimes the healer is in like manner 787
indebted for his gift to a benevolent *sovai*; or the hunting
magician may receive from a *sovai* the intelligence that a pig
is waiting to be caught.

But apart from the favours which the *sovai* are supposed 775
to bestow on specialists, we find that every gardener and
hunter feels that the dead may send him success. It is true
that the negative side of this proposition is more often in
evidence, i.e. he is more prone to attribute failure to the dis-
pleasure of the *sovai* than success to their favour, but there is,
nevertheless, the belief that they are able to make the gar-
dens flourish and to drive the pigs into the pig-nets, and
this is proved by the custom of adjuring the *sovai* to do so
in the farewell address at the grave.

Even in the legends, where the *sovai* usually plays a very 775
villainous part, we occasionally meet with one that is grate- 773
ful or well disposed to the living. There is, for example,
the case of the grateful warrior whose younger brother
cared for his children after he had been killed, and who
subsequently, in the form of a bird, warned this younger
brother of an approaching raid. Nor did his gratitude stop
at this, for abandoning his bird-shape he assumed that of a
warrior, and held a large number of raiders at bay while
his younger brother ran for help.

But such benevolent conduct on the part of the *sovai* is to 775
say the least unusual, and it must be confessed that on the
whole the Orokaiva regards his relatives and friends after
their death as enemies. Any failure of the crops may be
attributed to them; they may baffle the hunters; they may
send the pigs to break through the fences and despoil the
gardens. Sickness is perhaps ascribed more often to the [753]
malevolence of *sovai* than to any other cause. It is some-
times believed that the *sovai* enter the body in immaterial
form, and sometimes that they may cause disease by a mere
evil influence, e.g. by touching food. If they are eaten in
their animal form sickness invariably follows. We have
seen that they have more direct ways of wreaking their ill
feelings, and in the guise of monsters they pursue, capture,

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and maltreat their victims. Even general calamities may be ascribed to their malignancy: an earthquake, for instance, is caused by *sovai* travelling underground and presages a general sickness. One may quote the particular instance of Unina. This village used to stand on a flat hill-top, but for many years its inhabitants have been watching the ground crumble away till now their very building-room is threatened. This unfortunate process they ascribe to the malice or vengeance of the *sovai*, with whom they were once unwise enough to do battle in the neighbourhood. The fact that the process of detrition has apparently stopped for the present is said to be due to the intercession of one particular *sovai* who has taken pity on his old village.

It may be granted, then, that the attitude of the *sovai* toward the living is conceived on the whole to be one of malignancy; or it may be more correct to say that the *sovai* are thought of as intensely dangerous, and that besides having powers for good they have also powers for evil, which they are constantly ready to use. What then is the counter attitude of the living toward the *sovai* ?

Attitude of the Living toward the Sovai

We must not underestimate the intensity of sorrow which an Orokaiva feels at the death of his relative or friend, and we cannot but suppose that towards the being which he believes so confidently to survive death he still continues to have some feeling of affection. When, for example, the small fragments of tobacco or betel-nut are set on the platform as an offering, or when the *sovai* are called upon to be present and witness the dance, it is not necessary to suppose that those who perform these rites are devoid of any tender feeling for those in whose behalf they are made. But how long such feelings last is another question. The Orokaiva inherits a body of beliefs regarding the *sovai* which picture them in a variety of horrible and dangerous forms, so that he cannot help regarding them with aversion, and especially with fear. His feelings are, therefore, ambivalent, and according to circumstances first one aspect and then the other will take his attention.

In his general conduct the less kindly emotions are often 775 in evidence. Sometimes they find expression in open hostility, and we find the villagers defying and actually doing battle at night with a host of imaginary foes. Usually, however, it is the anxious endeavour of the living to placate the dead. Therefore we find the offerings of food in the village and in the gardens, and witness the performance of a mortuary ceremony which seems in the main of a placatory nature. Besides these we see the presentation of formal gifts, a handful of costly ornaments offered to the departing *sovai* at the grave-side, or suspended before the door of a house of sickness to induce the *sovai* to discontinue his persecution.

While it is certain that the Orokaiva goes in real fear of 775 the power of the *sovai*, the means of placation often seem 782 peculiarly off-hand. All gifts, as far as I know, are given only to be taken back, or at the most they fall into the hands of the magician or healer who acts, so to speak, as intermediary, and, if the patient recovers, annexes the presents which were ostensibly meant to buy off the *sovai*. There is seldom any deliberate sacrifice of real valuables, as, e.g., by burying them. I may quote what purports to be the true case of an old man who was unable to recall his dog from a hole in which it had pursued some animal. Concluding the dog must have been seized by a *sovai* who lived in the hole, he placed some ornaments at the entrance by way of a bribe, but no sooner did his dog reappear than he snatched up the ornaments and ran for dear life to the safety of his village, the more speedily because he was convinced that he heard the pursuing footsteps of the *sovai*. It is difficult to reconcile such hocus-pocus with the genuine fear of the *sovai* which motivates so much of an Orokaiva's conduct; but whatever form it may take, the act of placation is felt to be necessary and is constantly performed.

Besides the placation of the *sovai* by ceremonial gifts we find some traces of direct appeal or prayer.[1] I do not feel justified in applying this word to the *kasamba*, i.e. the concerted singing of the Taro men (which is described in the 'Taro Cult', pp. 57 ff.), though there is good reason to

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[1] *Vide* further *Orokaiva Magic*, p. 207.

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suppose that the now somewhat garbled songs are in origin hortatory. The exhortation, however, is addressed rather to the taro itself or the spirit (*asisi*) of the taro, and I have no definite instance in which the song is addressed to the *sovai*. But the definite instances are not wanting elsewhere. We need go no further than the grave-side address, to which reference has been made so often, where the *sovai* is requested to send pigs to the hunters and prosper the gardens. Again, apart from the ritual *kasamba*, the Taro Cult provides examples of what we may call genuine prayer, when the Taro man in the act of planting calls on the *sovai* of his mother, father, and grandfather to make his taro flourish.

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But the most interesting examples are perhaps those connected with hunting. The Aiga villager says that the new moon is the time to set up his *bage*, or pig-trap, and then after dusk he will cry, *sostenuto*, into the darkness of the bush:

Hariga, Hoindapa, Bavari . . . &c.
Moon, Hoindapa, Bavari . . .
Bage etenavara, Hambuto batijo araikai.
A trap I have set, go, leap on it and break it.

How the moon comes into the prayer I cannot say, for there is nothing in the least resembling a moon cult among the Orokaiva; but the names Hoindapa, Bavari, and the string of place-names that follow are of *sovai-ta-na*, and it is explained that the prayer is addressed to the spirits of the dead who inhabit them. The ensuing words are of course addressed to the pig, telling it to enter the trap to its destruction, and they are no more than an elementary spell in which the hunter utters in words what he wants to happen in fact.

Mr. Flint gives the following account of the same practice as carried out by a hunting party. One of their number is requested to hail the spirits.

> 'He does so by tapping his throat lightly, and warbling simultaneously. Having aroused the spirits, he calls out vociferously, "We come with our dogs or nets, you send plenty of pigs straight to us." As I was very interested in this alleged communication, I asked my informants if the spirits listened to their talk. I was informed, "Oh, yes, if he did not listen, we would catch no pigs".'[1]

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1924–5, p. 48.

Lastly, there are the sporadic instances of the personal and 775 semi-legendary *sovai*, who may be hailed and exhorted to 782 grant a favour or pardon an intrusion. But such direct appeals are of relatively small importance. The aim of the Orokaiva is to appease or to win the favour of the *sovai*, and his regular methods are those of placation by gifts and ritual.

I may now repeat what was written towards the beginning 775 of this chapter, viz. that on the whole Orokaiva religion concerns itself primarily with the spirits of the dead. The *sovai* are viewed as beings both powerful and dangerous, and it behoves the living to keep on the right side of them. It is not to be supposed that an all-embracing philosophy regards the *sovai* as the guiding and controlling spirits of all nature. The native is not urged on by a philosophic inquisitiveness which demands an interpretation for everything. The phenomena of nature are largely taken for granted, and when things are going well he is content to ask no questions. He does not theorize upon the movements of the sun, for instance, and postulate some personal entity—*sovai* or any other—that makes it rise and set. But in the face of calamity or sickness, or any hitch in the course of nature, he may cast about for a cause, some one or something on which to fix the responsibility, and perhaps his favourite scapegoat is the *sovai*. The *sovai*, therefore, are not conceived of as invariably presiding over the course of nature, but rather as being able to influence the course of nature for or against living humans. Further, because of their somewhat malevolent disposition, they are exceedingly prone to the latter kind of interference, so that it is the very essence of Orokaiva religion to placate them.

XVII

MEDICINE AND MAGIC

812 WE have seen that in the easy-going philosophy of the Orokaiva the course of nature is largely taken for granted. All the things and processes of the world exist or happen *per se*; they are not under any omnipotent control nor do they submit to continual regulation by any personal powers. But we have also seen that they may be *influenced* for good or evil by the *sovai*, i.e. those beings who survive death.

Now it appears that the *sovai* are not the only agencies by which nature may be mysteriously influenced in one direction or the other. There is in Orokaiva philosophy a second kind of agency, equally occult, by which the normal happenings of nature may be interfered with: this is the power of magic and sorcery. Magic and sorcery have been dealt with at length in another report,[1] so that it is not my purpose here to describe their general methods, much less to elaborate the theory which was attempted in that essay. The present chapter will deal with a single subject—fairly well defined—that of diseases, their putative causes and treatment, and it will touch upon the magical aspect of these treatments only in passing.

Causes of Disease

753 The native, while believing that the *sovai* and the living magician or sorcerer can influence nature both for good and evil, is yet more impressed by misfortune than by ordinary success, so that it is especially in the face of calamity or failure that his thoughts turn to occult explanations. Since no misfortune, perhaps, impresses him so frequently or forcibly as that of sickness or disease, we shall not be surprised to find the responsibility for this, which seems like an interference with the normal course of nature, fixed sometimes upon the *sovai* and sometimes upon the sorcerer.

[1] *Orokaiva Magic.*

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Native ideas on the subject of disease, therefore, while possessing an intrinsic interest and, indeed, revealing a certain amount of straightforward good sense, will also serve to illustrate the attitude toward both the spirits of the dead and the power of living magic; and, further, they will incidentally exemplify the actual procedure of magic.

Classification.

As the result of a good deal of questioning on this subject I feel justified in reducing diseases, according to their putative causes, to the following classification: (1) *Casual Diseases*: the result, e.g., of accident, of weather conditions, of over-exertion, &c., or of chance contact with some harmful substance or thing which often appears in one form or another to enter the body. All these afflictions, which I have lumped together under the not wholly satisfactory expression Casual Diseases, are distinguished from the two classes which follow in that they are not due to any personal agency, but to causes which the native regards as natural. They are misfortunes, not inflictions. (2) *Sovai Diseases*: i.e. those caused by the attack of the *sovai*, and in many instances by its immanence in the body. (3) *Sorcery Diseases*: i.e. those which are brought about by black magic.

It is necessary to add that the most prevalent native conception of disease is that of an intrusive element. One cannot say that this is invariable. It does not appear to cover all natural diseases nor all *sovai* diseases, and, as far as I am aware, it does not apply to any sorcery diseases; but it is, nevertheless, the usual native theory, and will be found to account for a large number of treatments. The word for sickness is *ambu*. I dare not attempt to define its applications, but, since sickness as an intrusive element takes so many varying forms in native imagination, some of them apparently quite immaterial, one will not be far wrong in saying that *ambu* may be regarded, like 'sickness', as an abstraction. The native will say that the *ambu* enters the body, leaves it, passes from one to another, &c., without having any set idea that it possesses form or consistency of any sort.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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753 It is not to be supposed that a native will always be able to set down his ideas of disease and its causes under logical headings, but I have often enough found the above threefold classification implied and sometimes expressed. One man, for instance, who practised as a healer or expeller of diseases, classified the causes as follows: (1) heat, strain, cold, and the like, where a man is said to sicken '*tebo*', i.e. 'by himself' or 'for nothing'; (2) the entry of injurious substances; (3) the attack of *sovai*; and (4) the use of *inja*, i.e. the sorcerer's specific. His first two divisions will, in the main, coincide with our first class, viz. casual diseases.

Casual Diseases.

[164] Orokaiva natives, like others in the Territory, probably suffer to some considerable extent from malaria. They are certainly afflicted by headaches and attacks of fever. When the colder winds from the south-east, called *pisbi*, spring up, they learn to expect these attacks. They call them *ambu isapo*, or 'small sickness', and usually regard them as natural occurrences with no ulterior causes, such as that of a visitation from the *sovai*, or the malice of a sorcerer. So again we find a doctor attributing a man's sickness to a drenching from the rain; or in another case to working in his garden through the hottest part of the day; in another to over-exerting himself by carrying two small pigs tied to a pole across his shoulder. Such straightforward ailments, besides being called *ambu isapo*, 'small sicknesses', are sometimes spoken of as *memei*, which means 'ache' or 'pain'; and in the generality of cases they are accepted without question as natural phenomena, the transient ills to which all flesh is heir.

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755 It is interesting to note that in the last instance quoted a doctor discovered (by means of a method of extraction to be described presently) several fragments of a pig's larger intestine in the patient's body. This affords an example of the very common view which has been referred to already, viz. that disease or sickness is an intrusive element. It is true that the doctor in question subsequently discovered a variety of other tell-tale fragments and offered a number of

diagnoses of what must have been a very complicated 153
disease; but, in so far as the disease was due to the strain 155
of carrying the pigs it was *present in* the man's body, evidenced by the pig's intestine. On one occasion my cook-boy, who suffered from headaches, took it upon himself to consult a *bara* woman, i.e. one who practises extraction. She succeeded in removing from his forehead a small piece of trade twist: his complaint had been due to over-smoking. The same woman treated a man with a pain in his foot. It appeared that in fording a stream he had struck his foot against a boulder, and the *bara* woman contrived to extract a small pebble from his instep. This, the man himself told me, must have got into his foot as he crossed the stream. It will be seen presently that there is some doubt whether such material objects are always believed to be actually present in the patient's body. But in the cases where they are not believed to be so present, they are at least allowed to stand in imagination for the sickness, and are thus in keeping with the idea of the sickness as a foreign presence which has intruded itself into the body.

This assimilation or absorption of a sickness mostly comes 153
about by eating, and the diagnosis is, of course, retrospective. A man with a pain in any part of his body—though, we may suppose, usually in the region of his stomach—remembers what he ate, and not unnaturally makes it bear the blame. Any kind of food—bananas, sugar-cane, e.g.—may be intrinsically bad, and the victim still unable to explain why it should be so. Very often, as we shall see, its injurious properties are due to the presence of or contamination by a *sovai*, but this is not invariable. I have known a man profess to abstain from eating snake because he could not bear the thought of the reptile writhing in his stomach, and another who would not eat flying-fox for fear of the internal flapping and fluttering.

All these are examples of casual diseases. They are acquired in the course of daily experience, and they are acquired directly, i.e. not through any personal agency such as that of *sovai* or sorcerer. It seems that we must place in the same category those diseases which were specially

153 treated by the Taro men. According to the doctrines of their cult certain species of the taro plant were regarded as *koropa*, or 'strong'. To eat them caused illness, and this illness was supposedly due to the presence in the victim's body of the *asisi* of the taro. Nor was it only by eating that the taro *asisi* could be absorbed. If, for example, a man pulled taro from the gardens without first having consulted the *ba-embo*, or Taro man, then the *asisi* of the aggrieved plant would enter into the offender and make him sick. It was then the opportunity of the *ba-embo* in his capacity of doctor to entice the *asisi* back from the patient's body, and so put an end to his sickness.

Sovai Diseases.

153 115 It will be remembered that among the great majority of the followers of the Taro Cult it was toward the spirit of the dead rather than the spirits of the actual taro plant that all ritual was directed; and accordingly we find that sickness is with them very commonly attributed to the *sovai*. In this the Taro Cult (i.e. the popular form of it) was wholly in keeping with former belief. No agency is more readily made responsible for human illness than are the *sovai*, who are so often regarded as dangerous and spiteful. Remarkable as it may seem, it is especially the *sovai* of close relatives who are blamed for sickness, and they are sometimes thought to enter the bodies of their victims at the actual funeral, when the mourners indulge in the habit of embracing and mauling the corpse. If after such demonstrations—which are in fact inspired by affection—the mourner eats with unwashed hands, or goes to sleep with his hands under his ear for a pillow, he is likely to be entered by the *sovai* and laid up with a sickness. There are many ways—some of them very vaguely conceived—in which the *sovai* may inflict the living with sickness. We hear, for instance, of a man with a swollen jaw who had been 'struck on the mouth' by a *sovai*; another merely ate food which had been cooked over the same fire as the flesh of a *sovai* animal; but in most cases sickness is due to eating the *sovai* in animal or reptile form.

It has been explained that the spirit of the dead may

assume such a form, viz. that of some creature of the forest or 753
stream (*vide* pp. 269, 272), so that whoever eats snake, cuscus, 775
lizard, and so forth—even bush-pig—does so at a certain
risk. The creature may be an ordinary specimen of its kind,
or it may be a *sovai*. In the latter event the man who eats
it is in all probability stricken down with illness. The ex- 753
ponents of the *Baigona*, or 'snake cult', which had a vogue
in the Northern Division some fifteen years ago, made great 775
play with this belief in animal reincarnation. Not only 794
snakes but a great variety of animals and reptiles were held
sacred, and fundamentally their sacred character was due to
the fact that they were reincarnations of the dead. Any one,
therefore, who killed and ate, or even offended one of these
creatures, e.g. by neglecting to hail it respectfully, would
incur the anger of the *sovai* which it embodied, and fall sick
in consequence. Such cases constituted the peculiar province of the *Baigona* healers, who professed to be able to entice the *sovai* out of the sufferer's body. It is not altogether remarkable that although the *Baigona* was practically stamped out as a cult more than ten years ago there should still be practitioners (some of them actually retaining the title of *Baigona*-men) who continue to make use of methods and theories which are so firmly founded on old belief.

Sorcery Diseases.

From diseases caused by malevolent *sovai* we may turn to 753
the last category, viz. that of diseases caused by sorcery.

It cannot be said that there is anything essentially distinc- 754
tive in the symptoms of sorcery disease, though one may go so far as to say that it is the more mysterious and inexplicable of symptoms which call for this interpretation; and while it is true that when a native's anger or suspicion is aroused he is liable to strike out with a charge of sorcery for even the most trivial affliction, it remains the general rule to impute this cause only for the more serious complaints. Further than this, it is imputed as cause especially for those complaints which cannot be cured. Thus when a doctor has tried his methods on a patient without success he is likely to set the case down as a hopeless one of sorcery

153 and discontinue his treatment; and, indeed, if he be astute
enough, he may decide to have no truck with any case that
154 seems too far gone. For it is generally held that sorcery
sickness cannot be cured by the ordinary methods of the
healer. Failing other explanations, therefore, he adopts this
most pessimistic one. Sorcery is, in fact, the native's exegetical last card.

It is not my intention to deal with the methods of the sorcerer further than to say that (*a*) they follow the characteristic procedure in which some symbol of the victim is subjected to a treatment representing in symbolic form the sickness which it is hoped may afflict him; and that (*b*) this process is thought to be made infallible, i.e. the hoped-for result of it inevitable, by the addition of some element of a supernatural character which is known only to the sorcerer. Examples of their methods have been supplied in the essay on Orokaiva Magic, to which the reader is referred. At any rate they need not enter into the subject of the present chapter; for what concerns us here is not the actual practice of black magic, but that entirely disproportionate belief in its practice which has so often supplied a diagnosis of disease.

Common-sense Treatments

157 We may now turn our attention to native methods of treating disease. These may be considered under three heads: (i) Common-sense, (ii) Expulsive, and (iii) Placatory (which, by the way, are not meant to correspond with the three heads under which were classified the causes of disease).

152 To the first division there belong a number of treatments which, whatever their degree of futility, seem nevertheless to be straightforward and 'common-sense'. Wounds, for instance, are washed and subjected to a treatment of hot air, blown through a tube of heated bark or banana stalk. After that they may be given a hot compress of leaves. For snake-bite the treatment, I am told, is to cut about the bite and let the blood flow. For headache there is the old remedy
[157] of blood-letting from the forehead (by means of a series of
Small cuts).

small cuts). For the open sores (*kini*) or ulcers, which so 752 commonly afflict the natives, there are a number of remedies in the form of applications. One consists of the scrapings of the bark of the Goru palm mixed with dry coco-nut; another of the green fruit of the tree *Puga* (which contains a poison) mixed with ashes; another of a paste of lime and the scrapings of a bark called *Popo*. These are only examples. The different treatments are innumerable, and it does not appear that they are widely known, for inquiry will always discover new methods in new places. Nor can it be said that they are very efficacious, or even that they are often employed. I have seen a man wearing a very neat bandage of leaf on his heel tied about his foot: it covered an application of *gamboja*, a kind of phosphorescent fungus, which he said generated heat. But sores are commonest on children, and as it appears that some of the remedies are painful the children refuse to endure them and soon tear off the bandages. In most cases, therefore, the sores are left to look after themselves.

For the skin disease, *tinea imbricata*, commonly known in 757 Papua as *simpoma*, the natives have a number of remedies which, as far as I know, are all ineffective. I can cite a kind of astringent fig juice, scraped yam, and wallaby blood. The last may seem to us magic pure and simple, though it is, no doubt, as much common-sense to the native as our own idea that mutton fat is good for the complexion is common-sense to us.

In ordinary indisposition a man lies down as close as he 758 can to the fire and is nursed by his wife, who will support his head in her lap. He often removes his *bo*, and goes completely naked, though I do not know of any reason except that it makes him feel more comfortable. A sick man often moves with his wife to a garden house or some other secluded place in order to secure peace and quiet. That is the ostensible reason for what is quite a voluntary isolation; though I have known a sick man to vacate his house because he suspected the presence of a *sovai*, so that maybe when the patient retires into isolation it is more than the mere noise and bustle of the village that he means to leave behind him.

758 Sometimes the position is reversed, and unaffected men and women will leave the village for the bush in order to escape an epidemic (*tauni*) which has seized on its inhabitants. In this case there is no doubt as to their motive: they leave the village to escape the *sovai* who have caused the *tanni*.

757 The few examples I have given, however, will show that the native possesses a certain number of methods in the treatment of sickness which, however wide of the mark they appear to us, are yet in a manner reasonable. They are common knowledge and, to the native at least, common-sense. They are his household remedies.

Expulsive Treatments

755 From these we may turn to the characteristic kind of treatment which I have called expulsive. There are many varieties of expulsive methods, and they are all based on the very prevalent idea of disease as an intrusive element in the body; furthermore, they call for special powers in those who practise them, so that whereas common-sense treatments are known to any one and every one, expulsive treatments are usually carried out by 'doctors'. This word will stand for those individuals who make a special practice of curing and who are thought to possess powers and medicines (*sivo*) which make their methods effective. The word *sivo* also requires explanation. It stands for good 'medicine', i.e. for any substance (usually a leaf) which possesses a mysterious potency for good; and it applies equally to, e.g., a medicine planted with the taro to make it grow, a medicine given to a sick man to make him well, and a medicine used by a magician to make his methods, the mere routine of magic, have their desired effect.

757 It is with one general class of *sivo* that I may introduce the subject of expulsive treatments, though it is to be noted that this class (contrary to the general rule of expulsive treatments) consists mostly of home remedies which are not administered by a doctor. In many cases it is impossible to get at the *modus operandi* of the *sivo*, because its use may be traditional and the user may be as ignorant of the way it acts as the ordinary layman is ignorant of the action of *nux*

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(*a*) The *Jura* Treatment

(*b*) The *Jura* Treatment [facing p. 296]

PLATE XXXVI

757 *vomica*. But in not a few cases it appears that the potency
of the medicine consists in its smell. Thus we find a man
[278] suffering from a severe cold who is taking as medicine a bark
called *Siganapa*. This, which is strongly scented, is boiled
and the decoction added to a stew which the patient eats.
According to the explanation, the sickness inside the man's
stomach will smell the *Siganapa* and go away; so that in such
a case we may regard the *sivo* as typically expulsive. Such
a remedy need not be taken internally; it is enough to smell
it in one's nostrils. So a man smells scented leaves for
stomach-ache; and I have seen another garlanded about
his shoulders and waist with strands of a creeper called
[278] *Toibo*, which gave out an abominable smell, resembling that
of tree-bugs. Its virtue consisted in its smell (*mune*), by
which the sickness was 'frightened away'. Another effective
remedy is the fragrant lemon-grass (*Dariva*).

The same idea—that of driving out the sickness by smell—is at the bottom of a process called *jura*, which consists of fumigating the sick (*vide* also pp. 200–1). In one case which I saw the subject had been suffering with headache and general pains. His friends prepared a mixture in which seven kinds of leaf or bark were added to coco-nut milk in a *teva* or wooden dish. The patient descends from his house and squats over the *teva* dish; a hot stone has been held ready in a coco-nut husk and is now dropped into the mixture; a pandanus mat is thrown over all and the patient remains underneath enveloped in steam. Principal among the seven ingredients was *Toibo*, the extremely evil-smelling creeper mentioned above, and all the remaining six had a more or less decided odour.[1]

755 The commonest and simplest of expulsive treatments is one of a very different kind, known as *humbari*, 'taking away'. One or more doctors operate on the patient, who lies on his

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[1] In another case of this fumigating process, the technique was the same, but the principle apparently quite different. If a man's sickness were diagnosed as the result of eating a 'bad' snake, some snake bones would be put into the *teva* with water and the hot stone added. The patient would sit in the rising steam; and, if the diagnosis were correct, the treatment would be effective. If the sickness were due to eating a 'bad' banana, then banana skins would take the place of snake bones. I did not see this process, nor any similar in principle, carried out, so the information may not be wholly reliable. No satisfactory explanation was offered.

back. They massage his limbs and body, pinching the flesh very hard. The rubbing proceeds usually towards the extremities, and the operator, continually removing his hands from the patient's body with what resembles a plucking motion, affects to be throwing something away. The principle of *bumbari* is to locate the sickness or cause of the sickness in some portion of the sufferer's body, to work it towards the extremities, and there to cast it out.

In conjunction with *bumbari* we often find the treatment known as *kavo*, or 'blowing'. The operator (known as *kavo-embo*, or 'blower') pauses every now and then to blow into the patient's ears, or his nostrils; sometimes into his hair, and very commonly into his fingers and toes. I have watched a dying infant subjected to the treatment of the *kavo-embo*, and whenever the child opened its mouth in a convulsive yawn the doctor would seize the opportunity of blowing into what he found a convenient aperture. It does not appear certain that *kavo* is an expulsive method, and its significance remains doubtful. No informant ever offered a rationale for the process, so that one is justified in forming an inference. This might be that the blowing into the orifices and extremities of the body was meant to set the disease in motion, and finally to blow it out of the body altogether; but one is inclined to give it a different meaning. The *bumbari* doctors chew a medicine, or *sivo*, before they begin work, and it is this that imparts to them the necessary power to cast out. They chew while they work, and occasionally they spit on to the patient's body; and not only do they blow into his ears, finger-tips, &c., but into their own closed fists. It seems likely, therefore, that the ordinary *kavo*, like the spitting and blowing into the fist, is a means of in-breathing the powerful influence of the *sivo* into the material they are working on and the instruments they are working with.[1]

Perhaps the most interesting of all expulsive treatments is the time-honoured practice of extracting the sickness from the patient's body in some tangible form. Among the Orokaiva this is called *bara*, a word which appears to stand as well for the practice as for the practitioner. To cite an example: a man suffering from temporary lameness called in a *bara* specialist to treat him. The *bara*, having chewed the medicine on which he relies for power, together with some betel-nut, sucked at the patient's leg and finally spat out a mass of chewed betel in which was found a small fragment of wallaby bone. It transpired that the patient had eaten wallaby flesh some time before, and it was assumed that this was the cause of his sickness. In one remarkable instance of this treatment a woman pressed a handful of leaves about a sick infant's neck, coming near to strangling it in the process, and then withdrawing her hand and opening the leaves disclosed a red mass of chewed betel and a huge boar's tusk. It appeared that the mother had eaten a *sovai* pig, and in suckling her child had passed on to it the penalty of sickness.

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[1] I find, however, that Mr. Flint, in giving a description of this treatment (together with *bumbari*) under the name of *gau-o* (the Binandele form of *kavo*), does not hesitate to regard it as expulsive. An old woman blew into the ears and mouth of the patient, and Mr. Flint writes, 'This was done to drive out the demon who was keeping the patient ill'. He does not expressly state that this is a native explanation.

In the practice of *bara* there is, of course, a great deal of charlatanry, and although the specialist is clever in sleight of hand it is not difficult to see where his opportunities for trickery are taken. In one case where a husband and wife practised in partnership, the former sat on the ground chewing betel and the appropriate medicines, the latter half in and half out of her doorway, and the patient on the platform between the two. The husband having chewed the betel and medicine spits it on to a leaf and hands it up to his wife; she puts it into her own mouth and continues to chew, meanwhile feeling the patient about the body, massaging and squeezing; then she takes the twice-chewed mixture from her mouth and returns it to her husband, who probes it with a small stick and discovers various scraps or objects which purport to have come out of the patient's body into that of the woman. This operation continued for some time with fresh mouthfuls of betel, and the husband succeeded in discovering altogether two fragments of native tobacco leaf, two of pig's intestine, a piece of rat's tail, some human hair, some pandanus seed, and part of a mango leaf—for all of which he had a ready explanation. It will be seen that

755 there are here many opportunities for introducing foreign substances into the chewed mixture—particularly when the wife takes it from her husband, for she puts it down inside her doorway before putting it into her own mouth. We may also note that there are several methods of *bara*: sometimes the object is sucked out of the patient's body; sometimes it passes up the specialist's arm into her mouth; sometimes it is found actually in her hand.

It is important to note that *bara* is practised by specialists (mostly women in my experience) and that the specialist commonly, if not invariably, takes some medicine (*sivo*) before operating. Thus while the procedure, the mere technique of the process, is common knowledge, yet (in native belief) it is not every one who could succeed in really performing the act. It is certainly remarkable that sick natives readily submit to this treatment and that they apparently place considerable faith in it, often, no doubt, experiencing a certain amount of relief when they see it used on themselves. This confidence, I believe, is mainly due to the belief in the magical, i.e. supernatural, powers of the operator, either intrinsic or acquired by the chewing of a medicine. The doctor—or as we might call him the manipulative surgeon—whether he practise *bumbari* or *bara*, begins by himself taking the medicine, which I have elsewhere called more definitely a 'Specific'.[1] This he chews with betel-nut, and it appears to be an essential factor in the cure. The habit of spitting on the patient, and perhaps also that of *kavo*, or blowing, appears to be merely a means of using the medicine on the body of the subject and thus expediting or facilitating the process of casting out or drawing out his disease. It must be borne in mind that the medicine is essential to success.

Expulsive Treatments as Magic

Now in certain of these expulsive treatments we may, I think, find a good illustration of the methods of magic. Sickness being often conceived of as an intrusive element in the body, it is the desire of the patient to have it expelled, and of the doctor to expel it. The doctor, accordingly, employs a method which is essentially that of magic: the whole gist of his treatment is to get rid of the disease in make-believe. He hopes to see it go, and therefore he pretends it is going and gone. He plucks it out and throws it away as in *bumbari*; or, as in *bara*, he takes it clean out of the body in symbolic form—the pig's tusk for the disease caused by eating a *sonai* pig, or the fragment of tobacco for the headache caused by over-smoking. One does not attempt to deny that on the part of the doctor there is often deliberate fraud: he may pretend to extract a wallaby bone simply to gull his patient and perhaps earn a fee. But there is quite another way of looking at the matter. The doctor may be in earnest. He is trying to get the disease out of his patient, so he takes it out in make-believe and in symbolic form. Just as the sorcerer, intent on destroying his victim, makes believe to roast him, so the doctor, intent on curing his patient, makes believe to drag the cause of disease out of his body. He is still pretending, but he enters into the pretence himself; if he is practising deception it is at least half self-deception; he is not bluffing his patient, rather he is entering into a sort of collusion with him, and trying to rid him of the disease in a way which both believe will be effectual. Viewed in this light *bara* is not a piece of chicanery or deception in which the doctor bluffs the patient that he has cured him, but an attempt of a magician to put certain supernatural powers to their proper use. We may even call it an honest attempt.

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[1] *Vide Orokaiva Magic*, pp. 173, 200 ff.

A good deal hinges on the aetiology of the case. Either the doctor is unaware of any imputed cause before he operates (in which event he would presumably extract any object he pleased and invent a cause in keeping with it) or, on the other hand, he is previously acquainted with the imputed cause (in which event he would extract some object in keeping with or symbolizing that cause). I regret to say that in no case did I make sure of this point, though I should be prepared to guess from general impressions that very frequently, if not usually, the latter event is what we should meet with: the doctor would learn from conversa-

755 tion with the patient and his friends what was suspected to be the cause of the illness. When, for example, my cook-boy, who suffered from headaches, had a fragment of tobacco drawn from his forehead, or when the man, who struck his foot against a rock in the stream, had a pebble sucked out of his instep, I think it probable that the *bara* woman who performed these operations knew the circumstances of the cases before she began work. I cannot say, to repeat, how often this foreknowledge influences the case, but if and when it does, we may be justified in putting on the act of *bara* this more generous construction, viz. that it is a genuine effort, in the manner which is thoroughly typical of magic, to draw the disease out of the body. It is a symbolic representation of the wished-for result, and by virtue of the special powers of the *bara*, and the medicine which he chews, this representation is felt to assist in bringing about that result.

What we really have to account for is the belief, both on the part of the doctor and patient, that the *bara* treatment can cure. I will not attempt to deny that there may be among *bara* specialists many sheer impostors who wilfully gull their clients and realize that their treatment can do them no good. But I am confident, on the other hand, that many *bara* specialists do believe that they can cure their patients; for the *bara* man commonly feels confidence in his own powers, either intrinsic or acquired from his medicine or specific. What then is his attitude towards his technique, towards the procedure of extracting an object from the patient's body? Of course, he must know that he does not do it in actuality, for he deliberately secretes the object in his hand or mouth. But he makes believe to do so, and he makes the simulation as near reality as possible by tricks of concealment

Regarding the patient we can say with confidence that he believes the *bara* treatment to be able to cure him, otherwise he would not trouble to undergo it. What then is his attitude toward the apparent extraction of an object from his body? He may actually believe, as he sometimes declares he does, that the object is really taken out of his flesh and bone. I certainly cannot think that he always does so (though I do not remember hearing an Orokaiva admit a doubt); but if and when he does disbelieve, he enters fully into the pretence of the doctor in whom he places so much confidence. Then not only is the doctor pretending to suck out the wallaby bone, but the patient is also pretending that he sucks it out. To put it shortly, the doctor makes-believe, and the patient either actually believes, or in lieu of that, makes-believe with the doctor, and both of them are confident that the thing works.

After this digression, which is the attempted application of a theory of magic to a special case, we may return to the classification of treatments. Hitherto I have spoken of expulsive treatments mainly in reference to the casual diseases, and the thing expelled is the disease in the abstract, or else some tangible object representing the cause of the disease. But expulsive treatments go further than this: the same principle often applies to the *sovai* diseases, with the difference that now it is the *sovai* itself which is being cast out or enticed out of the sick body. The majority of Taro men (who were credited with powers of healing) proceeded on the assumption that disease was due to a visitation from the *sovai*, and their methods are characteristically expulsive. One, for instance, is to beat drums about the patient. A number of Taro men, like a consultation of doctors, may assemble to treat one man. They sit about him in a circle and beat their drums 'to scare away the *sovai*'. Another idea was to hold the mouth of the drum close to the patient's body, so that the spirit should pass from one into the other, whence it could be expelled by beating in the gardens.[1]

The doctors of the *Baigona* cult were specially qualified to deal with diseases caused by *sovai* in their animal form, e.g. those which a patient usually contracted by eating a *sovai* animal. Their methods accordingly amounted to a casting out of the *sovai* animal which had invaded the body in immaterial form. Thus we see a Baigona man practising *bumbari* and, at the same time, ejaculating *Oro! Baigona!*

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[1] It happens that on the only occasion when this method was actually explained to me, it was the *be asisi*, or spirit of the actual taro plant, which was thought to be causing the disease; but I have no doubt that a similar explanation would be used for the far more numerous cases in which disease is attributed to the spirits of the dead.

755 *Ena saireri!* which are the proper expressions used in hailing the *sovai* animal and are in this instance addressed to the *sovai* which the operator hopes to cast out of his patient. In other cases the Baigona doctor would simply place his lime-gourd and coco-nut-leaf basket one on either side of the sick man so that they might attract the disease (i.e. the *sovai*) out of his body into themselves. Again, in the most typical of expulsive treatments, viz. that of *bara*, it may be the *sovai* which is removed from the patient, symbolized, e.g. by a tuft of the dead man's hair. It is not necessary to give further examples to show that *sovai* diseases as well as casual diseases are amenable to the expulsive method.

Placatory Treatments

755 There is, however, another method which is applicable
782 to the former and not the latter. This is the method of placation, which to the native is as much a treatment of disease as is the use of the knife or the draught of medicine. The method is best exemplified by the practice of making offerings to the *sovai* in order to induce it to leave the sufferer. Thus we find sets of feathers or ornaments suspended in the village: they are meant for the *sovai* in general, or for some particular *sovai*—probably that of some recently deceased relative of the sick man. It is seldom that such offerings are actually abandoned to the *sovai*: it appears that they usually fall into the hands of the doctor who is attending the case. Natives are very reticent on this subject because they realize that the acceptance of payment for their cures is not always looked on with favour by the Government (the good reason being that, as the characters of the healer and the sorcerer are so mixed together, the acceptance of fees may degenerate into extortion). We may perhaps accept what
[756] is often enough stated to be the rule, viz. that the doctor retains payment only if the patient recovers.[1] So we come

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[1] The Rev. Copland King relates a corroborative incident. He had allowed a Baigona healer to try his methods on a mission boy who was dying of consumption. 'Eroro visited Frank every day to see what effect the treatment had. When he found it had done no good, he brought back the pay which had been given, and said that it was a sickness that Frank had brought from the white man's country, and his charms were of no avail. He replaced all but the tobacco, which had been already smoked, and gave necklaces to make up the value.' *Annual Report*, 1912–13, p. 154.

755 782 upon a doctor carrying a bunch of valuable ornaments to his house. They have been handed to him by the husband of a woman who is apparently dying. He explains that he is about to hang them up on his house verandah as an offering to the *sovai* of a man not long deceased, who is supposed to be afflicting the sick woman. If this *sovai* wishes the woman to recover he will accept the presents (which means that they will remain in the possession of the doctor); if he allows the woman to die, then the doctor will return them to her husband, for they have not achieved their purpose.[1]

Apart, however, from these eleventh-hour acts of placation, there are the daily observances which have been constantly referred to in earlier chapters, and these may be regarded as in some degree a prophylactic placation; for they are not meant only to ensure general prosperity, but especially to ward off the sickness which *sovai* malignancy is so fond of inflicting.

754 In so far as sorcery disease admits of any cure, that cure also is a matter of placation. It is a case of 'squaring' the sorcerer. I have already pointed out that the doctor—whatever his speciality, be it *bumbari*, *bara*, or any other—acknowledges his inability to deal with a case that he diagnoses as sorcery; and it has been seen that it is just then, when his stock remedies have been applied without success, that he falls back on this diagnosis. I have seen a Baigona man, celebrated as he was for his powers, stand aside assuming an air of complete indifference while a dying patient was surrounded with wailers. He had tried his own methods without avail, therefore he did not hesitate to say that the

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[1] The doctor's responsibilities were indeed sometimes rather severe. I have myself been privately requested to hale one of them before the magistrate for his refusal or inability to effect a cure, and Mr. A. E. Oelrichs, a former Resident Magistrate of the Northern Division, gives the following extreme instance. 'A man had undertaken to cure a sick woman, and had received from her son-in-law as payment for his 'few passes' a dog and a pig as well as some native ornaments. 'Unfortunately, he returned next day, and, while in the village, the woman died. Her son-in-law then went up to the "doctor" saying, "You did not cure the woman, and, as I have paid you, I am going to kill you." The deceased admitted the fact, but did not attempt to run away. The three prisoners, all of whom were present during the interview, then went to their respective houses, obtained weapons, and, while the son-in-law speared the sorcerer, the other two hit him on the head with stone clubs.' *Annual Report*, 1910–11, p. 132. [756]

754 case was due to some one's sorcery, and to acknowledge that he was incompetent to deal with it.

Such being the common attitude, we do not find any one attempting to make counter-magic. The only acknowledged method is to go to the imputed sorcerer and ask him to relent; and even this last resort is a matter of theory rather than of practice. For there is first of all the difficulty of discovering the sorcerer, and then there is the practical certainty that the accused man will deny the charge. Were he from any motive to acknowledge it, he would *ipso facto* assume the power of restoring his victim to health; for it is only necessary for the sorcerer to undo his work, to cease subjecting the symbol of the victim to its symbolic suffering (whatever form either of these may take), and the patient will recover. Assuming this power the sorcerer may accept a bribe and consent to neutralize his magic. But if the man succumbs, the acknowledged sorcerer lays himself open to revenge. On the whole I am prepared to believe that the man who is accused of sorcery usually hastens quite truthfully to deny it. And further, I am prepared to believe, despite perfectly authentic instances, that charges of sorcery and requests to relent are not made very frequently before the patient dies. A sick man, or one of his friends, may discover the guilty party in a dream, or may draw his own conclusions from a grudge, but as a rule the patient dies first and then, when it is too late, his relatives may place the guilt and begin to think of revenge. While, therefore, the only remedy for sorcery sickness is to placate the sorcerer, it seems that this treatment is one of theory rather than of practice. Sorcery is the stock explanation of a hopeless case, or of a death, and it is always ready for the baffled doctor to save his face, and for the aggrieved relatives to give them grounds for a revenge.

753 In conclusion, I may shortly reconsider the native's ideas of disease in relation to his general philosophy. That philosophy, as we have seen, is only fragmentary. Much is taken for granted. Ordinary phenomena, things that are 'going well', simply explain themselves; but whatever is extraordinary, particularly what is unfortunate, puzzles and an-

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noys and calls for explanation. Just as the wonderful may remind a Christian of his God, or calamity jog the most forgetful worshipper into remembering his prayers, so will extraordinary or unfortunate happenings rouse the *insouciant* native to summon up his own ideas of what is occult or supernatural. He has two funds to draw upon for explanation: they are essentially distinct and more or less alternative, for he sometimes uses the one and sometimes the other, viz. (1) the *sovai*, and (2) the living magician. Exactly how these two kinds of forces operate remains, as we should expect, unformulated. The power of the *sovai* is intrinsic, that of the magician commonly rests upon the use of some secret, usually a 'medicine' or specific; but it is enough, I imagine, for the native to believe that each of them possesses a mysterious power, without trying to define that power or track it to a further source.

Disease, illness, accident—all bodily ailments—being in more or less degree both mysterious and troublesome, admit of either of these explanations. But ailments of the commonest kind, and those which entail no great suffering, are likely to be accepted without further investigation or conjecture as to their cause; they are 'all in a day's work' in fact; part of nature itself; normal incidents in the life of the body. It is only the more inexplicable and the more serious complaints that call for explanation, in that they appear as interruptions in the routine of nature, in the course of well-being. Then the native feels he must put the blame on something or somebody, and there are ready to hand those two agencies whom he has credited with a not-understood power for good and evil, the *sovai* and the living magician.

XVIII

MORALITY

183 IN discussing the question of morality it must be realized that we deal with responsible adults. One still repeatedly hears that 'the native is nothing but a grown-up child'; but in this sententious comparison the fallacy is now well enough recognized. It is indeed only in respect of education that the comparison might be said to hold good, and even so, we are probably guilty of underestimating the extent of tribal knowledge, which remains almost as much an undiscovered country to us as does our culture to the untutored savage. Still, granting as we must his cultural backwardness, he is in all essentials of character a grown man, and if any readers are disposed to doubt this view, they should search the faces shown in the earlier part of this book for any signs of puerility. The comparison of full-grown native with European child is on the whole misleading. Despite the obvious difference in cultural levels, he can only be fitly compared with the European adult; for the truth probably is that in all fundamentals he resembles us as closely in mind as he does in body, where the differences, however striking, are merely minute variations from a common pattern.

Granted this degree of mental approximation, we shall expect to find in the adult native the same groundwork of passions as in the European; and further, from the misdirection of those passions, anger, lust, greed, and the rest, into anti-social channels, we may expect to find the same major tendencies toward crime. And yet despite these full-blooded passions we do not find licence and anarchy. There is nothing to resemble the lawless savagery which popular imagination clothes with fur, and arms with the club of a 'cave-man'; on the contrary we find everywhere comparatively well-ordered, law-abiding and peaceful communities, whose internal life is possibly freer from strife than our own.

To what is this condition due? We shall have to deal in this chapter with native morality and the rudiments of law; and our subject may be divided roughly into two parts. 183 There are first the norms, the ideals, the theoretical standards of morality, which, however dimly formulated in the native mind, are nevertheless to be discovered by observation of his conduct. These standards define the kinds of behaviour which, in relation to the society which has evolved them, are satisfactory, i.e. the kinds of behaviour which have been found to *work*. Selected by generations, they have been unconsciously designed to suit the narrow needs of family, clan, or tribal unit; they are essentially social norms, and they are meant to ensure the smooth running and happiness of social life. It is our first business then to formulate these standards—a work in which unfortunately we may look for little direct assistance from the native himself, who is not a preacher or a moralist. Now these standards, although there is no central authority to enforce them, are nevertheless observed with a large measure of fidelity; for the individual is so sunk in the social unit that he obeys its laws for the most part automatically. But no Orokaiva is perfect, nor is he absolutely under the thumb of the society he lives in, so that there is inevitably a falling-short of the standards; and our second task is therefore to discover what means Orokaiva society has of ensuring a fair degree of good conduct, of keeping the individual up to the scratch; in short what are the sanctions of Orokaiva morality.

The Sympathy Group

The primitive ideal of conduct divides itself immediately 571 and emphatically into two. There is first the question of 577 proper conduct towards one's fellows within the group, and second the question of proper conduct towards those outside the group; or in a phrase there are the standards of *intra-group* and *extra-group* morality. These two—divergent as they are in civilized society—are found to be almost antithetical in primitive society. It might fairly be maintained that the sphere, i.e. the actual size of the group, within which the former standard holds good should constitute a fair criterion of moral advancement. It is true there are those who (with more or less sincerity) feel themselves members

571 571 of a world-brotherhood, and with such the distinction between intra-group and extra-group morality fades out of sight—theoretically. But in practice there are units of every degree, from nations down to families, to which the individual feels he owes allegiance; he gives them his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality. For convenience this unit may be called the *sympathy-group*.

571 In terms of the above criterion, the smaller the group the more primitive the society, or vice versa. In the case of the Orokaiva I have already dwelt on the character of the clan. In the typical instance clan and village coincide, and this clan-village unit is the one which, more decidedly than any other, encloses the intra-group morality of the individual. But the unit is not hard and fast: it may fluctuate with circumstances. Sometimes the group dwindles, and a man finds himself taking sides with more immediate relatives against the other members of the clan-village unit (though it is safe to say that in the primitive society of the Orokaiva this does not happen very often). On the other hand the sympathy-group will sometimes embrace a number of clan-village units, as indeed it does (1) with the clan, which is sometimes widely scattered, (2) with the locality group, which takes in a number of villages, and (3) with the tribe as a whole. But, while civilized man may sacrifice the interests of the smaller and more immediate sympathy-group to those of the comprehensive body of which the former is merely a component, we do not find any such sacrifice among the primitive; and when, as it is sometimes bound to do, discord enters, it is followed by disintegration; the circle of the individual's fellows immediately contracts, and we find once more the elementary small sympathy-groups.

It is not necessary, then, to define strictly the scope of the sympathy-group, which is a fluctuating thing; though among the Orokaiva, as before stated, it is seen most typically in the clan-village unit. Whatever its size, however, it is always in existence, and proper conduct within and proper conduct without that group are very different things.

The distinction is simply between fellow men and men who 571 are not fellows.

Extra-Group Morality

Since the interest of this chapter will be principally with 183 intra-group morality we may dismiss the other side of the question rather briefly. We have seen that the Orokaiva [721] tribe lived in a state of ever-recurring warfare with some or other of its neighbours. There were peace-makings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no village lived in permanent security. The Orokaiva achieved and 183 probably deserved a warlike reputation, and in such conditions it is not surprising that they should set some store 554 upon the virtue of bravery—though it does not seem to take the foremost place that we might expect. A brave warrior was called *koropa-embo*, a 'spearman', or *ivu-embu*, a 'manly man', *ivu* being the word for husband or a fully matured man. Another term is *sarika*, which is perhaps best translated 'formidable', and connotes not only fierceness but size and strength. (By way of example one of the late magistrates of the Division was called *sarika* on account of stature, and another on account of his severity.) A coward is called *atoba-embo* or *jouro-buso*, and of course there are to be found some cowards among a generally brave race. Some of my informants in one village named a few men as [576] *atoba* (and it is interesting to note in passing that, like true native gentlemen, they named them in whispers for fear the men in question should overhear and have their feelings hurt).

But more striking than any bravery is the sheer bloodthirstiness which seems actually to be raised to the status of a virtue. It is not for fearlessness that the insignia called *esa* or *otobu* (p. 177) are bestowed, but for the mere taking of human life. Many an old warrior, counting over his victims, will show as great a pride in the slaughter of women and children as in a man-to-man victory; and indeed the majority of Orokaiva victims have met their end in surprise and massacre rather than in fair fight. While I have found no evidence to show that the Orokaiva was expected some-

183 554 time during his career to take a human life, as if this were a social imperative, it is not too much to say that every individual aspired to be a man-slayer, and that his success brought him a great deal of honour.

183 628 There can be no doubt, however, that revenge was regarded as an obligation, though the obligation might be fulfilled by any one of the victim's group, just as the vengeance itself might fall upon any one of the slayer's group, and not of necessity on the guilty man himself. Vengeance with its expressive name *diroga-mine*[1]—'an exchange of the spirits of the slain'—may have had a supernatural sanction behind it, viz. the possible anger of the unavenged *diroga*, though I have never heard such an explanation expressed; but at any rate the unpaid debt of blood probably entailed a painful sense of inferiority which could only be removed by the satisfaction of killing one of the aggressors.

183 727 Needless to say there were no conventions of war, no gratuitous mercy, and no sportingness. Men—young or old —were killed; old women were killed; young women might be raped and killed or borne off to become captive wives; children were killed or made prisoners. Though, on the other hand, there was no gratuitous cruelty, the victims were not tortured; and captive women and children were treated with kindness.

183 554 Treachery, of which one or two examples have been given (pp. 166–7), was not regarded as contemptible, and according to Beaver, as we have seen, one kind of homicidal emblem was specially assigned to the slayer of a peace emissary. Towards all outsiders the correct attitude was one of 183 609 suspicion if not always of hostility; a complete stranger wandering alone would be regarded both as potential enemy and good meat; and when visitors came in friendship, as at a feast, there was never any lack of warlike readiness on either side. The very cries of welcome which are so characteristic of the Orokaiva are possibly a sign of the dormant hostility between guest and host, being recognizable in one case at least as meant for reassurance of the former regarding the intentions of the latter.

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[1] See p. 170.

183 619 One feature—almost amusing—in the attitude toward outsiders is a propensity for objurgation—though one does not imply that the Orokaiva swear more ardently than other natives. But the gravest and sternest of men may work himself into a hoarse frenzy, and caper and gesticulate in a perfect abandonment of abuse when he is addressing the enemy on the opposite bank of the river; and strange to say (and here we see a complete contrast with intra-group morality) it is the 'strong-man' who swears the loudest and hurls defiance in the most boastful and abusive terms. The Aiga tribe are not ashamed but proud of their legendary reputation as 'strong-talkers' (p. 158).

186 574 Along with this hostility toward outsiders goes an intense pride in the group itself. This, in times of peace as well as war, finds expression in boasting and display. At the *esu*, which is a kind of mock warfare, the fierce harangues of the principals are composed of bragging and derision. They dwell continually on their prowess as fighters, on their mere strength of numbers, and on their material wealth. So much store is set upon the last-mentioned that it must be one of the highest satisfactions in the Orokaiva's life to set forth a great display of garden food and a number of fat pigs before the guests. Accordingly we must allow a place among the extra-group virtues to liberality, albeit by no means free from the taint of self-display. Moreover, one may always perceive a formal courtesy and an observance of all the somewhat noisy rites of hospitality when the guests arrive at a public function, although the several parties may be like tinder awaiting the spark. On the part of the guests themselves there is an almost impressive assumption of gravity while they file in amid the din of welcome, wearing expressions that may vary between complete indifference and a somewhat fierce sternness, but must never betray a glimmer of excitement, least of all a flattered smile. It is their way under the circumstances of evincing their corporate pride and dignity; so they maintain a reserve even in the face of hospitality, as if they almost grudged acknowledgement. But these milder virtues of extra-group morality are unsteady things. Let there be some cause

186 of offence and they will vanish in a moment, giving place
314 to open hostility and the conduct which that condition demands.

181 Before leaving this subject of extra-group morality it is worth while quoting some opinions of those who in the early dangerous days had to face the Orokaiva as enemies. Sir Wm. MacGregor, after many and various meetings with hostile tribes from end to end of Papua, wrote (of the Mambare people): 'It is very clear that these natives are more warlike, pugnacious, and cunning than any we have had to deal with hitherto.'[1] W. E. Armit, the resident magistrate, who in the days of the gold-rush had as wide a fighting experience of them as any other, wrote (of the Papangi): 'They are certainly not destitute of courage, but, on the other hand, they are treacherous, truculent, aggressive, cruel, and cunning. . . . They fight treacherously and lie abominably'; and of the people about Wasida he records a very nasty first impression: 'The men have villainous faces, coupled to a peculiar cunning leer which imparts a diabolical look to their countenances.'[2] These natives of Wasida are later spoken of as the 'most rampant and obstinate of savages' who 'persistently attacked every Government party which went near them'.[3] It is pleasing to add that under different circumstances, viz. those of service with the Armed Constabulary, the character of the Orokaiva appears more favourably. Speaking as Commandant, Capt. Barton said that the Mambare police were 'brave to a fault';[4] later as Administrator he said, of the police recruited from the Northern and North-Eastern Divisions at large, that they have 'stronger characters than is the case in the majority of Papuans, and are also physically sturdy and alert';[5] and H. J. Ryan, a true soldier himself, found that the Northern men in his detachment at Kikori performed their allotted tasks cheerfully and willingly, and when on patrol were most zealous to distinguish themselves, especially when facing hostile natives.[6]

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[1] *Annual Report*, 1896–7, p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1904–5, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1903–4, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1899–1900, p. 98.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1900–1, p. 87.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1912–13, p. 78.

Intra-Group Morality

When we turn to the consideration of intra-group morality 621 the contrast is almost surprising. Here the ideal is one of concord and restfulness. Village life runs like a simple engine freely oiled; not called upon to achieve any complicated result, but fulfilling its routine work with a great deal of efficiency and a minimum of friction. While we may stand aghast at the quarrelsomeness of the Orokaiva group in its external relations, we cannot but admire the degree of peace and good fellowship that prevails within its circumference. This is not to say that discord never breaks the serenity of village life: for, quite apart from the raids and affrays which caused the Government most of their trouble before the tribes were pacified, there is still no lack of 'cases' of a more domestic kind. Nevertheless, one may risk the statement that, in its freedom from quarrels and ill-feeling, the group life of the Orokaiva compares by no means unfavourably with our own.

Those who administer justice and those who have con- 621 sulted the records of justice among the Orokaiva may be 578 disposed to disagree with this view as over-lenient, citing as their argument the number of crimes of violence that come before the magistrate. But it must be borne in mind that I am speaking of intra-group morality alone, and that fact immediately cuts out a very large proportion of these crimes; further, that the savage resorts to violence of a serious kind—spear-work and club-work—more readily than the member of a civilized community, and such violence, if it lead to bodily harm, can hardly escape the eye of the magistrate. It is no doubt true that a greater proportion of quarrels have a violent issue among the Orokaiva than among ourselves; but what I desire to emphasize is the relative freedom within the primitive group from the quarrels themselves.

In dealing with the standards of intra-group morality 577 I shall first draw attention to a number of detailed points and then try to sum them up in broader terms. What follows is a rather sketchy list of Orokaiva virtues, on which we may begin with the more positive or active.

511 Perhaps the most characteristic of them all is *liberality*. The liberal man is *bandembo*, the word *bande* meaning distribution, or especially the sharing out of food. It is easy to understand how this should be a popular virtue, for the Orokaiva, like other natives, are much addicted to the making of feasts—and not because of a merely gluttonous appetite, as some who know least about natives have supposed, but more because of the glamour and the excitement of a social gathering. It is true we cannot acquit the *bandembo* [554] of a certain motive of self-display; for there is nothing, not valour in war nor prowess in the chase, that brings an Orokaiva so prominently into the public eye as the providing of a big feast. Yet no one could deny the existence of true generosity. This is shown in countless details of daily life. The paddler pauses to refresh himself with cold cooked taro; he wrenches a mouthful with his strong teeth and hands the lump without a word to the man behind him, as a boy might give his chum a bite out of the apple. Or when the carriers halt for a 'smokeoh' and receive their stick of tobacco, there is never one of them but has a puff or two; and when they push on again with their loads, a man will place a half-finished cigarette on a stump by the track, and another coming behind will hastily snatch it, take a few draws, and leave it once more on another stump fifty yards farther on for the next man.

511 431 Although there is no systematic sharing of food supplies, yet the constant gifts and the feasts large and small achieve in the long run what amounts to equal distribution. As we have seen, the family is a self-supporting unit and garden produce is privately owned; further, since every man and woman works hard enough for the supply of immediate wants, there is no scarcity (except in a hard season when all may suffer alike). Therefore we may take it that in common daily life the consumption of food is fairly equal all round, and when a man with his family and dependants have a surplus, that surplus will not be devoted to private over-eating, but to a feast; and the succession of these feasts means in the long run that the fairly equal distribution of food is maintained. To give freely of one's food is regarded as the

proper thing to do; it is an elementary virtue in respect of 577 which there are few failures. Of actual greed it is hard to 431 find any evidence: informants quite understand what is meant by the word, yet I never persuaded them to name a man with a reputation for it. No man, I am told, would hesitate to ask for food among his own people, nor for betel and tobacco among outsiders—though to speak truth the asking would probably never be needed; but it appears there are some who go beyond proper bounds and are inclined to impose on hospitality. Such individuals are called *basiri*, though I do not believe there are many of them; indeed, it was stoutly affirmed in one quarter that there were none except for children, who had a right to be *basiri*.

For his liberality a man receives a reward of honour; but beyond that—and this should not be thought to disqualify it entirely as a virtue—he constantly looks for an equal return in kind. This is one of the striking features of primitive economics—the return of gift for gift, the maintaining of a balance. The return may be made long subsequently, but it may be called a matter of honour to equal or exceed the original gift; just as it is a matter of disgrace and lowered self-esteem to fail. There can be no question that self-display [556] enters into the primitive virtue of liberality, and it is in respect of worldly wealth that the individual seeks most to display himself. One might almost say that the native made a virtue of wealth and that liberality was compounded of two things—mere wealth and true generosity.

There are many observers of Papuan natives who will be 461 amused at the inclusion of *industry* with the other Orokaiva virtues. While having no practical interest in the amount of work a native does, I cannot in my own judgement absolve him from the charge of laziness; but nevertheless, allowing a relative value to the term, industry is regarded in native eyes as deserving of commendation. The industrious man is *pure-buso*, which means simply expert in or given to gardening, for *pure*, the garden, is the usual scene of Orokaiva labour. A lazy man, in the native sense, is *pure-ambo*, literally one who is not a gardener, and of course the term applies as well to the other branches of work. It is perhaps

461 as a necessary condition to wealth and the opportunity for display that industry is regarded as worth while. Otherwise the native, who enjoys *peogo* (rest or leisure) more than work for its own sake, might be disposed to discount it altogether. But the fact is that he does not. While loafing occupies a good deal of the Orokaiva day, we do not find any who neglect their work to an extent which in native eyes would be culpable (unless it be a wife in the eyes of her husband); and on the other hand a man who works harder than most is admired for it.

517 While the Orokaiva family is obliged to support itself, and is in the ordinary round of life a working unit, we find
476 numerous instances of a wider co-operation. Such co-operation is seen especially in the earlier stages of gardening, in fencing, in sago-making, and in the hunting or fishing expedition; and the point that claims our attention is that among those who are expected to participate in such undertakings there are commonly no defaulters. I have asked often enough what would happen to a hypothetical defaulter, but such questions seldom meet with a satisfactory answer because one's informants seem almost unable to visualize an unusual situation. It is answered simply that all the able-bodied who should take part will take part; nor can I recall any concrete case of a man deliberately shirking his duty in any major enterprise of the group. This willingness to co-operate or assist is a sufficiently striking native trait which we may call simply *helpfulness*. It is seen most strongly perhaps in war or in minor quarrels, where the native is always too ready to take up the cudgels in behalf of his people or his friend: it is the active aspect of clannishness. One of the reasons why a village is sometimes almost depleted of its young men because they all elect to 'sign-on' for labour in a batch is simply this desire to stand by one another. 'What will happen to our brother', they say, 'when he is set upon by a mob of stalwart Kiwais, if we are not there to help him?' But in all the incidents of daily life the same spirit of helpfulness is apparent: a man is lost, and there is a great turn-out to find him; if he is ill or in distress he is never neglected; if he cries 'Help!' there is an excited

rushing to the scene. On the whole we may say that the 577 Orokaiva seldom fails in this duty of helping the members 476 of his group.

A passive virtue, yet one which possibly ranks first in 577 Orokaiva estimation, is that of *good temper*. I find no specific term for it, but the good-tempered man is called simply 157 *javo-embo*, or 'good man'. A squabbler, a vituperator, or a 183 bully is strongly disliked, and since it is these very propensities—even that of mere vituperation—which bring credit to a man when he directs them against the outsider, we see at once a contrast between intra-group and extra-group morality. A man of anger is *tumo-buso*, which could be said to mean literally 'liverish', but which in actuality implies something more fiery than mere crabbiness. A man is *jujumo-buso* if he is given to verbal quarrelling, and *embogi-buso* if he be an actual brawler. Such a one was Buninia, who some fifteen years ago was a noted warrior among the Aiga. With his great size and prowess a fierce temper combined to make him almost a terror to the neighbourhood. As a warrior he was named as particularly *sarika*; but his offensives were not always directed towards the legitimate enemy. He had stolen pigs and fought with neighbours in near-by villages, so that he is nowadays remembered as a strong man but a bad one. But usually there is very little [578] that resembles bullying in a native village. To force a man to do one's will by personal violence is a thing that hardly enters the native's mind; and when a fisticuffs occur—which in fact is seldom—one ventures to believe it is only in the heat of anger. Between husband and wife it is somewhat [593] different: a man may thrash a neglectful spouse in order to give her a better idea of her duties, though the corrective aspect is probably not very prominent when a man is belabouring his woman in a rage. All informants have agreed upon the justifiability of wife-beating, but they have all agreed that there are proper limits, and an habitual wife-beater has a bad name. I have seen children smacked, but [861] never chastised, and would venture to say that when children are beaten it is only in anger and not with any cool intention of punishing them or improving them. I remem-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

577 ber noting the fondness of one man for his son, an attractive
157 boy of six or seven years. Asked whether he ever beat the
child he said, 'No; his first son had gone to work on a
183 plantation and had died there. How could he beat his second son?' On the whole it may be said that the Orokaiva hold up good temper and kindness as a virtue, a thing which society demands from the individual; and on the whole, again, they carry out that ideal to a greater extent than is popularly supposed.

Along with this ideal goes that of *dignity* or weight, very
183 much akin to the classical *gravitas*. A man is admired if he
156 can make his personality felt, but in so doing he must not make a nuisance of himself. He may fulminate against the enemy, and will even be praised for it; but at home he does better to play the role of strong silent man. Such characters are undoubtedly admired, though one cannot profess to discover any consistent expression of the ideal. The gravest *paterfamilias* will on occasion cast aside restraint and become a ranter, and does so, too, without losing his dignity in the eyes of the village. But a chatterbox, or one who reveals his excitability too frequently, is under ordinary circumstances regarded as a bore.

Another ideal is that of *courtesy*, and by this I mean something
576 wider than mere politeness. Indeed, of formal politeness
183 as we know it ourselves there is rather a conspicuous
156 absence. The Orokaiva is off-hand when he does a kindness, and apparently indifferent when he receives one. He does not offer his friend a betel-nut with a bow and a smile, but throws it surlily across; and the friend does not say thank you, but picks it up and tears the husk off with his teeth, vouchsafing neither word nor even look to the man who gave it. But—and this is the best thing we can say of the native—there is a very high and constant regard for others' feelings. Towards the enemy you may point the fingers and twist or screw the hand in the infamous gesture called *gigi gaga*, and call him the child of a devil-devil, or even tell him he has a scraggy neck; but it is only in the extremity of rage that a man would insult his clansman or fellow villager. To point at a man is out of taste; to swear at him would be to

provoke an open breach; to gibe at his personal deformity 576
would be the last blow. Baldness, for instance, is regarded 183
as unseemly and ridiculous; but there are no Elishas and 156
no mocking children. It is not of course to be supposed
that men of the same group never bandy words, yet rudeness
and abuse are always deprecated. Ordinarily the native,
who is keenly enough alive to the peculiarities of his fellow,
will only refer to them behind his back, and this for no other
reason than to avoid doing injury to his feelings. Roughness
or rudeness is said to produce in its victim that emotion, or
complex of emotions, called *meh*, which we usually and
somewhat inadequately translate 'shame', and it is regarded
as a serious thing; so much so that if a man commits an unjustifiable
affront, not only does the victim suffer, but the
culprit's fellows, who feel they share his responsibility,
will be positively covered with vicarious *meh*.

We may now turn to the consideration of *practical* 577
honesty. One cannot claim that there is here any high
abstract ideal. The native certainly feels no moral obligation
to tell the truth in all circumstances—as who should
know better than one who spends his time in questioning
them? But honesty is a virtue at least in the limited and
practical sense of respect for property. Petty thieving is [674]
common enough and is treated with a good deal of tolerance,
though, considering the absolutely unguarded condition
in which property is commonly left, the general honesty
of a native village may impress one rather favourably, and
would certainly bear comparison with that of a civilized
community. It is probably true that as European influence
first extends among a primitive people, the decrease in crimes
of violence is more than countered by an increase in thieving
and other crimes of stealth, and whatever the cause of this
latter condition, it implies the decay of one primitive virtue.
It is at any rate the common experience of Europeans that
the more sophisticated natives are more inclined to steal.

Lastly, we may refer briefly to *married chastity*. Among the 837
Orokaiva a woman is expected to be faithful, even during
long absences of her husband. There is no bartering or
lending of wives, and the only exception is during the cere-

837 monial licence that follows an initiation ceremony (p. 192). The question of how far this rule of chastity is regarded or disregarded in practice does not concern us for the moment; the fact of interest is that adultery is considered an offence; so that those, particularly women, who are known to commit the offence habitually are generally despised and compared to dogs. There is, of course, no such restriction
836 upon the unmarried, though it has been observed elsewhere that young people do not give their passions an entirely free rein. As for continence in itself, I cannot find that it is
831 ever regarded as virtuous in any degree, unless it be enjoined by some ceremonial necessity.

Summary of Intra-Group Morality

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183 The foregoing does not claim to be more than a fragmentary list of native virtues. However, it covers enough ground to allow us to see the general trend of Orokaiva ethics. The group, as we have seen, lives within itself a peaceful and contented life. It cherishes no distant and ambitious ideal of progress, but contents itself with two main requirements—(1) material plenty, and (2) internal concord. The individual must fit himself into this scheme, for the virtues enumerated above are essentially social. There is little, if any, idea of a self-centred righteousness. On the contrary, each virtue implies agent and reagent. Not incontinence, for instance, but adultery is condemned, because a right of possession has been infringed; not gluttony, but greed, because others must suffer by it. In fact the norms of individual conduct have been evolved to meet the needs of society, to satisfy its ideal of a somewhat passive well-being. The moral factors in this ideal are, on the positive side, Liberality, Industry, and Helpfulness; on the negative, Good Temper, Dignity, Courtesy, Practical Honesty, and Married Chastity. They might be summed up in two terms, if we allow them their widest meaning, viz. (1) co-operation and (2) self-restraint, which are the two main moral requirements that correspond with the two main social requirements of material plenty and internal concord.

Attempts at Standardization

577 183 867

Native morality is for the most part inexplicit; we do not expect to find an established code, and it is mainly by observing conduct and its apparent reaction on the public mind that we arrive at any general principles. But it is worth mentioning the few incipient traces of standardization. The foregoing list of virtues will call to mind the *otohu* ideal, the character of the *otohu-embo*, and the instructions which are given to the youth or girl who receives the emblem (pp. 191, 204, 205). Apart from being urged on to deeds of valour, the recipient was enjoined, with more insistence perhaps, to observe the milder social virtues which would make him an amenable or respectable member of the group. Such versions as I heard of the moral instruction given at the *otohu* ceremony were possibly somewhat abbreviated, but their tone was consistent, and it is fair to say that the *otohu* injunctions are a brief *précis* of social morality, and would thus constitute a standardization, albeit only transmissible by word of mouth.

577 183

There is a word *igege* (Binandele *yege*) which may be translated 'moral law', or perhaps, since the examples are all negative, 'moral prohibition'. The examples were such as the following: not to steal a man's vegetables, canoes, spears, &c.; not to usurp his fishing rights; not to take his dog to hunt, but to drive it back if it followed the hunter of its own accord; not to commit adultery; not to beat one's wife overmuch; not to commit assault on another man. These *igege* were for adults; they did not apply to children, who had to be treated with so much indulgence; still less to dogs, whose nature it was to steal on sight. While not implying standardization, the mere existence of the word hints at a definite conception of right and wrong.

423 201 577

With respect to property it is worth noting under this head the various tangible protection marks. Whatever their sanctions they have no real value as physical barriers to trespass or appropriation.

(1) The commonest is *papara* or *eso*, the frond of coco-nut palm tied about the butt, which means that no one is to

423 climb for nuts. (2) The *beri* is a strip of bark or a liana tied
201 to uprights and encircling a house or some forbidden
577 ground. (3) A *bariberi* is some object, usually leaf or twig, placed in the cleft of a split stick and set up, e.g., at the mouth of a creek as a sign of a fishing right. (4) *Injа* is simply a few handfuls of grass laid across a track to bar the passage. We might include (5) the *naterari* and *pambu* (p. 226), which serve to mark a village tabu on the coconuts, and (6) logically enough the ordinary garden boundary, *tani*, which consists merely of a series of tree-trunks or branches laid on the ground between adjacent plots. These are all regarded quite strictly: no man would step over an *inja* or take a short cut across an area enclosed by a *beri*. Less regular marks which may serve as reminders for some casual rule are observed with equal stringency. For in-
[524] stance, I have seen an eight of diamonds wedged in a split stick and set up in a village to forbid the playing of cards; it had been erected by a man of influence who has somehow acquired conscientious scruples regarding the forbidden game. The sanctions for the strict observance of these marks will be discussed presently; the signs themselves are described here merely to show the existence of tangible safeguards, principally, but not always, of the law of property.

Education

861 We have discussed at length the theoretical standard or ideal of morality; but performance naturally falls short of the ideal, and we have now to consider the means by which Orokaiva society seeks to prevent that falling-short. It is not necessary to dwell upon the customary sanction, which is as obvious here as in other primitive societies. Suffice it to say that the almost automatic obedience of the native to the customs of his people and his almost unfailing concurrence in social desires go a long way to account for the law-abidingness which we have seen to be characteristic of the Orokaiva group. Nor is it necessary to treat at length of direct training as a means of ensuring morality, viz. the means of education. Education in the broader sense of the word is as much a means toward morality with natives as

with ourselves; but it is difficult at the primitive stage to separate it from custom; for of education in the narrower sense, viz. that of formal training, there is practically none except for the rather scanty instructions given at the *otobu* ceremony. A native's education consists in the gradual and effortless assimilation of the customs and manners of his people; and there is no school save that of daily contact with his elders, whose example is merely the reproduction of a previous example set to them. 861

Absence of Central Authority

Our interest centres rather upon the indirect means of ensuring morality, i.e. upon the means of preventing shortcomings or offences; and here our subject becomes more than ever mixed up with that of primitive law. We shall do well to bear in mind the distinction between criminal and civil offences, though no attempt will be made to deal with them separately in respect of their sanctions. In an Orokaiva group the former, viz. those of an individual against the group as a whole, seem to be relatively uncommon, and this because the individual's interests are so bound up with those of his group that he does not very often find himself at variance with his fellows. As examples, however, one may quote the breach of a coco-nut tabu, the defilement of a water-supply, the betrayal of a raiding party, and malicious weather-magic, all of which are cases that have come to my notice. Civil offences, on the other hand, are common, though, as I have implied before, it is a question whether theft, adultery, assault, &c., are more prevalent in Orokaiva society than in our own. 671

But how are these offences prevented, or how punished? It will be understood that there is no such thing as a central authority to enforce the law. Orokaiva chieftainship (to risk the use of the word) is of the most elementary kind (p. 104), and certainly involves no power of inflicting punishment, nor even any means of maintaining order except by the exercise of purely personal influence. I have heard of a man of importance—and the Orokaiva 'chief' is really no more than that—who interfered to prevent his son from beating 692

692 his (the son's) wife. The chief's daughter (who related the
incident), now intervened between father and son, and said
that she got a thrashing for her pains. But this is the only
concrete instance which I can quote, and it is obviously
one of domestic rather than judicial authority. Nor, again,
is there any other judicial mechanism. It is popularly supposed
that the 'elders' were in the habit of punishing
offences: in the old predecadent days, it is said, they would
punish with death the infringement of certain tabus. Without
attempting a wholesale denial of such a condition in
Papua, I must confess I have met with no trace of it in my
own researches; and among the Orokaiva at any rate it is
needless to say that the system did not exist. On the whole,
one is struck by the high degree of personal freedom. For,
apart from the restrictive power of custom and tradition,
the native is left to do a good deal as he likes; so much so
that one man, whatever his status, is reluctant to answer for
another, to lay down what he will do or should do. 'He
himself', he will say, with a certain inflection of the voice
that dismisses all responsibility. At all events there are in
Orokaiva society certainly no personal guardians of the
law. This being the case with criminal offences, it is more
than ever so with regard to civil offences. Natives are found
627 somewhat disinclined to meddle in the affairs or quarrels of
578 individuals, unless it be with merely pacificatory intentions
or else in active partisanship. In these two ways interference
is met with frequently enough. A number of bystanders
will sometimes combine to separate and appease two men
who are actually fighting or who (as sometimes appears)
are mutually bluffing and suffer themselves rather willingly
to be drawn apart. This is an amorphous kind of control,
and the interference is merely in the interests of peace and
quiet. On the other hand, the two disputants may be respectively
joined by their immediate relatives and friends, when,
so far from adjudication and the restraint or punishment of
the offender, we get only an extension of the quarrel. Such
partisanship is so characteristic that it is difficult to picture
a situation, whether relating to criminal or civil offence, in
which the group as a whole would actually punish one of

its members. I have no concrete instance of this kind, and 627
it seems likely that, as far as the Orokaiva are concerned, the 578
offender would always find some supporters, and the result would be two parties confronting one another.

The Sanctions of Morality

It is clear that the sanctions of Orokaiva morality are 626
something less solid than legal authority, and that there are virtually no guardians of the law. We may look for a supernatural guardian, i.e. for a supernatural sanction; but except within a limited field of conduct we should look in vain. By the supernatural sanction I mean the desire to please or the fear of offending any of those occult beings which are felt to possess more than human powers; and in Orokaiva religion, as we have seen, such beings are first and foremost, indeed almost exclusively, identified with the spirits of the dead, of whom the living stand in very real fear. The supernatural sanction, however, may be very briefly dismissed, for except in relation to semi-religious observances it cannot be said to exercise much influence. Though if we allowed a place in our list of native virtues to filial piety, even limited to piety of the posthumous kind, we should be dealing with what is truly one of the most important obligations in native conduct and one which is to a great extent dependent on the supernatural sanction. But this hardly comes within the scope of our present subject.

As for the sanctions which govern ordinary conduct, 626
the relevant data point to a threefold division, viz. (1) 627
the fear of retaliation, (2) the fear of public reprobation, and (3) the sympathetic sanction. These will be dealt with in turn, the last-mentioned obviously requiring some explanation.

Retaliation. This sanction naturally operates in regard to 627
civil rather than criminal offences. Generally speaking, the retaliation will take either of two forms—direct violence or the more subtle method of sorcery; or, more correctly, retaliation is envisaged in either of these forms (for with physical retaliation no less than magical, the dread of it is out of all proportion to the actual practice of it). There is

627 no lack of instances of retaliatory violence, however. In cases of adultery it was recognized as an ordinary thing; so much so that informants have reckoned the Government punishment of gaol as but a poor substitute for the old-fashioned use of spear and stone club. Not only was the co-respondent formerly liable to attack from the husband, but I have a case in which a husband, finding his wife *in delicto*, killed the woman while her lover made good his escape. Ordinary theft might lead to the same violent redress. A man, finding a woman stealing in his garden, immediately struck her on the back with a pineapple club; another, under similar provocation, entered the thief's house and hit him on the head with a stone. Interference with garden boundaries has been a fruitful cause of actual fighting, and informants have related how they fought one another with spears, clubs, and shields over this matter, though always, it has appeared, without fatal results. In another case the cause was a usurpation of fishing rights. Except for a complete absence of any formality or any rules of combat, these fights might be spoken of as duels. But it seems that the combatants are not bent on killing, nor are they altogether reluctant to be separated; and the most striking feature of such engagements is that they commonly end in a mutual exchange of gifts—pigs or dogs—by way of peace-making. In one or two cases the culprit has made no show of fight, but, very possibly from a sense of guilt and deserts received, has 'taken his medicine'. In certain of these private quarrels, again, the rest of the group have abstained from taking any part whatever, as if they approved of the act of vengeance; in which we may perhaps see one of the earliest steps toward legal punishment, i.e. the countenancing of the retaliatory act which eventually becomes the legalization of it.

626 The second kind of retaliation, viz. sorcery, exercises a still more important influence on conduct. The threats of it, which are not uncommon, and the dread of it which is ever-present, together make one of the most powerful deterrents against wrongdoing. A simple instance is seen in the protection marks described on pp. 323–4. It is true that these signs are often regarded or obeyed automatically

and without any reflection or motive; again, they may be regarded out of pure consideration for the man—neighbour, relative, or friend—who has set them up; but there is an additional sanction, simply that of sorcery. The very name, *injia*, of one of these conventional signs is that of black magic, and if a native pauses to explain why he avoids trespassing beyond a *beri* or an *injia*, he will have but one explanation—the danger of sorcery. But sorcery is not merely a protector of property; it operates in all walks of life, a man will hesitate to wrong another in any way if he thinks of the crippled leg or the crop of boils which vengeance armed with magic may give him in return. In short, it is not worth elaborating what has been often enough observed, viz. that sorcery, despite being in itself the most hated of crimes, is undoubtedly, by reason of the superstitious fear it inspires, a stalwart guardian of individual rights. 626

Public Reprobation. Perhaps more important than the foregoing is the fear of public reprobation, which certainly does much to keep offenders in check, and that quite independently of any power of concrete punishment. The native is proverbially susceptible to the opinions of others, and Orokaiva feelings are no less tender than we might expect. Certain it is that the disapproval of his fellows—whether it take the form of anger, disgust, or ridicule—makes him extremely uncomfortable. Without insisting on the emotional instability which is probably a character of primitive minds, we may say with confidence of the Orokaiva that when his *ego* is exalted he is happy and contented; and that when it is thrust down he is miserable and certainly penitent. One may occasionally hear the evening harangues, in which some grievance is aired and recriminations are poured upon the wrongdoer. Since among primitives there are usually two sides (in the sense of mere numbers) to every question, it is usual to hear excited answers from more than one individual; but at other times the culprit must endure in shamefaced silence. There are times, I am assured, when the perpetrator of some wrong remains undiscovered and the victims do not know upon whom to vent their indignation. Then the proper object of it may hide his guilt and even

626 add his voice to the uproar, saying, 'What scoundrel could have stolen your taro?' But it is perhaps more usual for him to own up and reinstate himself in public favour by a gift in conciliation. There are other ways of expressing public disapproval or of punishing the offender by holding him up to ridicule. When a man finds his coco-nuts stolen he may tie a fragment of husk to a stick and set it up on the track near his palms: then every one will see that a theft has been committed, and the thief, even though his identity remain unknown, will feel a pang of shame whenever he passes the spot. Similarly, the owner of a ravaged garden will affix a taro leaf to a coco-nut palm in the midst of the village for all to see and for the special discomfort of the culprit. These devices, like the wearing of the *berata* in the armlet (p. 116), are a means of advertising a wrong and thereby of striking shame into the heart of the man who has committed it.

It is this sanction of public reprobation that reacts especially upon the more ideal virtues such as liberality, dignity, helpfulness, and the rest, where sins of omission are not liable to any concrete punishment.

The Sympathetic Sanction. There remains one highly important sanction. The wrongdoer, as we have seen, cannot endure the bad opinion of his fellows at large, but neither can he endure to see the pain or feel the anger and enmity of the man he has wronged. This in itself is quite irrespective of public opinion, though of course a personal wrong, if discovered, will bring down the weight of public censure as well as the enmity of the victim upon its perpetrator. To be short, I believe that this last sanction is simply the fear of hurting the feelings of one's fellow man, i.e. of one's fellow man in the limited native sense of a member of the sympathy-group. It is, in fact, what has been noted by other observers as an amiable native trait, viz. a natural consideration for others' feelings.[1] It goes hand in hand with a desire

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[1] 'Intellectually the Papuan is not nearly so far inferior to ourselves as many people suppose him to be; and in manners he is often our superior. "It is a common experience among travellers that many, if not all, savages are gentlemen." I am quoting from Dr. Haddon's Conway Memorial Lecture on "The Practical Value of Ethnology", and, if by the word "gentleman" is meant a man who has a regard

to keep on friendly terms with the other members of the 626
sympathy-group, and I shall refer to it as the Sympathetic
Sanction. This considerateness is constantly evinced in daily life, e.g. by a reticence regarding the peculiarities of one's neighbours, by an absence of any cruel competitive spirit by which one man seeks profit at another's expense, even by the reluctance to exercise compulsion on another individual; and I believe that the common regard for property rights is supported by this sanction more strongly than by the fear of retaliation or of public censure, which are rather in the nature of reinforcements; for Orokaiva property, for instance, is nearly always safe from the thief even when he is absolutely free from the risk of detection, and I believe he respects it primarily out of consideration for its owner.

But it is from the negative instances that we may most safely deduce the value of the sympathetic sanction; that is to say, when the sanction has failed to work and some personal offence has been committed, we may observe the psychological effect upon the offender. In such an event the offender is amply punished by being thoroughly sorry
for his victim and thoroughly ashamed of himself. We may 626
consider a simple instance (though in our eyes a somewhat
extraordinary one), viz. when a man inadvertently uses the 607
name of his brother-in-law, which the Orokaiva regards as 551
a very grave insult. The unfortunate offender will throw his hands up with a despairing gesture and hang his head in shame and confusion which are truly comical to behold; while the brother-in-law, if he chance to have overheard, will be deeply offended and, strangely enough, covered with equal shame. The matter can only be mended by a gift.

The conciliatory gift is a characteristic way of compen- 627
sating for personal wrong. In a case previously referred to
(p. 186), where a man had given a youth some feathers to 431
wear before his formal investiture with the *kokumbari*, and

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for the feelings of others, I think that the statement is generally true of the Papuan' (Sir Hubert Murray, *Papua of To-day*, p. 223). Upon looking up this passage I was so struck by its appositeness to the present chapter, that I suspect it must have had something to do with shaping the general views expressed therein, more indeed than I realized when writing.

627 431 by so doing had offended the boy's relatives, he immediately sought to make amends. He left the village, but presently came striding back with a half-grown pig across his shoulders; holding the animal by the hind legs he swung it round and dashed its head against the butt of a coco-nut palm, and then flung it dead at the feet of the man he had offended. Not many moments after, I saw one of the latter's brothers enter the village with a fine dog on his shoulders and go through precisely the same performance, killing it against the same tree and offering it as a return present. The pay-back of the conciliatory gift is indeed almost the regular thing: there are numerous instances of quarrels and fights over such matters as theft or interference with garden boundaries, which have been settled eventually by an exchange of pigs, not only the offender but the victim also showing a genuine desire to resume friendly relations. It is 626 152 not to be supposed, of course, that the sympathetic sanction is infallible. The man who does wrong to another no doubt often 'gets away with it', remaining undetected and perhaps suffering few regrets; but there is no question that he is often exceedingly contrite. It would almost seem that the victim plays upon the feelings of the offender to secure this result, though it would not do invariably to attribute any such definite intention to a man who is deeply affected by a sense of wrong. But the Orokaiva can on occasion be very sorry for himself, and it would seem that he wants others to be sorry for him, and particularly the man who has wronged him. His attitude is not so much 'I'll make you sorry for what you have done' as 'I'll make you sorry for me'; and so he takes 'the revenge of being injured'. Accordingly we find a person under a sense of wrong going to extraordinary lengths of self-castigation, from merely fasting or running away from home for a while, to delivering himself up to an enemy tribe or hanging himself from a tree. I have seen a dozen water-melons hacked into fragments and strewn upon the track. Their owner, finding one of them stolen, had demolished the whole crop and carried them to the path where the thief, whose identity he did not know, would pass and realize what he had done. Similarly I have seen a young

man return home at evening and find one of his spears taken 626
from his verandah; when his inquiries failed to trace his spear 152
he took an axe and razed his house to the ground before the eyes of the whole village. Such an attitude of mind has a definite name, *sisira*, and is indeed very often to be met with. Composed, I imagine, largely of anger and self-pity, it does not fail to excite a response in the impressionable heart of the man whose offence has caused it. He is affected with *meb*, that complex state of mind which, following the lead of pidgin English, I have elsewhere translated 'shame'. But whereas in the *meb* caused by public reprobation the predominant emotion is self-abasement, there is in the *meb* that results from a sense of having wronged a fellow man a definite admixture of pity. However, the culprit is very effectively 'put to shame', and very unpleasant he finds it.

The sympathetic sanction is therefore no more than the fear of injuring the feelings of any member of the sympathy-group; and I cannot but regard this as a fundamental motive. In fact there would appear to be a very definite *sentiment of friendliness* toward all members of the group, as on the other hand there is a definite *sentiment of enmity* toward all those who are outside its pale. I will not venture to debate the question of the instinctive bases of these two opposite sentiments, nor the question of whether they may not be instinctive reactions in themselves. But for the present discussion it seems that the sentiment of friendliness is fundamental, requiring no ulterior explanation, and that it is a natural guarantee of morality because it implies a desire not to hurt the feelings of those to whom it extends, i.e. it provides the sympathetic sanction.

The Moral Sense

Lastly there arises the question whether our native may 577
be said to have a moral sense. Naturally he possesses no idea of morality in the abstract; he does not set up good conduct as an ideal, and is certainly free from any charge of priggishness. On the contrary, his good conduct is for the most part unreflective, a matter of routine; so that every

517 native usually and easily does what in native eyes is the right thing. It is probably true that he has a clearer sense of wrong than of right; for while happily free from any objectionable pride in himself for doing right, he is most unpleasantly affected when, as occasionally happens, he does wrong; and it is then, if ever, that he becomes for the moment aware of morality.

What we have seen regarding the sympathetic sanction may justify the conclusion that when a native hurts one of his fellows he feels in himself that he has done wrong; and that emotionally he finds himself just in that state which we describe by the word 'conscience-stricken'. It would seem then that we may credit him with a moral sense to this extent, viz. a deep-seated, if not actually innate, tendency to avoid injuring his fellows, which in conflict with his other selfish or anti-social tendencies, acts as a natural guardian of morality.

It appears, therefore, that what has been called the sympathetic sanction might with fairness have been called the moral sanction, and there is no doubt that, whatever name we give it, it is no less effective than either the fear of retaliation or the fear of public reprobation in keeping the individual from doing wrong. On the whole we are in danger of underestimating the scope of native morality. Being in certain respects so different from our own, it has been by some too freely discounted or even entirely ignored. But all genuine inquiries, however backward they may find the native in respect of our own standards, must forbid us to excuse or brand him as 'unmoral'.

The foregoing estimate is perhaps more generous than some others who know the Orokaiva well might be inclined to make, but it is perhaps nearer the truth, because the writer has been fortunately placed in a position, as it were, of complete neutrality. For to one who has lived for some time in close association with the villager, and who, by not requiring any unwonted service, does not have to contend with sullenness or disobedience or laziness; and who, by being under no obligation to teach a higher morality, is free from any disappointment in what must seem at times an incorrigible wickedness—to one so placed an impartial view of native virtues and failings will come more easily. And in conclusion one may promise that such an impartial view will discover less to despise or pity in the native's character and much more to admire. But all who know the Orokaiva best will share the writer's opinion that on the whole they are what we should call a very good lot.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

104 Vowel sounds have been recorded as follows throughout the book.

A — same vowel sound as in 'part', e.g. *ábo*
or ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'pat', ,, *ásänga*
E — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'pére' ,, *éti*
or ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'pet' ,, *émbo*
I — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'peat', ,, *ína*
or ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'pit' ,, *ínja*
O — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'port', ,, *evebe*
U — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'pool', ,, *agúma*
or ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'put', ,, *húmbari*
AI — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'pipe', ,, *iai*
AU — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'powder', ,, *aute*
EI — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'pate', ,, *binei*
OI — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'poison', ,, *oivo*
OU — ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 'potent', ,, Dinse Tribe

A, E, I, and U are either long or short. Quantities have not been marked.

O is usually rather long. This vowel sound (viz. that of 'port') occurs so frequently in the language that the letter O has been adopted for it instead of AW. This English O (which has been recorded as OU) is comparatively rare.

Similarly the letter E has been adopted for the vowel sound of *pére*, which is very common in the language.

[p. 336]

GLOSSARY

(The meaning of most of the native words used is explained as they occur in the text.) 104

Ahe, tail; fundamental orifice.
a-dorobu, bride-price.
aguma, warrior who bestows the *otohu*.
ake, mother (*hunjara*).
aiji, grandparents; grandchildren; sister's children (see p. 109).
ai, wife (see p. 109).
aja, mother (see p. 108).
ahime, tree yielding bark-cloth.
ambe, frayed palm-leaf worn as costume in dances.
arahu, village clearing; clan.
arijo, men's house; a kind of dance.
asape, ceremony of welcome to bride.
asisi, shadow; spirit; spiritual substitute.
asuva, a contrivance for catching bats.
ate-ate, demonstration; a rite of purification.
atovo, father-in-law (see p. 109).
aute, bush, forest.
autembo, people of bush or forest.

Be, taro.
bage, log-trap for pigs, &c.
baheri, laying-out platform for corpse.
baigona, former snake cult.
bajo, Job's Tears; jacket of same.
bara, symbolic extraction of disease.
bate, dog's teeth.
bi, penis.
bi-dorobu, 'bridegroom-price'.
biani, spirit of dead; fiend, 'devil-devil'; clown in drama.
bitambo, younger brother (see p. 109).
bitepami, elder brother (see p. 109).
bo, bark-cloth; perineal band of; skirt of.
bubube, see *jajaho*.

Dero, sword-fish.
diria, blue pigeon.
dirage, spirit of slain enemy; a variant of the Taro cult.
dorobu, price or compensation.
dera, widow.
du, sister (see p. 109).

[p. 337]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

104 *Ehambi*, 'New child', initiate.
embahi, spirit of dead; fiend, 'devil-devil'.
embo, man; men.
embogi, inter-clan fighting.
enge, raft.
epe, maternal uncle (Wasida dialect).
erawa, ovulum shell; ornament of same.
esa, homicidal emblem.
esu, sham fight.
eti, large string bag.
ewa, sea; coast.
evobo, ancestor.

Gaga, platform; floor of house.
gana, an ornament of boars' tusks, seeds, &c.
garukari, emergence of widow from seclusion.

Haheri, upper floor or platform of house.
hajai, self-imposed mourning tabu.
hajojo, Flying 'squirrel'; a kind of tree; native tobacco.
hambo, ornaments.
harasi, yam-house.
heratu, plant emblem.
hetawa, small string bag.
hihi, legend, fable.
hono, an ornament of boars' tusks and shell.
hoto, pit-trap for pigs, &c.
hovatu, sister-in-law (see p. 109).
huwe, a kind of shell ornament.
hui, trumpet (shell or wood).
humbari, 'taking away'; massage treatment.
huto, a bird net; a fish net.
huini, actor in drama (with a graceful role).

Iai, daughter (see p. 109).
imbeti, mother-in-law (see p. 109).
imi, son-in-law (see p. 109).
ina, an edible andropogon.
igia, a tabu mark; a kind of sorcery.
ino, dog; the large drum
isoro, inter-tribal raid.

Jaga, ceremony of hailing the dead.
jawa, dance.
javo, name.
jura, treatment of sickness by fumigation.

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Kaiva kuku, masked dance of Gulf Division Papuans.
kasaga, large lime pot.
kasamba, concerted singing.
kava, blowing; a treatment of disease.
kavata, see *kovata*.
kovari, child betrothal.
ki, spear.
kiji, clandestine love making.
kiki, see *kiji*.
kina, belonging to dead (of garden).
kitoho, enemy.
kokumbari, to decorate; feather head-dresses; ceremony of bestowing same.
kosi pemoi, a whistle made from the hollow shell of the *Pega* nut.
korepa, the black palm; adj., strong.
kotopa, see *otohu*.
kuku, tobacco (native or European); tattoo on drums.

Mamo, father (see p. 108).
mi, son (see p. 109).
mine, exchange.
munga, pig-net.

Naberi, brother-in-law (see p. 109).
nobo, maternal uncle (see p. 109).
naterari, village tabu post.

O, lime.
oba, clay pot.
obi, pandanus-leaf mat.
oha, platform for food, &c., at feast.
oivo, miniature pit-trap.
ori, oblong shell slabs.
oru, men's house.
otava, friend, mate.
otohu, ceremonial and honorific ornament; adj., of character appropriate to same.

Pako, melon shell; ornament of same.
pambo, a kind of soft-wood.
pasri, cuscus; fur of same.
peraha, a kind of dance.
peha, peace.
perehu, adj., bush or inland (e.g. men or pigs).
pesoro, hornbill; beak of same.
pipiga, a rough kind of bark-cloth.

pobe, bark-cloth hat or cowl.
pono, see *buna*.
poro, shell disks (*sapsap*).
pugu, a fruit-bearing tree; a kind of dance.
pupuho, keloids.

Sa, betel.
saima, small white shells.
sama, seclusion enclosure.
samemi, pearl-shell armlets.
samone, the 'bad' actor, or clown, in the drama.
sanda, small drum; a kind of dance.
sanai, tree-house.
si, a kind of dance.
siango, spirit of dead; fiend, 'devil-devil'.
simbo, cross-cousin (see p. 109).
sirari, 'pushing away'; the ceremonial disposal of drama costumes, &c.
sivo, medicine.
sovai, spirit of dead; fiend, 'devil-devil'.
sovai-ta-na, villages of *sovai*, i.e. supposed abodes of dead.
su, ground compartment of house.
suna, purificatory stew.
supi, banana seeds.

Tata, paternal aunt (see p. 109).
tato, god-parent; god-child.
tauga, *okari* nut.
tekaboka, dependants; retinue.
tero, coco-nut leaf mat.
tuva, wooden bowl or dish.
tunga, neck.

Uhu, trunk of a tree.

Yaho, fish-net on triangular frame.

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1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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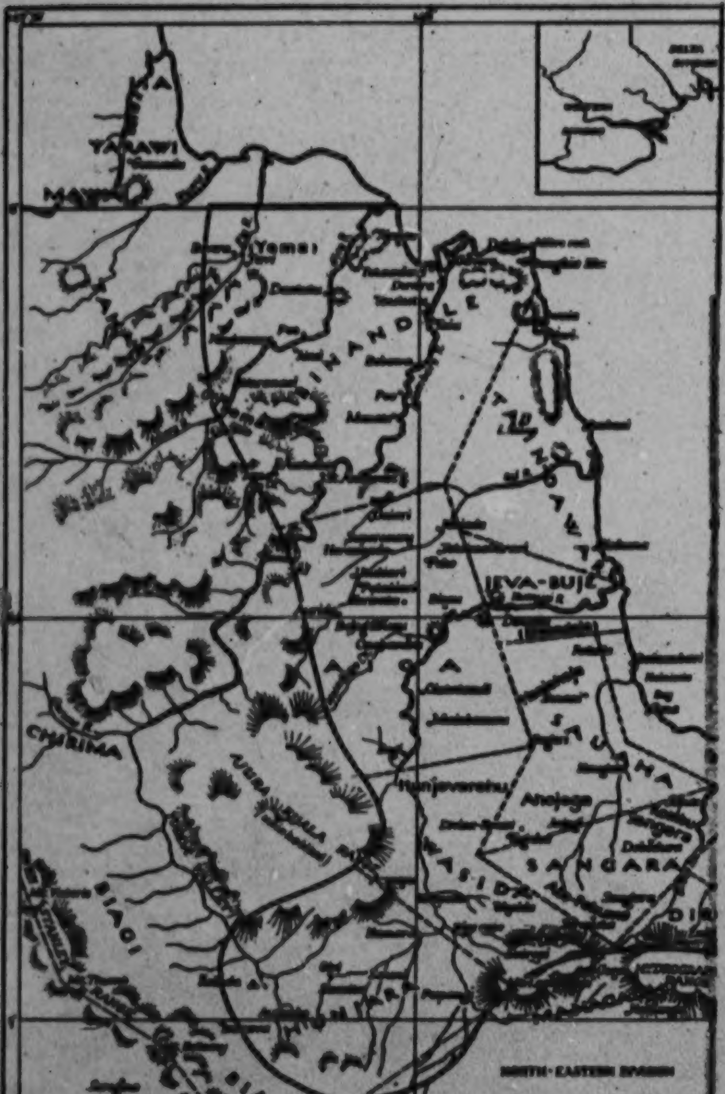
YARAWI
Yomai
IEVA-BUJE
CHIRIMA
BIAGI
SANGARA
BIAGI

[End map A]

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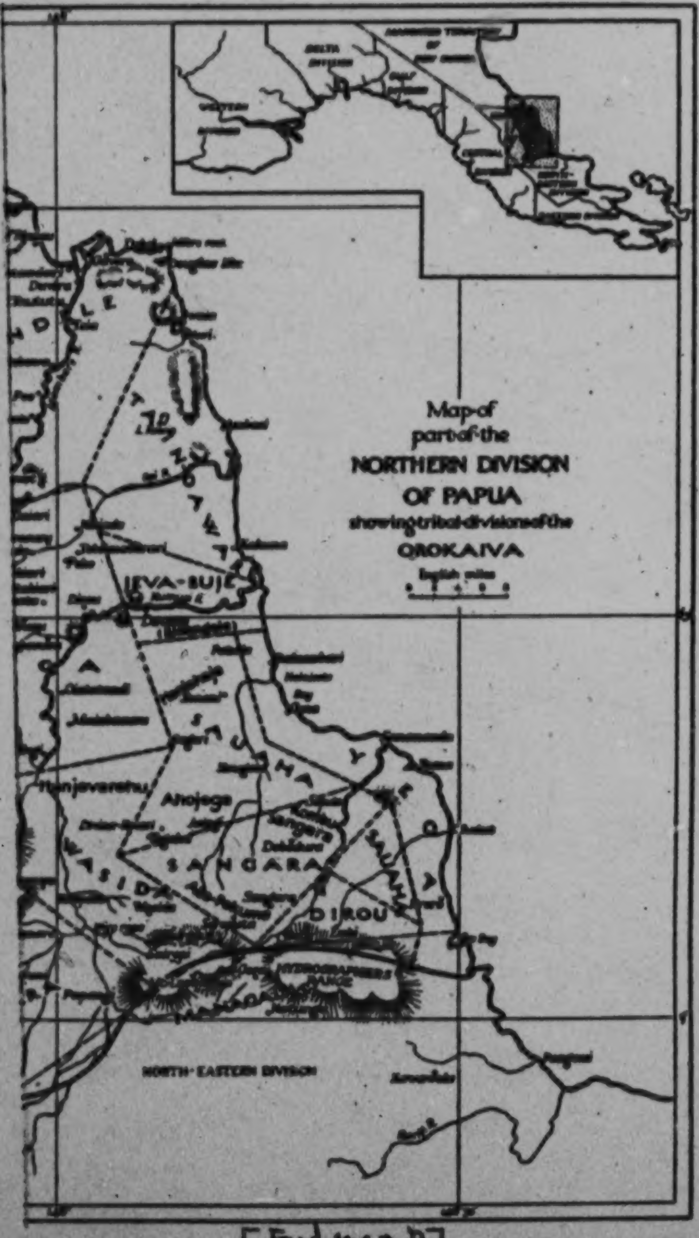
Map of
part of the
NORTHERN DIVISION
OF PAPUA
showing tribal divisions of the
OROKAIVA
English miles
IEVA-BUJE
SANGARA
WASIDA
DIROU
HYDROGRAPHERS RANGE
NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION

[End map B]

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Literary texts 600

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OROKAIVA MAGIC

BY

F. E. WILLIAMS

WITH A FOREWORD
By R. R. MARETT

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
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1928

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See page 49

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PREFACE

THE three parts of this book were presented as Anthropological Reports Nos. 6, 7, and 8 to the Papuan Government. The first two are meant in some part to be essays in applied anthropology. It will be understood, however, that although they are official reports and receive the *imprimatur* of the Government they do not necessarily represent Government opinion. The third can hardly profess to be practical except in so far as it may help to interpret a difficult phase of native mentality.

It will be seen that this last, while mainly theoretical, is not in any great degree original. But I will not venture to claim any authority for such theoretical indiscretions as may appear in a somewhat hastily written essay.

F. E. W.

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FOREWORD

I AM proud to have been asked to associate myself with the researches of an old pupil in whose common sense and accurate powers of observation I have complete trust. At the same time the value of anything I might have to say in a brief preface such as this is not clear to me; unless indeed this effort is to be regarded simply as a piece of magic. Now Mr. Williams is, I gather, inclined to include in his very definition of magic the fact of its being 'obviously futile'. Obvious, however, as this essential futility may be to the outsider, it is not, I presume, perceptible to the perpetrator of the magic; who on the contrary must hope and believe that, by letting off his blank cartridge, he will somehow register a moral bull's-eye. My good wishes, then, for whatever they may be worth, are hereby magically projected into this little book; and the success which, I am perfectly sure, must attend its appearance will undoubtedly be treated by me as in some measure a matter of personal congratulation. After all, there can be no more grateful illusion than that of claiming credit for the excellence of a pupil's work. 114

What I like especially about Mr. Williams's treatment is that throughout it hits a happy mean between too much and too little sympathy with the native point of view; and thus suggests a line of policy which the more enlightened type of administrator—and it is common knowledge that he flourishes in New Guinea—might well consent to follow. The business of a government ethnologist is with theory in the first instance, yet with the sort of theory that will directly subserve practice. In short, it is at bottom a theory of education that he is there to supply—one that of course in such a case has an ethnic application, involving as it does the conversion of a whole people from their traditional ways to another set of habits assumed by their instructors to be better for them in the long run no less than for every one else. Now a theory of education of this kind must be neither soft-hearted nor unduly harsh. Our civilization cannot afford to play the part of the doting aunt who would let the dear child alone to wallow as it pleases in its primal condition of impish innocence. On the other hand, a rod in pickle is no meet symbol of benevolent empire. In its capacity of protector of aborigines, the administration must save the native from himself no less than from inopportune interference, whether well-meaning or not, on the part of the white man. Given the inevitable fact that contact between widely different grades of culture has come about and is bound to go on, a certain indulgence tempered with firmness offers the only means of reconciling stone-age humanity to its new lot.

Mr. Williams, then, so far as I can judge from a distance, most helpfully draws attention to the psychological nature of the problem confronting those who are genuinely for giving these primitive folk a chance of self-realization along fresh lines. Even in that part of his book which might seem primarily to be concerned with economics, the need is emphasized of meeting age-long custom half-way. Magic's twin-sister taboo amounts to little more than the presentiment of deadly peril attending breach of custom in any and every direction. However tempting on grounds of obvious utility the suggested change may be made to appear, the primeval conscience protests; and in moral evolution reason can never have the better of conscience except by humouring it. Primitive conservatism, in short, is a force that must be respected as constituting the moral fibre of the old-fashioned type of man and as integral to his very will to live. Nevertheless, as Mr. Williams amply demonstrates in these pages, mankind never stands still; but, socially no less than in a physiological way, is subject to a perpetual metabolism. Life consists in movement even in the most backward community; and the administrator must be on his guard lest he construe such movement as unrest, whenever he has had no part in exciting it, but has to deal with it as a spontaneous manifestation of the native genius. An instance in point is the strange *Vailala* cult that within the last ten years has swept through the Orokaiva with the violence of a contagion. The authorities might well describe it as a 'madness'. Yet they are well advised to have taken no drastic measures to suppress it, preferring to allow time for a scientific diagnosis to be made before remedial action, if indeed any be required, is taken. With the unfortunate precedent of Pontius Pilate before their eyes, governments should be chary of applying police-methods to new movements in religion, even when the chief priests and pharisees would have them force the issue. Speaking generally and without special reference to a situation which can only be understood on the spot, I welcome such an outburst of moral energy—moral from their own point of view at any rate—as a healthy sign of vitality in a people only too ready to succumb altogether to *taedium vitae* under those conditions of more work and less play—including spear-play—which our rule inevitably imposes upon them. In short, why not let those aboriginal quakers quake and shake to their hearts' content? For the rest, every anthropologist will rejoice in a picture of primitive religion taken from the life and, moreover, taken at that psychological moment when, in defiance of inveterate tradition, that creative impulse which is man's prerogative bodies forth fresh symbols whereby to express the love of life in all its variety and fullness.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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THE TARO CULT 000

A STUDY OF A PRIMITIVE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

[P. 3]
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THE TARO CULT

1. *Introductory*

x 194 SINCE the European occupation of Papua there have sprung up in various parts of the territory a number of new religious cults. At first fairly sweeping the natives off their feet in an excess of zeal, and causing the authorities some perplexity as to cause and treatment, these cults have for the most part gradually subsided, leaving their followers apparently little better and little worse than before. But, although their most exaggerated features have fortunately disappeared, there can be no doubt that these movements bring about a permanent change in the lives of those whom they reach. They have occurred with such frequency and have exerted so wide and powerful an influence upon the natives, that we cannot gainsay them a practical interest. It is a matter of recognized importance to examine these movements in a painstaking and, if possible, a sympathetic manner, to determine how much good is in them, and how much evil, to uncover their causes, and to decide what treatment they deserve at the hands of the Government.

x 194 113 In a paper entitled 'Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea',[1] E. W. P. Chinnery and A. C. Haddon have briefly described most of these remarkable movements. The earliest of the five, 'The Prophet of Milne Bay,' dates from 1893. The second was the *Baigona* or Snake cult of the Northern and North-eastern Division (1911–12);[2] the third the 'German Wislin of Saibai' in Torres Straits (1913); the fourth the *Kava Kava* of the Northern Division (1914); and the fifth the 'Kekesi Rites' of Manau, also in the Northern Division (1914).

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[1] *Hibbert Journal*, vol. xv, No. 3, April 1917, pp. 448–63.

[2] Vide also J. H. P. Murray, in *Papua Ann. Report*, 1911–12, p. 14, and A. E. Oelrichs, *ibid.*, p. 129; also Copland King in *Ann. Report*, 1912–13, p. 154.

x794 Since it was described by Mr. Chinnery the *Kava Kava* cult has consolidated itself and expanded throughout almost the whole population of this division, who are generally known as the Orokaiva. It is with this movement that the present report concerns itself; but, as the expression ' Taro cult ' has replaced *Kava Kava* in official and general use, the movement will be referred to by the former name. The ' Kekesi Rites ' of Manau, which never attained the same popularity as the Taro cult, will call for a passing mention, as matter of great interest though small importance.

x794 121 The reasons why I attack two subjects which have already been dealt with by another investigator should be made plain. In respect of the Taro cult, this report provides an opportunity for much fuller treatment than the scope of a short journal article could have allowed; and in respect of the Kekesi rites I merely add a few belated notes to the investigation which Mr. Chinnery conducted when the cult was at its height.[1]

In a previous report [2] I have dealt at some length with another movement, known as the Vailala Madness, which swept through the coastal regions of the Gulf Division in 1919 and 1920. But the Vailala Madness now appears to be on the wane, and very fortunately so in view of its especially violent and iconoclastic methods.

The main facts regarding the above-mentioned disturbances—for that appears to be a just term—are already on record and available. I am not aware, however, whether this is the case regarding a recent movement in Santo, New Hebrides, described by the Rev. E. Raff of Vila. Although this is, so to speak, off the Papuan beat, it possesses so much in common with some of the movements in our own territory that I have ventured, with Mr. Raff's permission, to reproduce his letter as an appendix.[3] Over and above these cases there have been

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[1] For a further account of these rites vide L. A. Flint, Report of A. R. M. Ioma District, in *Papua Ann. Report*, 1920–1, p. 48.

[2] *Anthropology*, Report No. IV, ' The Vailala Madness and the Destruction of Ceremonies in the G[illegible] Division,' Govt. Printer, Port Moresby.

[3] [See pp.10[illegible]-101 —Analyst]

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not a few others of a minor character in which the movement has been abortive, short-lived, or confined within narrow limits.

The question of how some of these new cults have succeeded in obtaining such wide acceptance, and in spreading with such wild-fire rapidity, is perhaps of greater practical interest than the question of their actual origin. With those which have been mentioned this swift and all-consuming progress has been their most remarkable feature. The Vailala Madness and the Taro cult have each in their time and place made a veritable conquest, a kind of bloodless victory in which innovation has met with welcome rather than resistance. It is indeed subject for remark that the native whom our despairing philanthropist, with his rejected gifts and suggestions, always calls an ultra-conservative, should leap forward to embrace anything so extremely newfangled as the Vailala Madness or the Taro cult.

So general has been the adoption of the Taro cult by the Orokaiva people that no little confusion now exists between new and old; and the investigator is constantly perplexed in his endeavours to disentangle one from the other. To do so completely is impossible. One cannot make a mere abstraction of any complex feature of culture; although it may be in many respects new, still, if it will not conform in some manner to the moulds of former practice and belief, it will not find acceptance. One general aspect of the Taro cult which it behoves us all to understand is its *acceptability*.

When in regard to this and all the other new cults of Papua we observe the suddenness of their beginning and the rapidity of their spread, we may be assailed by a doubt concerning one of the assumptions of anthropology. We only know of those cults which have come into being since our acquaintance with the native. We are apt to assume that they are all in some manner the result of a clash between high civilization and low, in which the latter has had its head a little turned. That assumption

X 194
121

may be in the main correct. But when we consider the manner in which the Taro cult and the others have come into being, the easy and obvious way in which the first step is taken, and the rapidly increasing momentum and wave-like progress of the new movement, we may well enough suspect that similar wide changes have swept over native civilizations before our own coming. The almost absolute stability of native custom has been practically a maxim of anthropology. New religious cults such as these of Papua may do something to shake our faith in it. I may quote a remark—equally heterodox—of the Government Anthropologist, Dr. W. M. Strong:

> 'The way in which waves of culture, e.g. the Baigona and the Taro cults, have spread temporarily in the Northern Division (and also the Vailala Madness in the Gulf Division) makes me think that primitive culture is not always the fixed and invariable quantity which most Anthropologists seem to assume it is.'

Upon the same subject no less an authority than A. C. Haddon has written: 'These cults afford a valid ground of argument against the very prevalent notion of the permanence of all native institutions and of the supposed disinclination of primitive peoples to adopt new ideas or new cults.'[1]

From the administrative point of view I have already claimed an importance for the study of the new movements. The Taro cult gives more promise of permanency than the others. It has won such wide popularity among the Orokaiva, and seems to have rooted itself so firmly, that it cannot be regarded as an excrescence upon their civilization, but has already become a constituent part of it, and one of no small significance. From the strictly anthropological point of view there should be as much of interest in a new movement as in the customs for which we assume a primitive antiquity. It should serve as well as they to illustrate the deep-seated habits of mind which it is our main object to discover; so that its

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[1] A. C. Haddon, *loc. cit.*, p. 456.

794x
psychological, as well as its practical, interest will justify a full description. 121

The method which it is proposed to follow in this report may be briefly explained. Sections II–X will be devoted to a description of the movement; Sections XI and XII will consist of some comments, explanations, and suggestions upon it. The whole subject has proved to be far more complex than it at first appeared. It would not be possible to place one's finger on any particular fact and say, 'This explains everything'. Therefore in the latter part I have drawn attention to a number of considerations of various importance, without claiming that they afford anything like a complete explanation of the phenomena; and in the former part I have endeavoured, even at the cost of some repetition, to make the description as full as possible. This report is not an essay in which the evidence is all strictly relevant to the conclusions. The descriptive part of it will be found rather to outweigh the critical part. But it has been my object, at the risk of tedium, to set down all the information, so that others may be in a position to form their own opinions. 121

I am much indebted to Mr. Wurth the Resident Magistrate, and to Messrs. Elder and Holland of the Anglican Mission, for the information, the result of long-continued attention to the movement, which they have placed at my disposal, and which has been of considerable value in writing this report. 000

2. *Summary Description*

It was probably in the year 1911 that a native of Tufi, climbing Mount Victory alone, encountered a snake, and learnt from its mouth some strange facts of life and rules of conduct. Like Moses he went down from the mount unto the people and imparted to them his new knowledge. The snake was named *Baigona* and was, in true accord with the common doctrine of life after death among those people, a reincarnated spirit of the dead. Not only he, but all snakes were henceforward to be 794x 825 775

x-794 called *Baigona* and were to be treated with affection and
825 respect. They must be hailed and welcomed whenever
they were seen; to kill or eat them was forbidden.
775 These taboos extended to a number of other creatures—
[784] lizards, crocodiles, cuscus, and the like—all of which,
in native belief, are commonly the reincarnations of
departed spirits.

x-794 The originator of this cult imparted his knowledge of
certain medicines, rites, and taboos to others, and this
792 kind of individual initiation was passed on until there
grew up a clique of '*Baigona* men', who might be called
priests of the new cult, and who were to be found in
villages as far north as the German boundary.

x-794 Meanwhile the horde of ignorant and gullible believers
rapidly increased, comprehending little more of the new
154 order than the general taboo regarding reptiles. The
genuine *Baigona* men professed to practise healing, but
there was another side to their activities: there is little
doubt that they were sorcerers to a man, who held the
masses in considerable fear and practised an easy kind of
extortion. Together with other methods of professed
[786] healing they underwent themselves, and induced in their
patients, paroxysms of a peculiarly horrible nature. These
paroxysms became the general vogue among all who
were affected by the cult, and this, together with the
practice of sorcery and extortion, led the Government to
discourage and suppress the movement. The craft of the
Baigona men was virtually stamped out ten years ago,
though in the interior of the Northern Division there are
still to be found regular *Baigona* practitioners who, with
a strange amount of confidence in themselves, continue
to try their cures upon strangely confident patients. This
practice, however, is thought by the natives to be against
the law of the Government, and is therefore only in secret.
Despite certain effects which it has left on native custom,
the *Baigona* cult may be said to have died out. On the
whole one is tempted to class it as thoroughly obnoxious.

x-794 It was very soon replaced by another movement,

happily of a less dangerous and disagreeable character. 794x
This was the Taro cult, of which a brief summary may be given here in order that the subsequent discussion of its details may be better understood.

It originated near the mouth of the river Mambare rather more than ten years ago, whence it spread throughout the Orokaiva people. The name 'Taro cult' has now established itself in Papua, though it may perhaps give a false impression regarding the movement as a whole. Taro or *ba* is the staple food of the Orokaiva, who are, like most of the peoples of Papua, almost wholly dependent on their gardens.

The new cult came into existence through the visions 794x
of an individual who believed himself possessed actually
by the spirits of the taro. In constant communication 787
with them, he received their instructions as to the various rites which would ensure an ample crop in the gardens; and these rites, which were simple and, through their appeal to the stomachs of his followers, agreeable, quickly developed into a popular cult. The whole of this ceremonial was originally directed toward the placation of the taro spirits, and the name 'Taro cult', or worship of the taro, was not incorrectly applied.

But taro worship has not succeeded in spreading very 794x
far without a marked and significant change. The ritual
indeed has remained substantially the same, but through- 769
out the great majority of the Orokaiva people it is intended for a placation, not of the taro spirits, but of the spirits of ancestors or departed relatives, who are believed to control the growth of the taro. The significance of this change will be discussed at greater length in another place. But it must be understood that the Taro cult in its modern and most commonly accepted form is not a worship of the taro, but rather of the dead. It retains its close association with the taro, however, in this way, viz. that the various rites are expressly meant to ensure, through the medium of the spirits of the dead, a prosperous taro crop. It is thus at once a fertility cult and a cult of the dead.

X794 The rites—they hardly deserve such a name—are of an
exceedingly sociable character, consisting typically of a
796 singing in concert, to the accompaniment of drums, and
of feasting with certain new forms of etiquette, the whole
festive ceremony being known as *Kasamba*. The songs—
[533] like so many native songs, unintelligible alike to the
listener and the singers—would often appear to be, in
their origin, exhortations or hymns of praise to the taro.
Certain sects perform distinctive dances, but, except in
[535] a few instances, the dance has not been highly elaborated,
and remains a minor feature of the cult. Perhaps as an
X794 unintentional substitute, the innumerable followers of the
786 movement indulged in various kinds of foolish antics,
with reeling, staggering, and a violent shaking of the head
and limbs known as *jipari*. There was no attempt to control
these actions—rather the contrary—and they commonly
ended in mild contortions and paroxysms. Such
uncontrolled bodily movements do not belong to the
Taro cult alone, but have been a common and unpleasant
feature of many of the new religious movements enumerated
above.

X794 While practically every one has been a willing convert
to the Taro cult in so far as it meant participation in the
792 song and feast, and while perhaps the majority have given way at some time or other to the pleasant abandonment of the *jipari*, there is a wide class of Taro *experts* or special exponents of the cult. It is impossible to set a definite limit to this class. There are some who are recognized as leaders and who are very strongly 'possessed', and others who are little more than laymen. However, it is possible to include them all under the name of *ba-embo*, which means literally 'Taro man'. Such men, who, like the *Baigona* men, might be called priests of the cult, officiate and lead in the ceremonial feasting; they perform certain duties in the taro gardens; they make a special practice of *jipari* and similar contortions; and they subject themselves to certain taboos. The theory of their conduct is that of possession by a spirit, either of the taro itself or of the dead.

A secondary activity of the Taro men is that of curing: 794x
the drumming and singing, or *kasamba*, is thought to be
as efficacious for raising the sick as for raising the tubers 756
in the garden. Their reputation as doctors, however, is somewhat marred, though not necessarily impaired, by the suspicion of sorcery. Still it is fair to say that this phase of their craft is not very pronounced.

In the course of a wide distribution and a life of ten 794x
years it is natural that a complex cult should undergo some differentiation. A subject of great interest is the origin of numerous minor sects; and some of the more important have developed an individuality which will deserve special description on a subsequent page.

The name *ba* or 'taro', which belongs properly to the actual plant, is used most vaguely and comprehensively by the natives for the Taro cult itself. To 'take the Taro' is to be infected with the cult, to learn the points of it from some one previously infected, to be possessed by the taro spirit, or, in the more usual way, by the spirit of the dead. The new movement is known simply as *Ba* or 'Taro', just as the former cult was known vaguely as *Baigona*. In the following pages the word Taro, with a capital, will substantivally or adjectivally be equivalent to Taro cult.

3. *Origin of the Taro Cult*

Where travel is so difficult and communication so imperfect, a new idea must spread itself principally by a succession of impacts. It will radiate from the place of origin, but those who dwell on the outskirts of the circle will have received their impulse, not directly from the centre, but from some intermediate source. Not only will the idea itself be changed by the time it reaches them, but the credit for originating the idea will be bestowed on many and various who were merely agents in its transmission. Consequently we find some little confusion on this point in regard to the Taro cult, and not a few who are more or less unwittingly made pretenders.

X-794 The consensus of opinion, however, leads us back to the mouth of the river Mambare, and the name mentioned far more frequently than any other is that of Buninia. It will be noticed that Mr. Chinnery, who wrote soon after the beginning of the movement, names the same person as its originator, so that we may very fairly conclude that the honour of the prophet should belong to him.

X-794
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787
115 It is interesting to note, however, that although we may be tolerably sure of the identity of the prophet, the accounts of the actual visitation, of the way in which he came under the influence of the Taro, are somewhat varied. According to Chinnery he was, by his own expression, 'struck down' by the 'spirit of the Taro' in his garden at Taututu, on the Mambare, and learnt from the said spirit a new kind of ritual. This ritual was to be practised by the people on pain of the destruction of their garden crops. Mr. Henry Holland, of the Anglican Mission, then at Ambasi, learnt that Buninia had been visited by the spirit of his father, slain in a cannibal raid on the river Kumusi. The slain man, or rather his spirit, travelling northwards in search of his son, had fallen in with a number of other spirits of the dead at Mitre Rock, a solitary and somewhat uncanny fragment standing out to sea by the Mambare mouth. Here they slew a large cuscus and ate it with taro. What was the significance of this ghostly picnic is not altogether apparent, but after it was over the wandering spirit found his son Buninia and revealed to him the elements of a new cult, all of which Buninia kept in his head for a while, and finally revealed in his turn to a very receptive public.

X-794
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787 It is to be feared that there exists no little confusion in the prophet's head as to what really did happen. I will, however, put down the vision which he recounted to me when I met him in 1924. This was in the charming village of Deboi, where he now lives with his colleague Yaviripa, and which is in some respects the head-quarters of the cult. In their polite and friendly fashion the villagers were

anxious to give what account they could of a subject in 794x
which they evidently take a great interest. Indeed, with 787
regard to the Taro cult, informants have almost invariably
tried their best to explain matters which are probably
as hazy to themselves as to their questioner; for the [609]
native keeps few things intentionally secret from the
white man save those which he fears will excite disapproval.
Buninia began to describe the dream in which,
at Taututu, he was first made to realize his possession by
the taro spirit. He decided to do so with dramatic effects. 794x
Immediately a number of youths flew off to the near-by 787
garden to see to their make-up, while Buninia, his head 535
pillowed for convenience in the lap of Yaviripa, lay on the ground as if asleep. Soon seven or eight young men, gaily bedecked with coloured leaves of *Bayoga*, *Sirori*, and other Taro 'medicines', form up before him. Some carry drums; others have bundles of taro, thrown over arm or shoulder. These youths are the *Ba atiti*, 'spirits of the taro', who appeared in human form to the dreaming Buninia; and they are identified individually with the various kinds of Taro—*Kaiva*, *Porove*, *Ovivi*, and so forth.

Now they beat their drums and begin to dance. Buninia slowly rises, looks in astonishment at the gay figures before him, and then, suddenly shouting '*Ba*, *ba*, *ba*, *ba!*' rushes into the dance. The movements closely resemble those of the conventional Orokaiva *ballet*. The young men, dancing two by two, move gracefully and with that appearance of power which is so admirable a feature of the northern dance; while Buninia, a doddering old man, his person gaily decorated with coloured and scented leaves, whirls swiftly through and around the couples, still shouting his '*Ba*, *ba*, *ba!*' When the dance is finished the taro spirits deposit their bundles in a heap and retire. The dream is ended and Buninia (somewhat blown by his exertions) awakes, calls his friends around him, and proceeds to distribute the taro which the spirits have left behind.

x794 787 Time and again was Buninia visited by the same spirits in his dreams. Sometimes they left him the large knitted bags, called *ase*, which are used for carrying taro; sometimes the special kinds of pots and dishes in which the taro was to be cooked; sometimes the wooden prong or fork with which it was to be eaten. All these things he showed to his people and instructed them in their proper use. So also he taught them the dance and the various other elements, trivial enough, of the new religion.

x794 787 158 828 But all this did not happen at once. Buninia volunteered the very significant information that from his youth up he had been subject to shaking-fits, some mild kind of seizures, which were not seriously regarded by his friends. According to his own view—about which he was entirely confident—these seizures had been caused from the beginning by the taro spirits in possession of his body, but he had not realized this until it all became clear through his dream.

x794 787 158 786 What might be called the inauguration of the cult occurred at Taututu. Buninia was sitting quietly with his lime-pot in his lap and enjoying a little stimulant, when suddenly he found himself again attacked by one of his paroxysms. This time he began to shout, '*Ba, ba, ba!*' i.e. 'Taro, taro!' His brother, one Oriva, ran to his assistance, no doubt much alarmed, but Buninia dispatched him to call together all the neighbouring villages. People flocked to the scene from Deboi, Duvira, Tsia, and Bebewa. The new prophet continued to shake violently. As the people watched him they one and all fell into the same condition. Buninia harangued them and expounded the doctrines of the taro spirits. He fixed his attention in particular on his friend Yaviripa, and cried shame upon him for not making a feast. Meanwhile the *jipari*, or shaking-fit, continued to affect the bystanders; but at Buninia's word they returned, temporarily at least, to their senses, and were dismissed to their villages. They all 'had the Taro', and the new cult was launched.

x794 786 Similar outbreaks occurred again and again. When

Buninia was in a state of possession the people would 794x
swarm around, and, more than touching the hem of his 786
garment, would lean on him, and embrace him in their
eagerness to acquire the influence. When he showed the
women the taro medicines—mere leaves or weeds—they
would seize them, rub them over his limbs, and thrust
them into the string bags which they used for carrying
the taro; and men would apply their axes and digging
sticks to his body in order that they might absorb his
powers.

The Resident Magistrate came and said that the *Baigona* men were at their games once more. They told him he was mistaken, this was something new. So he left them to it. Next came the Bishop, who told them there was not much harm in the Taro, but that they should give up the shaking-fits. When the Magistrate came a second time they informed him that they had given up the shaking-fits, and now confined their activities to singing and dancing. Such was the account given me by Buninia and his friends of the early days of the new movement. It is probably far from accurate. The *jipari*, for instance, was not abandoned, but merely hushed up, because it was recognized that to a white man it was only subject for ridicule or disapproval.

While Buninia probably deserves the honour of orig- 794x
inating the cult, there is one other rival claimant, so to
speak, who cannot be dismissed. This is the woman 787
Kosivo, now deceased, who was *bovatu*, or sister-in-law,
to Buninia, and also lived in Taututu. According to this
version (obtained from a different set of informants),
Kosivo had been visited by the spirits of three men, who,
fleeing at the first approach of the white men on the
Mambare, had jumped from the frying-pan into the fire
by encountering a hostile tribe at Lake Koena, who killed
and ate them. The spirits of these three returning to
their home found the woman Kosivo, had sexual inter-
course with her, presented her (in a manner not made
very plain) with the spirit of the taro, and left her in a

X trance as one dead. According to the teller of this story, 787 Kosivo was the first recipient of the taro spirit. When she died and was buried all the mourners were attacked by the *jipari* or shaking-fit, on the following morning; they had received the taro spirit, and this was said to be the real inauguration of the cult. Buninia and Yaviripa hotly denied this story, and, after the manner of natives who are contradicted by other natives, said it was a lie. Buninia claimed that the first real visitation was to himself, and had occurred after the death of Kosivo.

X 794 As for the origin of the actual *jipari*, which forms such an important part of the cult, it is, as we shall see, no 786 new phenomenon among primitive folk. In this instance, however, it may be regarded as proximately an inheritance from *Baigona*. The fashion—for there were fashions in paroxysms, although they were supposedly involuntary and uncontrolled—was somewhat different, but, as we shall find, different fashions were developed even by the different sects of the Taro cult. This subject will receive a fuller discussion in a later part of the report.

4. *Dissemination of the Cult*

+794 Having described the immediate origin of the cult—a matter which even so soon has become garbled and conjectural—I may pass on to the manner of its dissemination, which is equally interesting and more certain. A professing Taro man is sometimes found to maintain that his inspiration and knowledge have come to him direct. He will not name the man from whom he has learnt the tricks of his trade and received his simple initiation. Such a claim, indeed, is in keeping with the usual theory of possession—in so far as that theory is explicit and accepted; for the spirit, whether of the taro or of the dead, invades a man's body of its own accord. It is also a natural result of the jealousy and ambition of the medicine-man (for that name is applicable enough to the exponents of Taro); he may give out that his inspiration and revealed knowledge have been direct and unaided,

because this will give him a measure of sacerdotal in- 794x
dependence and enhance his reputation for power. Such
men will say that the Taro travels like the wind (*bisbi* or
pupu), not with the swiftness of the wind, but with its
mystery and invisibility.

It is more usual, however, for the Taro man to admit freely that he has learnt from some other Taro man, though, as we shall see (pp. 34–7), he almost invariably gives an account of a strictly private inspiration as well. He learns the rules of the cult from his preceptor, but for the immanence of the spirit he has only the spirit itself to thank.

So much at present for the native theories of the 794x
manner in which the Taro is passed on. In reality the 202
movement has spread in two ways. (*a*) The common
way is for travellers or visitors to acquire the cult and 797
return to inaugurate it in their own villagers; this is
merely contact transmission. (*b*) The other way is that
of active proselytism. One or two examples will illustrate these methods.

(*a*) *Contact Transmission.* A certain Home, Taro man of 794x
importance in the Aiga, or middle Opi, district, names as 202
the originator of the cult a woman Simberi, of Gavora, near
the Mambare (it will be noted that he does not mention
Buninia). From her it was acquired by Seneni of the river
Kumusi (an old man, by the way, in whose dour countenance are assembled all the attributes of wizardy, even
to a violent squint). By Seneni the Taro was given to
Home—at least the rules of the cult were imparted to
him, together with the knowledge of certain medicines.
(Communication with the spirits is Home's own affair.)
There are three men in Home's village who have acquired
the Taro from him, and he names three others, in different
villages of the Aiga district, who have done the same.
Thus the Taro cult passes from man to man, and one 794x
village after another becomes a fresh centre of distribu- 202
tion. The Orokaiva are great walkers and much given 574
to visiting their distant relatives. It is in the course of

X 794 such visits—which are often associated with feasts or
202 burials, and accordingly with a good deal of excitement—
574 that the new ideas and practices are so readily acquired.

It is noteworthy that they are passed on very frequently between relatives. We find an instance of a man visiting his wife's brother in sickness and becoming, perhaps against his expectations, a convert to the Taro; of another visiting his mother's people, and returning with the inspiration, which in due course is acquired by his brother-in-law. Examples of this nature are innumerable. It is a case of 'letting your friend in on a good thing'.

X 794 (*b*) *Proselytism.* The other method of dissemination is
by the active propaganda of the Taro men. This method,
797 although it may attract more notice, has not exerted the same steady pressure as the one above described. The minor cult of Manau (which will be dealt with at a further stage) provides an example. The leaders of it were Dasiga and Bia; a prominent disciple was Yavevi, adopted son of Bia. To extend the influence of the cult, Dasiga, with a large following, descended the coast from Manau by the Mambare mouth to the neighbourhood of Buna (a distance of some sixty miles), and there conducted 'services' in Yavevi's village, creating, one is given to understand, a startling but not very enduring impression.

So again, an interpreter in my employ named Ihipa, who was strongly imbued with the *Diroga* (a variant of the Taro cult which prevails in the southern part of the Division), set himself out in a tactful and unobtrusive way to plant the good seed in the Aiga district, where hitherto the *Diroga* was practically unknown. Almost nightly the boy-house was the scene of a *kasamba*, with its drum-beating and singing, loud, everlasting, and happily not unmusical. Ihipa would occasionally be
[786] seized with twitching and shuddering, and various of the younger singers would find themselves unaccountably following his example. Then Ihipa would explain to them that they had the *Diroga*: they were his converts.

A scene witnessed in the Aiga village of Korisata is 794x
typical enough, and will illustrate the way in which the 797
Taro cult advances. A party of visitors had arrived from 574
the lower Kumusi, which is not more than a good day's journey from Korisata. They were of another tribe—Binandele—and the purpose of their visit was principally that of reunion with their Taro friends and propaganda for the cause. They were led by an old man Tevara, a person of some distinction and a doyen of the cult in these parts, and by a village constable named Kove, an unusually volatile and excitable character and well known to the Government for his energy.

It has been pointed out that the Taro cult is divided 794x
into a number of sects. The nature of these will be fully 795
treated later on: it is enough at present to say that Tevara was of the *Kaiva* and Kove of the *Kivere* sect, both these words being the names of varieties of the actual taro plant. In Korisata there was already established a branch of the *Kaiva* sect under one Siavije, which though bearing the same name differed in a good many points from the *Kaiva* of the visitors, owing no doubt to a long previous divergence. Lastly there were the new converts to *Diroga*, led by my interpreter Ihipa. Thus there were four parties of Taro men in the village at one time, all united by the good fellowship which is one of the best characteristics of the movement, but all anxious to show themselves off to advantage before the others.

In the first day's demonstration Kove the village 794x
policeman was almost alone and quite overshadowed, 795
especially by the young and enthusiastic recruits of *Diroga*.
He said he would show them, however, and that night 796
went on to a village a mile or so distant where his own 535
Kivere sect was strongly represented. On the morrow, he declared, there would be a 'race', i.e. a competition, to see who danced longer and better, and who were the more numerous.

At about noon next day Kove's party, heavily rein-

X 794 forced, made its appearance to the sound of drums and
795 conches and their own lusty voices, and took up their
stand at one end of the village. The accredited *Kivere*
796 men formed the front rank; behind them were the
535 drummers and singers, mere laymen; and behind these
again a number of girls made use of the opportunity for displaying their charms in a dance.

The *Kivere* men carry spears. Gripping them tightly they reel, shudder, and posture, the spear struck into the ground seeming to act as some support, while their faces assume expressions of great agony, which, one sincerely hopes, are largely counterfeit. For the most part they remain stationary, though occasionally an individual will break away, and brandishing his spear, and swerving in and out among spectators and coco-nut palms, perform a frantic, staggering circle back to his place in the rank.

While these demonstrations of the power of the spirit are continuing, the arrival of the *Diroga* men is awaited from the other end of the village. This rival party has been preparing its paint and feathers and characteristic decoration of flowers or leaves, and has been practising assiduously the steps of the *Diroga* dance. Now, headed by two old adepts (both interpreters of mine who hail from the district where *Diroga* is in vogue), the new converts advance in open formation toward the waiting *Kivere* men. Their movements are full of grace: they progress at once rapidly and slowly, bounding forward a few yards and then retreating almost as far again. There are definite steps to be performed but no complicated movements; each dancer moves individually, dodging, gliding, or leaping; there is no voice heard save an occasional half-stifled ejaculation, a sort of whimper which the *Diroga* men affect; but every movement is accompanied by a thrust or jab of the slender spear, and the hollow rattles which are attached to it maintain a queer accompaniment. Resembling most a force in attack, the *Diroga* party was much more mobile than the usually solid phalanx of the *Kivere* men; their

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conduct had much more of art in it, and fewer real 794x
excesses. Considering that they were mostly novices their 795
performance certainly did them credit. Foremost among 796
them, and evidently very conscious of his own address,
was my newly converted cook-boy, who danced far 535
better than he cooked.

While these two parties were in a manner dancing one another down, the *Kaiva* men, though less strongly represented, were not idle. Old Tevara, head of the faction from the Kumusi, carried a magnificent spear, very weighty, and beautifully polished and feathered. This he manipulated as if in a pole dance, and performed graceful little pirouettes with his feet, all of which, to one's surprise, cost him no loss of dignity, although he was an elderly man and a very large one. Circling in and out among the bystanders he would pause from time to time to hold his spear horizontally above their heads, in a manner reminiscent of benediction. Prominent among his followers was his wife, whose movements had more velocity if less elegance, and who continually flicked the spectators with a bunch of the crimson-leafed taro medicine, *Tumeni*.

The local faction of *Kaiva* men had their main representative in Siavije, who, trotting aimlessly hither and thither between the several parties of dancers, and repeating something over and over to himself, acted a part all his own which, it is to be feared, made no great impression on the bystanders.

After the dances, antics, or paroxysms of the several 794x
sects had continued for some time, there followed a 795
general pause in which the Korisata people, forming
themselves into single file, paraded past the visitors, each 797
man shaking the hand of every visitor in turn as he passed. 537
Then one of the leaders of the *Diroga* delivered a harangue before Kove's party of *Kivere* men. Prancing back and forth before them and menacing them with his spear, after the manner of an Orokaiva who wishes to make his voice heard, he explained the methods of *Diroga*, and bade them

X 194 take no offence at the swift and warlike movements which
195 were so different from their own. Kove's party listened
197 with great attention, punctuating the speech with tattoos
537 on their drums and with the deep-toned cry, uttered
simultaneously by all, and resembling a kind of hoot, which is the Orokaiva equivalent for 'hear, hear!' or 'Amen'. Kove the village constable made his address in reply, first insisting on a general silence, which he considered due to his status and uniform, and after that the hosts and guests, mutually satisfied, mingled and fell to upon the real taro.

X 194 Such a scene is common enough. It illustrates the
keenness which the various sects feel in their Taro, and
195 the welcome which is offered to the apostles. What with
197 these, and with the impressionable character of the native,
it is not surprising that a cult, which for whatever reason commends itself to native imagination, should spread rapidly and far.

X 194 The actual distribution of the Taro cult is in the main
confined to the Orokaiva tribes. Northwards it seems
177 to have stopped short of the Waria people, who while
possessing many affinities with the Orokaiva, speak a different language. It is firmly established along the lower Gira, but on the middle Gira it seems to have made small headway, partly because of a minor cult of *Wo-embo*, or 'animal men', a clique of hunting magicians, and partly because of the long-established mission station at Peo.

Commencing from the mouth of the Mambare the movement seems to have spread at first in two principal directions—up the Mambare itself, and southward down the coast. Then it would seem to have penetrated inland from the coast by two principal routes—up the river Kumusi, and up the thickly populated road from Buna through Sangara to Kokoda. To the Aiga, who are a comparatively isolated tribe, the Taro cult has found its way by both these latter routes, from the east via the river Kumusi, and from the south via Wasida, a populous district on the Buna–Kokoda road. The movement has long since extended beyond the boundary of the Northern Division unto the North-eastern Division on the south. After ten years it is still spreading, though with a much reduced momentum. In March of 1925 it had first reached the village of Kawawoke in the Hydrographer's valley, inhabited by a mountain people who are very distinct from the Orokaiva. It has made considerable progress down the coast, and recent parties of propagandists had even reached the mission station at Wanigela in Collingwood Bay. It is interesting to conjecture what may be the ultimate end of the Taro. It has so far made a more general appeal and displayed a greater tenacity than any other of the new religious cults of Papua. 794x 177

5. *Adaptation to Old Belief*

My own investigation of the Taro cult began, without any realization of the fact, at the periphery and worked toward the centre. Consequently the opinions formed of it at Wasida, among the Aiga, and on the upper Mambare, had to be corrected, or rather broadened, to embrace the different facts which came to light in the original stronghold of the cult, viz. on the lower Mambare. However, the first impressions were not falsified by this later evidence. They remain substantially true for by far the greater area which has come under the influence of the Taro. The fact is that, in the course of its expansion, the cult has undergone a very significant change: the original doctrines of its founders have been maintained only within a limited area. These original doctrines are somewhat too unfamiliar for popular acceptance, and accordingly, as the movement has advanced beyond the personal influence of its founders, it has compromised with and adapted itself to previous native belief. 794x

It is proposed in the present section to deal with this change, and, by a digression upon the former religious beliefs of the Orokaiva, to show that the change is a natural one.

X794 From the account of the origin of the cult it will be
787 seen that the prophet believed himself possessed by the
spirit of the actual taro plant. When once the cult was
776 set moving many others besides Buninia began to receive
visitations, and informants who lived in his neighbourhood,
i.e. near the Mambare mouth, expressly stated that
the visitations were from spirits (*atiti*) of the taro (*ba*).
This they realized most commonly by means of their
dreams. There were spirits of all the multifarious kinds
of the taro plant, *Kaiva*, *Porove*, *Kivere*, *Ovivi*, &c., and not
only of the taro but of other garden plants as well. It is
too much to expect cut-and-dried dogma from natives,
and there is confusion and haziness as to the nature and
numbers of these plant spirits. There are probably at
[244] least a score of varieties of the taro cultivated by the
Orokaiva, all of them readily distinguished by differences
of leaf, stalk, or bulb. The taro spirits bear the names of
these several varieties, but, according to the truly orthodox
view propounded in the head-quarters of the cult,
there are countless spirits for every variety. They join
in disembodied forgatherings at the *Ba nyasi*, or Taro
villages, Siri, Waiegi, Kome, and Duero—to name some
of them—which are wooded hills along the picturesque
coast between Deboi and Ambasi. They throng invisibly
at the feasts in the real villages. As I was once talking
with the Taro man Yaviripa (a rare opportunist in debate)
he informed me that a taro spirit was close by us at the
moment. He had met the spirit in a dream last night, and
had been apprised of its intention to join the discussion;
now a twitching in his shoulder told him that the appointment
had been kept.

Except in dreams the taro spirits are invisible. It is noteworthy that in the dreams they always appear in human form. In the visions of Buninia, for instance, the dancers were taro spirits in the guise of young men. Some informants have actually used the expression *Ba embo*, or 'Taro man' (usually signifying the Taro specialist), for the taro spirit. A list was given of the

various plant spirits and the forms in which they 794x
appeared. Taro (*ba*), banana (*bido*), sugar-cane (*dou*) 787
were men; so also were the ornamental *Handoro* and
Laravi (the latter being younger brother to the former); 776
the betel-palm (*da*) appeared as a man carrying a lime-pot), the coco-nut (*mutieri*) is a woman; various other ornamental or scented plants as young boys.[1] Such a list is too definite and detailed to represent a belief of wide acceptance; various seers see the spirits in various forms, drawing on their own imagination. In questioning the immediate followers of Buninia I heard no mention of a spirit of the dead, i.e. so long as the discussion confined itself to the Taro cult. On the other hand, though making constant reference to the movement in other localities, I heard practically no mention of spirits of the taro until I reached what was really the home or fountain-head of the cult. The one or two isolated allusions which formed the exceptions were made moreover with a conspicuous lack of confidence.

Now the time-honoured religious system of the 775
Orokaiva seems to have its basis on a strong regard for the dead, a complex of affection, respect, and fear. There is a belief in the life after death, though it is not wholly pleasant or comforting to the believer. In fact he thinks little of his own lifeafter his own death, but far more of the after-life of his relatives, who may do so much to prosper or to persecute those who survive them. The dead will haunt the neighbourhood of their homes in a variety of forms, mostly very terrible or horrifying, as those who have seen them will testify, and are known among the different tribes by a variety of names—*binei, sovai, embaki, siango*, &c. There is of course no perfect consistency in native belief on such a matter, though one general doctrine seems common to all the Orokaiva: this is the doctrine of animal reincarnation. After death a man's spirit reappears in the form of some creature—pig, snake,

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[1] Certain of the ornamental plants grown in the gardens were pictured as girls. *Tauusi*, e.g., was the 'Sweetheart of the taro'.

775 crocodile, cuscus, fire-fly, for example—which haunts the
bush, and is regarded as dangerous and, on the whole,
abominable, but which must not be offended. It is not
necessary to deal at any length with this subject of animal
reincarnation, which is not relevant to the matter in hand.
The spirit of the dead manifests itself in other ways. It
may visit the village unseen by human eye; or it may
come and stand over the sleeper in his dreams, speak to
him, and leave objects of a very tangible nature by his
side.

769 The practical aspect of the old-time Orokaiva religion
is largely a placation of the spirits of the dead. It is in the
775 garden that the good results become evident; conse-
quently we find—quite apart from the new cult of Taro—
a number of rites or observances which are intended to
ensure, through the medium of the spirits of the dead,
a greater output in the gardens. The more striking of
these observances may be enumerated. In the villages
[778] are to be seen the *karau*, or offertory platforms (some-
times with a miniature ladder from the ground which is
meant to facilitate the spirit's access to the morsels of
decaying food which have been left for it). At the feast
and dance the spirit of the dead man in whose honour
they are performed is called upon to be present and par-
take. When a man dies his spirit, accompanied by
numerous others, is known sometimes to return almost
immediately to his garden to play havoc with the taro in
a sort of huff; and, indeed, it is a practice to lie in wait
for these ghostly vandals, in the hope that they may be
overheard discussing the sorcerer who brought about the
death and so permit of identification and revenge.
Again, for some reason which was never satisfactorily
explained, the garden of the deceased is taboo to his
nearest relatives: they fear some malign influence of the
769 spirit upon the vegetables. Lastly, at the actual burial,
some old man will stand by the corpse as it lies before the
775 open grave, and pressing with his foot upon that of
764 the dead man as if to secure his attention will cry out,

'Begone now to a good place, not an ill one; a place 769
where there are no march flies nor mosquitoes; where 775
there are pigs in plenty, and taro in plenty. Send us pigs, 764
and send us taro, and we will make thee a feast'. Instances
such as these will show that the native believes
his food supply to be governed, or at least influenced, by
the spirits of the dead, and that accordingly he has at least
one practical reason for seeking their goodwill. It may be
said definitely that, before the advent of the Taro cult, the
Orokaiva looked to the spirits of his dead for the prosperity
of his garden, not to the spirits of the taro itself.

It is necessary to consider briefly the native conception 775
of a 'spirit'. The words *binei*, *sovai*, &c. (p. 25) stand
generally for the being which in one form or another
continues to exist after the death and burial of the body.
It includes rather than coincides with the word 'ghost',
as it covers a variety of conceptions, from the unseen
and unsubstantial entities who climb the little ladders and
dine imperceptibly upon the food offerings, to the reincarnated
animals and reptiles of the forest or stream, or
further, to the indescribable monsters who abduct men
and women, scatter their wits, and leave them to wander
in the bush. But all these conceptions have this much in
common, that they belong to the life after death.

Now the Taro cult has spread abroad another word. 775
atiti; or rather it has added a new meaning to this word 192
Aiga informants and others far removed from the original
home of the cult sometimes nowadays use the word *atiti*
as synonymous with the being who survives death. But
in the Orokaiva tongue *atiti* stands for shadow, reflection,
or the mere appearance of anything, be it dead or alive.
It does not necessarily imply death, nor does it cover the
same vivid concept as *sovai* or *binei*. The new use of
the word arises from a misunderstanding. It is acknowledged
to belong, in this sense, to the Taro vocabulary,
i.e. to a set of terms which have been made popular
by the new cult and are used freely by those who only
half understand them (vide pp. 39, 48). Buninia dreamed

775 that he met the *atiti* of the taro plant: those who have 192 since been infected by the cult dream, or profess to dream, that they meet their ancestors or deceased relatives. But they sometimes employ the new word *atiti* (simply because it is fashionable) instead of the old words *binei*, *sovai*, *embaki*, &c. The later converts grasped the word, but failed to grasp the idea. Buninia's conception of taro spirits seems hardly in keeping with popular belief; consequently it made but little headway. While the practices or ritual of the cult offered peculiar attractions to the masses, the somewhat new-fangled doctrine was unconsciously rejected, or, more accurately, relapsed into the old form.

X 794 A few instances may illustrate the close association between the Taro cult and the dead. A Taro man of note 787 is taking the leading part in a garden ceremony, which 775 consists principally in treating the taro with medicines, and which is accompanied by the invariable feasting and 244 singing. In the songs he acts as choragus or *vorsänger*, and the repeated theme of them is 'Father, give me Taro'. He calls on his father, one Sireri, by name to stand by in the bush and witness the dancing and conviviality which is going forward in the village. He describes to me how from time to time he is visited by his dead parent. Lying down to sleep he leaves a plate of taro by his side. Presently Sireri comes and eats a little, as much as a rat might nibble, for instance, and then gives his son a leaf called *Moso* for taro medicine, telling him to leave a fragment in the hole where the taro-top is to be planted. The dreamer does not see his father but hears his voice, and then wakes to find the leaf of *Moso* in his hand.

X 794 Another Taro man tells how he acquired his knowledge from his brother-in-law, named Panjari. Panjari had been 787 visited in his sleep by the *sovai* of his father and mother. 775 They had taken him away with them to the *sovai-ta-na*, or 'the ghost village', and there given him taro medicine and pig medicine, with instructions how to use them for

his success in gardening and hunting. Panjari awoke from 794x
his sleep with these medicines, or at least the knowledge
of them, in his possession, and in due course had passed 787
them on to my informant. But the disciple cuts no ice 775
without an inspiration of his own; so my informant in
his turn receives dream visits from his own parents, and
together they go into the gardens by night to beat the
drums and sing, to make *tinogu*, as they call it, amid the
taro. Another old man of the same village, anxious to
bear out the evidence of his friend, declared he had heard
this mysterious *tinogu*, and had screwed up his courage
to the point of investigating it: before he came near
enough to see the performers, however, they had taken
flight and scattered. That the dead drummers were really
in the garden is hardly more improbable than that a
native should have ventured to investigate anything so
spookish. But both stories, although hovering strangely
between belief and fantasy, indicate that the concern of
the Taro man is here with the spirits of the dead, not of
the taro. So, again, we hear a Taro man crying as he
holds up the shoot before planting,

Aiaka, mamaka, apije
Mother, father, grandfather
Ba nato kundo-gumbu
taro mine bring
Durate burọda piata unani
Set down in the garden, grant.

And we see, in the *ba oro*, or meeting-houses of the Taro 794x
men, little racks or platforms with food offerings, which 775
they tell you are for the spirits of the dead. Lastly, in his 769
subsidiary role of doctor, we see the Taro man, having
practised all his remedies to no avail, setting up a spear 782
with a bundle of rich ornaments for a placatory offering
to the *sovai* who is afflicting the patient.

Such instances could easily be multiplied, but these are 794x
enough to show the trend which Taro medicine has 775
taken. The original doctrine of the taro spirit seems to
have survived principally in the neighbourhood of the

Mambare mouth and at a few points along the coast. Elsewhere, so far as my own investigations go, it has been diverted into the old well-worn channels of primitive Orokaiva belief. At Bakumbari, a coastal village not far south of the Kumusi, an informant explained, in the usual way, that he had been possessed by, and had received the Taro from, his dead father. He seemed totally ignorant of the idea of possession by the *ba atiti*, and when asked whether his ideas were the same as Buninia's on the matter, answered that 'he knew nothing of Buninia's teaching'. In Buninia's village the question of Taro orthodoxy came up for discussion. Yaviripa, who is a more alert and observant man than Buninia, knew well enough that other people did not see eye to eye with him. He did not deny that they might be possessed by the spirits of their dead, but he said that they were not true Taro men. He apparently found no serious cause for complaint in that the teaching of the originators had been misunderstood; but what made him really indignant was that some people to whom they had 'given the Taro' should say that 'Buninia and Yaviripa really saw the spirits of the dead when they thought they saw the spirits of the taro'. Buninia dismissed the matter shortly by saying these others were liars.

It has been necessary to deal at length with this adaptation to old belief, and to discuss the matter at this stage in the report in order to prevent the confusion which would arise unless these differences of doctrine were made clear. It is not that any violent schism divides orthodox from unorthodox: doctrine is with the native a matter of less importance than practice, and the general practice of the Taro cult has remained the same. We may therefore proceed to examine the cult as a whole, and without troubling ourselves upon this difference of belief among its votaries, viz. as to whether their inspiration comes from, and their worship is due to, the spirits of the taro or the spirits of the dead.

6. *Prophets and Converts*

The means of disseminating the Taro cult have already 794x
been discussed in general terms: we have seen that they are (*a*) contact transmission and (*b*) active proselytism. 787
In this section it is proposed to deal with the individual Taro man, and especially the way in which he becomes a Taro man. It is obvious to the native as well as to ourselves that the cult is passed on from one man to another, but it is generally claimed by the convert that he has received direct inspiration as well. Accordingly we may discuss the individual acquisition of the Taro under two headings, (*a*) Communicating the Taro, and (*b*) Direct Inspiration. Further, it will be of course understood that what is here set down is in the main the native's own explanation of these processes.

(*a*) *Communicating the Taro.* We have seen (p. 15) 794x
how Buninia in the early days not only instructed the people but communicated an influence to them by 787
physical contact. There are many similar instances. 159
Mere propinquity is enough. Thus we hear of a well-known character of the Wasida district, one Sihure (perhaps somewhat abnormal and on that account all the more celebrated as an exponent of the Taro), sitting surrounded closely by his friends who are anxious to receive the influence. Sihure chews betel very intemperately, [276]
until in due course the *jipari* or shaking-fit attacks him, and is unaccountably transmitted to the others who crowd around. Such an incident is easy to understand, but in others the connexion or the medium of transmission seems more than a little fanciful. A recognized instrument of passing on the Taro is the lime-pot: the master allows the prospective disciple to make use of his spatula and lime, and presently he, the latter, finds himself possessed. A man Taimi used to receive visits from the *binei* of his mother, and would constantly be afflicted with *jipari*. The way in which he communicated this *jipari* to a friend is worth recording in that it shows what

X 794 remote associations may seem causally effective to a
787 native. Taimi happened to leave his lime-stick in his
house; his mother, or his mother's spirit, spat on it;
158 subsequently Taimi prodded his friend in the stomach with the stick, by now in some manner galvanized, and his friend was seized with a paroxysm.

X 794 I have already referred to certain individual Taro men
of distinction. The number of those who follow the cult
792 in the Northern Division is not to be computed, but there are among them men of distinction and reputation who may be called leaders and who might be if necessary catalogued. Their pre-eminence is due partly to their own personality (for it is not every native who has the makings of a magician), and partly to mere priority. Thus, if one man communicates the Taro to another, the latter will probably recognize the former as his superior. This respect for superiors may sometimes take a comical
[302] turn. To see a Taro man, his face covered with paint and
his limbs with streaks of clay, his body stuck about with sprigs of coloured leaves, and his wits bemused by betel-nut—to see such a man offer a grave salute, in the exaggerated style of the Native Constabulary, to his superior, whose attire and demeanour even outdo his own, is almost as diverting to the European as it is impressive to the native. This habit of deference to the initiator results in a sort of hierarchy, very ill-defined, as might be expected, because the cult shows such a tendency to split up into minor sects, but nevertheless containing the seeds of an interesting development.

X 794 The disciple sometimes has to undergo a kind of
probation. Having once acquired the Taro he must, for
784 a considerable period (until, indeed, it is thoroughly
515 established or ingrained into him), observe certain
taboos. The chief of these is the taboo against washing. There are instances in which the enthusiastic acolyte forgoes the pleasures of a midday bathe for as long as eight months. When the Taro cult had crept insidiously into one of the mission schools, its presence was first

detected—among a class of well-grown young females— 794 X
by the missionary's nostrils. The reason for this taboo 784
seems to lie in the supposed efficacy of running water, 515
which will not only cleanse away impurity, but also carry off and dissipate the *mana* of the prophet. It is in keeping with this idea that the Taro novice be allowed, if necessary, to wash in *still*, swampy water. The taboos which are incumbent upon the professing Taro man will call for further description. The probationary taboo against washing should normally come to an end only with the permission of the superior who has been responsible for the novice's entry into the cult; but it must not be supposed that this rule is carried out in any strictness.

It sometimes happens that an aspirant grows tired of 794 X
the restrictions which are imposed upon him; and even
a qualified Taro man may voluntarily break through them 784
and *ipso facto* relinquish his status. Thus we find 'resignations', sometimes because of the constant tiresome *jipari*, sometimes because of the taboo upon bathing, sometimes because the temptation of forbidden foods cannot be resisted. One man said he had given over the Taro because he was hungry for eels, *obiti*, which are banned to the faithful. Another, wounded in a village affray and temporarily incapacitated, had obtained a sort of absolution from the man who introduced him to the cult, and by bathing in a stream thus automatically ceased to be a Taro man.

It is entirely in keeping with native custom that pay- 794 X
ment should be made by the initiate to his superior, 792
though such payment does not seem to be necessary or
invariable. At any rate, it is not so much that the master 431
makes a charge, but rather that the disciple makes a gift in return for services rendered. It is said that the improvement in the taro crop will amply justify the gratitude of the new Taro man to his teacher.

A man of Katuna—now a veritable hot-bed of Taro—had visited Buninia in the early days of the cult. Sleeping in the master's house he shook and dreamt simultane-

X 794 ously, and awoke to the realization that he had received
792 the Taro. When subsequently Buninia paid a visit to
431 Katuna, all the friends of the recent convert contributed
to the reward—a pig and a number of ornaments.

I have known an old man express himself delighted at his son's conversion to *Diroga*, declaring that he meant to reward the man who had initiated him. When we hear the initiator declaring (probably with truth) that he means to make a return present to the old man, we understand that the payments—if so we may call them—are neither formal nor exacting. The payments for 'curing' are sometimes of a different character, and will be referred to again.

X 794 (2) *Direct Inspiration.* It has been said that the Taro
man, besides acknowledging his debt to another Taro
787 man before him, commonly claims to receive a direct
inspiration of his own. 'Taking the Taro'—as the expression goes—means primarily being possessed by the spirit (either of the taro itself or of the dead), and the first symptom of this possession is some kind of involuntary movement of the body, perhaps nothing more than a twitching of the shoulder. This usually takes place in the learner while he is in some close association with the teacher, i.e. the latter communicates the 'Taro' to the former. As we have seen (pp. 31–2), contiguity or contact or some more or less remote association is required between the two. But it is not merely a sort of spiritual transfusion. Ideas are a little mixed on this point, but in the great majority of cases it appears that the learner is possessed by a different spirit from that which possesses the teacher. (This presumption on the part of the native makes it difficult for him to explain why the possession of any man usually takes place through association with one already possessed. The reason seems obvious enough to us, but perhaps is not sufficiently profound for native metaphysics. At any rate this point was never satisfactorily explained.)

Besides being indebted to the teacher in this somewhat

Besides being indebted to the teacher in this somewhat 794 X
787
[789]

vague manner for his actual possession, the new Taro man may receive from him certain 'medicines', and will learn from him the various points of Taro ritual. The latter, of course, he can see with his own eyes, as in the Taro cult there is little secrecy.

But now there follows, almost invariably, the stage in which the new initiate *dreams*; and in his dream he has communication with the spirit, his own particular visitant and benefactor. In the course of these communications he receives all over again the medicines and the ritual of the Taro, but yet, as we shall see, with some little point of difference. Several examples of such dreams have been given already, and more of them will appear incidentally in the course of the report, so that it is not necessary to describe any at this moment. The study of native dreams is in itself an interesting one, and the Orokaiva has his own methods of interpreting them, which incidentally provides a valuable illustration of the logic of magic. Suffice it here to say that the Orokaiva believes in dreams, i.e. he believes that they are true portents of the future, that they contain reliable messages for the present, and that in them the spirits may appear to the dreamer. Further, he believes not only in his own dreams but in those of others. When we add to these facts the chicanery of the magician, we can understand why the Taro man always publishes abroad his own dream, which will place a supernatural sanction upon his supposed inspiration. Indeed, it is a habit to call in the dream to reinforce a statement. There is a certain legend, that of the man-slayer Totoima, which is widely known among the Orokaiva. When I first heard it I asked my informant (a young man) where he had got the story, and believed him when he said that he had dreamt it. Subsequently I heard that tale from a dozen different informants in a dozen parts of the Division; the young man had merely desired credit for its invention. It is not altogether improbable that natives, excited by new experiences, upon which their thoughts dwell overmuch by day, might

X 794 781 dream of them also by night; but we cannot avoid concluding that a great deal of this supposed dreaming is the deliberate figment of a very wide-awake set of schemers. Even while this is so, however, the fact remains that the dream, true or false, goes a long way to convince the credulous native; and it might be forcibly argued that large and important movements—like this Taro cult, for example—have often had their beginning in nothing more than the mere accident of a dream.

It was said that the visionary, whose vision is little more than a reproduction of what he has learnt from the teacher and observed with his own eyes, still adds some little detail of his own. Thus a Taro man, who makes no secret of the fact that he received instruction and medicines from another, announces that his father has appeared to him in a dream and made known the secret of a new medicine, leaving a fragment in his sleeping hand. Another has had a series of dream visits from a certain female relative named Bagani. She has left behind at different times the wood-plate *betaia*, the taro-fork *orai*, the small cooking-pot, &c., all of them utensils belonging to the Taro etiquette. But he has another distinctive dream-gift. Clearing in his garden one day he came across a stone and merely set it aside. That night the woman came to him in a dream and told him the stone he had passed by was a Taro stone; it bore her name, 'Bagani'. This name the dreamer was to assume for his own. He must keep the stone, and when the taro was being planted out place it on the platform (*karau*) at the edge of the garden. It is by such distinctive touches as these that the Taro men gain individuality. They hanker after a little independence. Some new medicine, some odd detail of procedure, will give it to them, and, what is more, bolster up their claims by making it appear that they are really inspired and in direct communication with the spirits. Constant added touches or minute changes have in course of time given rise to the sects or denominations, and perhaps to the more or less pronounced

variants of the cult which will be later described in 794x
section 10. The following pages will give an account of 787
the various points of Taro ritual which have been passed on from one exponent of the cult to another, and which have been from time to time republished, so to speak, by the dreamer.

7. *Ritual and Practice*

The singing, drum-beating, and feasting—no very 794x
exacting ceremonies—which constitute the chief ritual 796
of the Taro cult, are together known as *kasamba*. The
word is one of those made popular by the new cult, and 574
is freely used in outlying parts of the Division by people who are as ignorant of its real meaning and derivation as I am myself.[1] At a large *kasamba* the scene is little different from that of the ordinary Orokaiva feast, except for a new style of singing, a certain exaggerated etiquette in the setting forth of the feast, and the excesses of those who lose control of themselves.

Hospitality seems always to have been a cardinal virtue with the Orokaiva, as indeed with most natives. A village takes a just pride and pleasure in feasting its neighbours, and long before the day of the forgathering there have been platforms conspicuously placed for the accumulation of the victuals. The taro and other garden products are gathered with a touch of ceremony which was probably absent in pre-Taro days. Led by the principal Taro man, the whole village files out to the gardens and returns with a load of tremendous tubers, while the drummers who accompany the party thump their drums with an odd mixture of solemnity and jubilation. The guests, when they arrive, are hailed clamorously with shouts of '*Oroda, oroda!*' which is the distinctive cry of the Taro men; and the youths of the village will rush hither and thither, brandishing their weapons, and tearing down banana leaves or coco-nut

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[1] One informant said that *kasamba* meant originally the 'junk' of taro, i.e. the cooked fragment of appropriate size. It is a point of Taro etiquette to cut up the taro into somewhat smaller junks than used to be the fashion.

X794 branches for their guests to sit on. Meanwhile the guests 796 file into the village, headed by some old warrior with his stone club upon his shoulder, and if they are well-bred 574 Orokaiva all this stormy welcome will not provoke so much as a flicker of response in their faces. They sit down abruptly, forming a shallow arc, and once seated seem to relax their gravity as their hosts ply them with betel-nut.

[346] Possibly a special platform or house, a sort of band-stand, has been erected for the occasion. This is called *ba oro*, i.e. 'Taro men's house', and is meant for the somewhat exclusive use of the accredited Taro men during the day, and for the chorus which is to continue X794 throughout the night. The singers will crowd about a 796 fire in the centre of the floor; if the night be cold, they will sit more comfortably in the ascending heat of fires 574 on the ground beneath. One man after another leads, 533 singing a stave or two with the truly musical voice of the Orokaiva, and as, or almost before, he finishes, the whole chorus bursts forth with the refrain. The drums beat the distinctive Taro rhythm, viz. two equal beats followed by a pause equivalent to one of them, or time of three with the third beat missed. This rhythm, I believe, is used throughout the whole Division by the Taro singers, and, as far as I know, exclusively. It is the same rhythm as that of the dance *baruga*, practised long previous to the advent of Taro, save that it is considerably slower. According to one informant, the Taro measure had been [534] specified, like other details of the cult, in a dream. The drums are tuned with no little care, the lizard skin being tautened with lumps of beeswax until the correct tone is obtained. Shell trumpets are blown by one or two boys, whose enthusiasm is not unequal to the immense staying power which this instrument demands; but too often the shell trumpet, which admits of no tuning, shatters the harmony of the concert, and one can understand why a distracted missionary lit his Primus stove and placed it by his reading-lamp so that its roar might drown the discords of the *kasamba*.

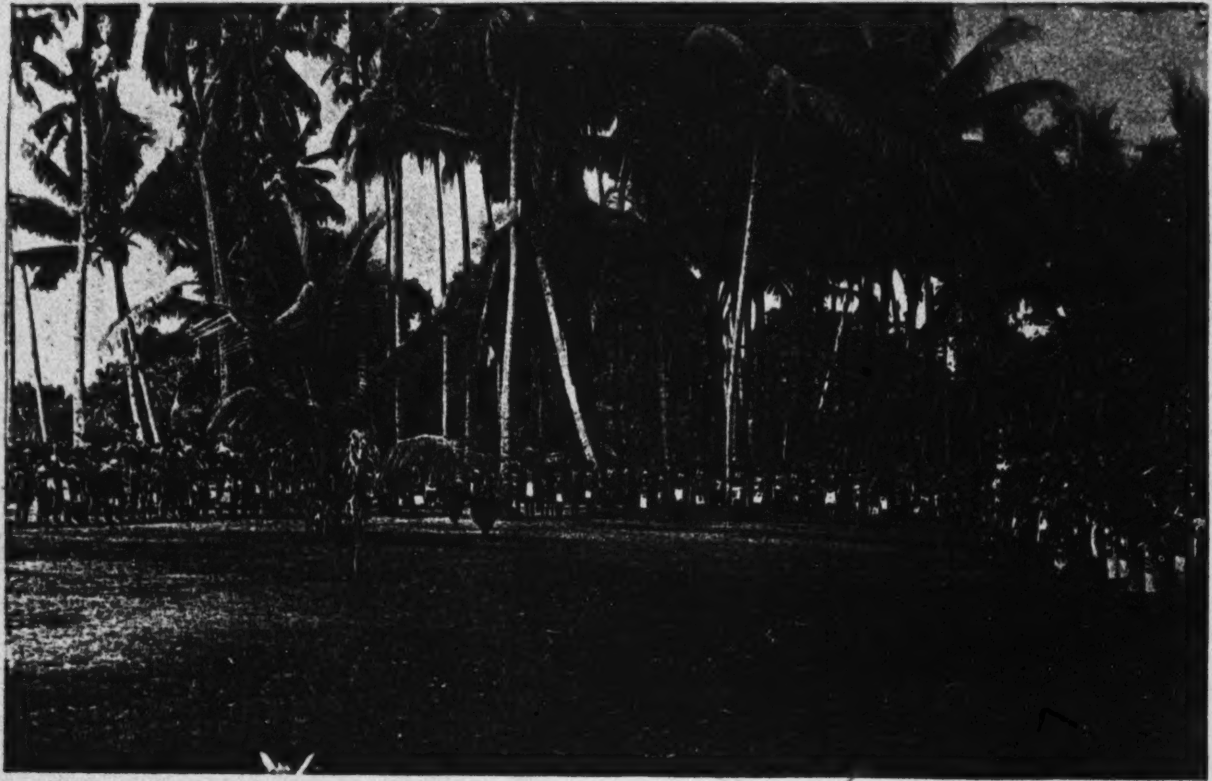
The singing is called sometimes *kasamba*, sometimes 794x
tinogu: the second word, like the first, is one of the new
Taro vocabulary, presumably belonging to the Binandele 796
dialect, but used nowadays by Taro men among the Aiga, 533
for instance, in preference to their own word *peungu*. As so often with native songs, the meaning is very obscure, even to the singers; and sometimes the theme, when it is discovered, appears somewhat beside the mark. Mr. Elder writes, regarding the Taro songs, 'some of them had little or nothing to do with taro. One for instance ran, "I'm a duck, I'm a duck, a jamb in the river, I'm a duck"'. And he not ineptly adds, 'I fancy the Taro worshipper who composed that song must secretly have been an unbeliever, and a bit of a humorist'. But very commonly the song consists of a series of apostrophes to the taro, a kind of salutation or hailing of it by name, with the cry of welcome, '*Oroda!*' which is a countersign of the cult. Thus one may hear, '*Oroda Kaiva, oroda Porove, Ovivi!*' &c., in endless musical repetition; or '*Ba de aja borejo*', 'Mother taro increase', and similar phrases, little canticles in which praise, exhortation, and prayer are combined. Very often it is futile to search too deeply for a meaning, because the words of the song have been learned by rote, and so confused in the course of transmission that they have become little better than gibberish. But whatever their meaning or lack of it, the songs are understood to contribute in some way to the growth of the taro; and some informants have declared that the Taro spirits heard them and responded.

As the Taro men have adopted a new name for the 794x
feast—*kasamba* instead of the old-fashioned *pona*—so they
have introduced certain new formalities into the conduct 796
of the feast. Taro must be cut up into small lumps; when 252
cooked it must be ranged in a row of boat-shaped wooden
dishes *teo*, or the large platters made of canoe-board and 415
called *betaia*; from the earthenware cooking-pot it must be transferred to the wooden dish by means of the

X 794 wooden fork or prong called *orai*; the really correct
implement for peeling it before cooking is the black
796 oyster-shell *yowa*. These very trivial points are accorded
252 a good deal of importance, because, one and all, they
415 have been impressed upon the Taro men by the spirits.
One man, for instance, met his deceased *imbo*, or maternal uncle, in a dream, and was directed to make 'forks' from a certain kind of tree named *aima*. The forks, of which there was now a large supply in the village, were merely pointed pieces of wood, painted a dull red with clay; but they appeared to possess a sanctity out of all proportion to their appearance or utility. It would be impossible to tell how often forks, wooden dishes, platters, and so forth have been bestowed upon various dreamers by the spirits of the taro or the spirits of the dead.

X 794 It has been said already that dancing is not a marked
feature of the Taro cult, although the Orokaiva have
796 developed the dance to an admirable degree of perfection
535 in their older ceremonies. Hitherto the devotees of the
cult have been only too ready to find satisfaction in the absurd and sometimes hideous antics which are presently to be described. Some sects perform a stationary and others a sort of processional dance, both of which compare very unfavourably with the graceful and animated ballet which is the best product of Orokaiva art. There are, however, certain dances belonging to minor sects which seem to conform to the older style. Buninia himself originated such a dance, which has already been mentioned (p. 13). Yavevi, a disciple of the Manau cult, used to perform with his followers one of unusual complexity. The *Hobora*, or 'Rooster', men reproduced in a nature dance certain characteristic actions of the domestic cock, and theirs was one of the prettiest performances it has been my good fortune to see among Orokaiva dancers. But it is still true that the dance is, as yet, only a minor and ill-developed feature of the cult. The Taro men prefer as a rule to sit down as they sing. A *tinogu* or *kasamba* may be merely impromptu, when it is per-

[facing p.40]



GUESTS AT A TARO FESTIVAL

X 794 formed in one of the men's houses, *oro*, which is usually
796 no more than a roofed platform. In the event of a large
776 festival, a *ba oro*, or Taro house, will be constructed for
535 the occasion, and after the feast this structure may remain as in some sort a temple of the Taro. It is frequented (not always exclusively) by the accredited Taro men and their professional visitors; it is the scene of recurring *kasamba*; and in some cases it is the place for food offerings to the spirits. A miniature platform will sometimes be found in the roof gable, with a dish of taro and dried fish, to which the spirits help themselves, betraying their presence, I am told, by faint 'sip sip' noises, like the chirping of the geckos which haunt all native houses. In the *ba oro* a Taro man will sometimes sit alone, belabouring his drum and shaking his rattled spear. This, for reasons which he probably cannot explain, will please the spirits and induce them to prosper the taro.

X 794 Besides the very congenial duties of singing and eating,
the Taro man has certain more directly useful tasks.
789 These consist especially in the use of his medicines.
244 *Ba sivo*, or magical fertilizers for the taro plant, were known long before the present cult came into being. One can often see in them a kind of logic, that of homoeopathic magic. For instance, there is a certain plant named *Iori babiva* which bears a striking resemblance to the taro, but differs from it in being much larger and ranker. These qualities are just what the gardener requires in his vegetables, so he drops a fragment of *Iori babiva* leaf in the hole before he drops in the taro shoot. This is merely an example: there are medicines without number for taro, sugar-cane, yams, and all the other products of the garden. The Taro men, being in a manner specialists, savants, and horticultural as well as spiritual leaders, make great play with this means of advancing the crops. The pharmacopoeia is an extensive one, and each Taro man will name half a dozen well-known *ba sivo*—common property of all who follow the cult—and probably, if you engage to keep his secret, one or two private medicines

794 of his own. The former, about which there is no pro-
789 fessional secrecy, are regularly associated with the taro
244 as stock medicines. The most conspicuous is *Tumeni*, the crimson amaranth, which so often adds a touch of gay colour to the garden clearing. Another is the wild thyme *Bayoga*, which is also planted in the garden and which stood, as I learn from Mr. Elder, for the taro of the taro spirits. Other *ba sivo* are used in the manner I have already described for *Iori babiva*, viz. by planting fragments of them together with the taro shoot; and with others again the method of applying or administering the tonic seems almost incomprehensibly indirect. One Taro man possessed (in secret partnership with his *nabori* or brother-in-law) a medicine which must be rubbed upon the sharp-edged oyster shell, in order to impart some vigour to the taro plant as its drooping leaves were pruned off with this implement. A more usual method of administering the medicine is to chew it with betel-nut, and then to spray it from the mouth over the plant.

A scene witnessed in the Aiga country is in many ways typical of the Taro cult, and in it we may see the medicine man at one of his characteristic tasks. A number of guests have assembled in the village of Totemaburari. The night and much of the forenoon have been spent in singing Taro songs, but still the revellers, whose endurance is greater than the jazzer's, show no signs of exhaustion. The principal Taro man, named Home, has been of late visited by his deceased father and has awoken to find a fresh supply of medicines in his hand. He now carries, strung together, a number of tiny packets, each neatly done up in a wrapping of green leaf, and each a very sizable mouthful. Upon close examination the packet proves to contain a somewhat repulsive hotchpotch, or rather salad, of five taro medicines, which have been already chewed with betel, spat out, and wrapped in the tidy, fair-seeming, little parcels to await a second chewing. At about noon Home, supported by two assistants who

are like himself qualified Taro men, and attended by some 794 X
twenty boisterous youths, sallies forth to perform the 789
business of the day. This is nothing less than a wholesale
medical treatment of the taro. Pushing rapidly through 244
the garden, Home is seen to stoop and spray the medicines from his mouth over the taro leaves. He is continually tearing the husks from betel-nuts, which are necessary both to keep up his spirits and to ensure a suitably liquid medium for the *ba sivo*, and continually plies himself with the little green packets which contain the *ba sivo* itself. Here and there he pauses to break off some of the larger leaves (for the taros are well advanced and almost shoulder high). His two associates are similarly engaged, and meanwhile the chorus of young men, armed with their drums, are following or crowding around. The progress of the party is rapid and almost reckless: in reality the ceremony must conduce rather to the destruction than the growth of the taro, for the young drummers care little where they trample. The heat of the overhead sun is beyond endurance. The thirsty young men tear down bunches of sugar-cane and pounce upon the water-melons, regardless of their owners. One vociferous old woman stands in valiant defence of her melons, and a number of girls run on ahead to pluck their betel-pepper before the all-devouring chorus has reached it. But there is no lack of goodwill and merriment, and when, after almost two hours of this exceedingly strenuous employment, the Taro men return to the village, it is to partake of the feast which concludes almost every native ceremony.

The rationale of this Taro ceremony is no more clear than usual. The five constituents of the medicine in the small packets were, one ventures to say, entirely useless—like the vast majority of native medicines. But for each of them, if we could discover the idea of their inventors, discoverers, or patentees, there is no doubt some frail bond of magical logic which made them obvious and proper medicines for taro. The breaking of the leaves

X 794 was explained by Home in the following way. As the
789 taro approaches maturity the outer leaves should droop
and fall. He desired an early ripening of this particular
244 crop, and felt that, by breaking off some of the larger
leaves here and there, he would expedite the general
falling of leaves which would indicate that the tubers
were ready.

X 794 Some of the medicines used by the Taro men are
apparently meant, not to stimulate the taro itself, but to
825 provoke the shaking-fit or *jipari* in the Taro man. It
828 may perhaps be felt that, by contributing in some way to
the power of the latter, they contribute also, though in-
789 directly, to the prosperity of the former. However, a
Taro man of Wasida showed me, in strict secrecy, eight *jipari-kore*, or 'shaking medicines', which were intended primarily to produce in him the condition of *jipari*. They included the amaranth (*Tumeni*) and the flame-coloured coxcomb (*Siroru*), both of them taken in the form of a cold infusion. The first, my informant said, gave him a headache.

Hovere, a wild verbena (?), and *Derega*, a very harmless-looking grass, were taken in a curiously indirect form: their seeds were burnt with lime which was subsequently taken with betel. Considering the method of lime-burning, it seems hardly possible that any effect could be produced on the lime by a few grass seeds; nevertheless, it was claimed that *Hovere* was a strong medicine. Two others, both creepers, were said to affect the legs of the Taro man. It has not been possible to have these various plants analysed, but I venture to think the labour of analysis would be largely wasted. As the number of native medicines is already so great, and as new medicines are constantly being added to the list, and as the reason for their efficacy, where it is understood, turns out to be simply magical, one may venture to say that in the vast majority of cases there is nothing in them. Empirically the native may discover stimulant or poisonous properties in certain plants, but in nine cases out of ten—

794X

825

probably much more often—the effect which he attri- 828
butes to his medicine, i.e. the *jipari*, is due to a complex 789
of excitement, bad example, and betel-nut.

As certain medicines are prescribed for the Taro man 794X
either to increase his own power or else to be transmitted 784
by him to the taro itself, so on the other hand there are
many restrictions placed upon him for negative, but 262
similar, reasons. He is in fact dieted with some strictness, and the reasons which govern these food taboos are worth considering. In a great majority of cases the man who observes the taboo is completely ignorant of any logical basis for it: he has learnt it by rote, so to speak, having received it as part of the cult from his instructor, and not only has he never heard a sensible argument in its favour, but, if taxed for such an argument, can think of none save *ad verecundiam*. But sometimes one meets a native with a spark of imagination. The explanations which he may give of the taboos are not necessarily the original ones, but notwithstanding they are typical native explanations, and at least as good as the original. A few examples will show what real grounds there are for the prohibitions. *Pauri*, the cuscus, is forbidden because of the yellowish colour of its fur, dappled with brown spots. Should the Taro man eat *Pauri* it is likely that the taro leaf will develop similar properties instead of keeping the rich green colour which is indicative of health. *Anja*, the red pandanus seed, and *sasaru*, a kind of frog, are tabooed for the same reason. It was explained that the frog, when cooked, is of a yellow-brown colour which is unwholesome not so much for the Taro man as for the taro. *Ambe*, or sago, was avoided in some quarters because the roots at the butt of the palm are often exposed in a way that is not desirable for the taro tuber. *Imbaga* the crocodile, *wotomo* a kind of flat fish, and *obiti*
the eel were 'too heavy'. The idea of weight seems to [753]
be associated very commonly with sickness, and it is felt that the Taro man who ate creatures in which this quality is so obviously embodied, would be endangering his power of healing.

X 794 powers of healing. There are many more food taboos.
784 Some of them may well enough be survivals from the
262 *Baigona* cult (which placed a prohibition upon almost all
creeping things), as they appear to have no very obvious
bearing on Taro. Certain kinds of the taro itself were held to be injurious—only so, indeed, since the institution of the cult, for previously these forbidden varieties were eaten without any untoward result; Mr. Elder says they were given to his mission boys, ‘ who being unbelievers thrived on them ’.

X 794 The taboo upon bathing has already been mentioned.
It was evidently observed with a certain strictness and,
784 in some cases at least, a breach of the taboo meant more
515 than the mere loss of power. One Taro man of impor-
753 tance gave the following explanation for a lameness in
the knee which had crippled him for eight months. Having used his spear too effectively in a village fight he was removed to jail, and there, under a regimen which took no heed of his priestly obligations, compelled to cut his hair and wash the smears of mud and white ochre off his body. The unfortunate prisoner's explanation still leaves one mystified: the dirt, mud, and paint being washed off the remainder of his body, concentrated in his knee and there brought on his lameness.

X 794 One important business of the Taro man's, viz. that
of curing, will receive a fuller treatment in section 9,
576 and is mentioned here only because it has to be included
in a general list of Taro activities. A few additional matters of minor interest, however, may be referred to at this stage. One is the custom of hand-shaking. I am assured that the hand-grip was known as a form of greeting long before the advent of the new cult; but now it has become a rage. When a Taro man comes upon a number of men engaged in conversation and sitting, after their fashion, in a haphazard group on the ground,
X 794 he will go from one to another and take the hand of each
576 in turn. As a rule the hand-clasp is somewhat limp and
828 unresponsive, though on occasion one may see two

Taro men seize one another's hands in an iron grasp, 794X
and both fall into a violent paroxysm. In such cases, it 576
is said, the knowledge that the one is possessed passes 828
to the other with the first contact of their hands, and then,
for some reason, both fall into the condition of *jipari*.

The reason for universal hand-shaking is said to be 794X
that of ensuring the friendliness of the Taro man. I have
suggested that this general amity among all followers of 576
the cult was one of its best features. It may be, however, that the basis for it is not entirely above suspicion. The explanation more commonly offered is that the spirits require all and sundry to remain on good terms with their human media, the Taro men; they may be offended and cause some illness to any one who is disrespectful or off-hand in his manner. On the whole, however, it may be the Taro man himself who is the real object of fear, and all others will see to it that they 'keep in' with him lest he do them a bad turn. The charge of sorcery will call for further discussion presently.

Lastly, there is the matter of the distinctive cries of the Taro cult. In an Orokaiva village it is the custom to welcome new-comers with loud cries, which in their origin probably signify that the intentions of the villagers are
peaceable. As is well known, it was the cry of '*Oro-* 576
kaiva!' which gave their popular name to the northern tribes, because the early whites heard it so often as they approached a village. Different tribes had different calls: to some the cry '*Oro!*' (which is much more commonly heard than '*Orokaiva!*') was not known until popularized by the *Baigona* cult. With the advent of the Taro cult there came into vogue a new call, '*Oroda!*' or '*Orota!*' sometimes '*Orodara!*' which has now become a shibboleth. Wherever one hears '*Oroda!*' it is safe to assume
the Taro cult has penetrated. The derivative meaning 576
of the word is matter for conjecture only. '*Oro*' means 192
the 'men's house' in the Binandele languages, and perhaps the ultimate meaning of the word is 'men'. But we cannot assume with certainty that *oro* the men's house

576 and *oro* the cry of welcome are the same words. *Oroda*
192 appears to be simply *oro* with the associative particle *da*.
Another very quaint Taro password is '*Kia kia!*'
X-794 uttered as a man is yawning, much as we would say,
576 'Oh dear!' No witness ever succeeded in explaining
this curious custom, which, as far as I know, belongs to
195 the Taro cult alone. It provides a good instance of the
way in which details of practice are faithfully transmitted
while their significance is entirely lost. A number of
other Taro expressions have come into popular use in the
same way. *Kasamba* and *tinogu* have been mentioned
already, but there were numerous fictitious synonyms,
possibly of a respectful or euphemistic character, which
achieved some popularity although they were probably
learned simply by rote. I am indebted to Mr. Elder for
several examples: the dog (*sino*) was called *eupu*;
sago (*ambe*) was called *orai*; and pigs (*pu*) were called
puyoroba.

8. *The Jipari or Shaking-fit*

X-794 I now have to deal with what is the most disagreeable
feature of the cult, viz. the uncontrolled bodily move-
158 ments or paroxysms which, unfortunately, the Taro man
828 believes to be an important part of his 'work'. These
paroxysms were characteristic of the *Baigona* cult before,
though they then took a form somewhat different. The
word used by the *Baigona* men to describe this condition
was usually *dutari*, to tremble. It might be used of the
ague or shivering fit which is merely the result of cold;
for instance, a youth after spending a long time in the
river in pursuit of eels, was said to *dutari* when he was
X-794 merely shivering violently. The expression most com-
monly employed for the shaking-fit of the Taro indicates
158 a somewhat different style. *Jipari* is used of the sling
192 (*tapai*) as it is whirled before the stone is released; also
of a branch swaying or swinging in the wind. There is
828 a certain well-known character among the Tain Daware
tribe who is named Jipari. As so often among the

Orokaiva, a nickname ousts a 'christening' name, and 794x
in this instance the nickname arose from an exploit well 158
remembered by the hero and his friends. In a cannibal 192
raid he was struck on the head with a stone club, but 828
even after this experience managed to elude his enemy
and rushed back to his friends. In response to their
anxious inquiries, he could give no other answer for the
time being than a violent shaking of the head. So, in
commemoration of his signal hardihood and the manner
in which his head had reacted under the blow, he was
dubbed Jipari, or 'Shaker'. The movements of the
shaking-fit are not confined to a jerking of the head, but
since this is very characteristic, and, as far as I know, was
not practised by the *Baigona* men, it has served as a
distinctive name for the paroxysms of the Taro.

These manifestations should be distinguished from 158
certain others which are more familiar. They are said 828
by the natives to resemble madness or *yauyauri*, a term
which includes everything between imbecility and a
violent insanity. They are sometimes accompanied, I
am told, by a swoon or trance, called *gishivi*; but the
gishivi is of course a phenomenon well known to natives
(though I have heard no explanation of it in native
psychology). Thirdly, they resemble the temporary
maniacal fit called *bibi*, which is said to be frequent
enough, though I have seen no example of it. *Bibi* is
evidently akin to the 'amok', and may be of a dangerous
character. It is, however, a transient, and apparently an
individual, not a collective, phenomenon.

We have already seen something of the shaking-fit 158
among the dancers at Korisata (p. 20), but I may describe
one or two definite instances in greater detail. A man
named Tatiko was sitting on a verandah during a Taro
feast. There was the usual amount of high spirits in the
village but no sign of irrational behaviour among the
others present. Without warning Tatiko began to shake
violently, with a very rapid jerking of his limbs. His fists
were clenched and his face contorted. The movements

158 continued for a few moments and then he sank back against the wall of the house, with his head on his breast, and remained in this position for a while as if exhausted. He reeled slightly when trying to walk after his fit was over. He was subsequently affected several times in a similar manner, but standing, not sitting. The jerking and trembling would end in a peculiar tenseness of the limbs and body. He stood in an oblique position which must have involved some effort to prevent his falling.

X 794 158 A lad of perhaps fourteen years was in the company of a number of *Diroga* men. While they performed their characteristic dance, he was staggering hither and thither among them, almost, but never quite, to the point of falling down. This boy was bright and intelligent and appeared able to act normally when he wished—in the pauses of the dancing, for instance. While he was under the influence of the *jipari* his eyes were vacant, and he was evidently more or less heedless of what was happening to him; nevertheless, despite the apparent recklessness of his conduct, he managed to avoid obstacles. He seemed to derive no small satisfaction from indulging in this very violent exercise, and as in the intervals he became his smiling self again, one can only conclude that he was wilfully surrendering himself to the *jipari*.

Among other subjects one may observe a simultaneous shaking of the limbs which, with a twisting of the features, resembles a kind of convulsion; sometimes a fierce shaking of the head; sometimes loud, sharp ejaculations which are quite meaningless.

It is difficult to describe the phenomenon from its subjective side, as natives are more than usually inexplicit in regard to their sensations. It is commonly said that the oncoming of the seizure is felt in the back, and most often in a sensation of cold, a chill, or a shiver. The first movement is a shudder, and a very characteristic movement of the Taro man is a somewhat exaggerated twitch of the shoulder. More than one informant has said that he felt as if ants were crawling down his back. The seizure may apparently be induced by thinking on it. A man sits, I am told, wondering, 'Will it come, will it come?' and finally it does come.

The sensations are felt in the stomach, the legs, and the head. A man made a stirring motion with his forefinger to give some idea of the revolving in his stomach, called *peri peri*. The real or supposed affection of the lower limbs is sufficiently evidenced by the lurching and reeling in which the Taro man so commonly indulges. Some men hear a strong buzzing in their ears, so loud and distracting that they want to shout out. Others say that during the *jipari* they cannot see properly.

The shaking-fit is seen less frequently now than in the earlier days of the cult, and from the various subjects which I have observed myself it would be impossible to set down the regular symptoms of the seizure save in the most general terms. There is a vast variety, and with the many idiosyncrasies of sects and individuals, it is only possible to say that the *jipari* takes the form of purposeless and uncontrolled muscular movements.

A most interesting phase of the *jipari* is its collective character or transmissibility. This, again, is less in evidence now than formerly, though, from its very nature, it is liable to manifest itself at any moment. A number of young men were singing together in the 'boy-house' one evening. Among them were two or three Taro men, but, save for an occasional involuntary shoulder-twitching, resembling a kind of *tic*, the conduct of the singers had been entirely rational. In a pause of the chorus a *Diroga* man from a neighbouring village was heard approaching. Leaping and stamping, shaking his spear with its rattles, and uttering the strange querulous exclamations which are peculiar to *Diroga* men, he emerged from the darkness of the bush into the firelight. Immediately the drums struck up again, and half a dozen of the singers who had hitherto been behaving themselves sensibly were shouting and reeling hither and thither in the darkness. Some things, however interesting, are too

X 794 158 much for the forbearance of an anthropologist, and it is worth recording that this demonstration ended as quickly as it began.

158 755 On another occasion I was observing the behaviour of several *Baigona* men (of whom there are still a few in practice). They were treating a patient, and the proper climax of the treatment was reached when the sick man was raised to his feet and allowed slowly to collapse again in what were really horrifying convulsions. The three doctors threw themselves to the ground in a simultaneous fit (which, if less convincing, was more violent than that of their patient), while I kept myself especially busy with pencil and note-book, thinking I might perhaps be the next victim. Turning to my interpreter I failed to find him at my elbow, where he had been a moment previously, but finally caught sight of him at the other end of the village, where he was staggering hither and thither with half a dozen others. Called back very abruptly he said that he had been unable to contain himself; something had 'gone snap' in his head (a phenomenon which he illustrated by snapping his fingers). He was obviously upset and sorry for his lapse, and for a long time afterwards was almost speechless for shame.

158 The fact that these seizures may be of a collective nature is too well recognized to need elaborating. We have already seen an instance when Buninia inaugurated the cult at Taututu. Dr. Bellamy has given a description of a similar incident which has been quoted in connexion with the Vailala Madness.[1] It is in fact to this collective nature of the *jipari* that the rapid spread of the Taro cult is primarily due.

158 828 The native himself may sometimes recognize that the seizures are transmissible to the mass: 'If many men get *jipari*, then those with them are likely to get it also.' This brings us to the question of native theory upon the *jipari*. It has already been explained that the fact of communicating or transmitting the influence is recognized by

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[1] *Anthropology*, Report No. 4, 'Vailala Madness', p. 13.

the native (pp. 31, 34), though how or why it should pass from one man to another is not made clear. Independently of this communication, however, the native theory of *jipari* is one of possession. The subject is possessed by the *atiti* or spirit, either of the taro itself or of a dead man. We need not worry about the latter distinction as it has been dealt with at some length already (section 5). 158 828

The *atiti* is an immaterial thing. In common use, as has been mentioned, it means shadow or reflection. The Taro man often compares it to a breath of wind, *pupu*. It is said merely to 'come' to a man (*gumbari*); sometimes to 'strike' him (*dari*); in pidgin English it is said to 'jump up' on him. One witness explained that it entered his body and rose to his head, where it caused the violent wagging which is the most typical symptom of *jipari*. The shaking-fit is due to the immanence of the *atiti*. It is felt, not seen. Only, it would appear, in dreams or trances does one actually see the spirit of the taro or of the dead. A man may first be seized by the *jipari* and subsequently come to realize that it is a spirit which has entered him and caused it. This revelation usually comes through a dream, as it did in the case of Buninia (p. 14). In one case an informant said that his *jipari* and his dream-visit occurred simultaneously; in another the informant had slept with some taro medicine *bayoga* in his armlet, had visited in his dreams the 'village of the Taro people', and in the morning had experienced his first attack of *jipari*. But the usual sequence, and indeed the natural one, is for the apocalypse to follow the fit.

While native theory as to the cause of *jipari* seems clear enough there is no such certainty regarding the effect of it. It is quite generally professed that oft-repeated shaking makes the taro grow; indeed, an expert may go into the gardens to shake amid the vegetables with the express purpose of benefiting them. But no informant ever gave a satisfactory explanation of how this cause should operate. In so far as it is thought to aid the growth of the taro one can only compare the *jipari* to those instinctive [789]

157 bodily movements by which we sometimes seek to
868 expedite or help out a much-desired result, though the movements themselves can have no actual effect upon it.

We may now discuss the important question of how far the *jipari* is voluntary and how far it is involuntary. In native theory there is little doubt on the matter: the genuine shaking-fit only follows, or rather accompanies, possession. In actual fact it is equally certain that some individuals are abnormal and subject to dissociation and minor seizures. Such cases of abnormality are not infrequent. Among the various Taro men mentioned by name in this report there can be little doubt that Buninia, Sihure, and Dasiga of Manau, are somewhat abnormal subjects. There are many others whom I have regarded with the same suspicion. Such men, by reason of their abnormality combined with native gullibility, come to the front in a movement like the Taro cult. They are what is roughly termed neurotic, and we need not accuse them of pretence in their strange freaks of behaviour.

But it is obvious that we cannot class all the votaries of Taro as abnormal. Over against those who are the completely helpless victims of *jipari* in any of its forms, we must set another class of those who more or less deliberately simulate *jipari*. The shaking-fit may, it appears, be successfully *resisted*, and further, it may be *relinquished*. In the first place a man may deny that he is subject to *jipari*, explaining that he is 'hard' (*ngaiba* or *okai*), or 'strong' (*koropa*—the same word is used for a warrior). One village constable, declaring—with how much truth I do not know—that he did not indulge in *jipari*, said that his head was 'as hard as a stone'. The heads of others were 'soft' (*saurapa*). But it came somewhat as a surprise when he went on to explain that the schoolboys who learnt readily were those with the soft heads. It remained doubtful whether resisting the *jipari* was with him a virtue or mere stony indifference. Another informant said it was better to be hard, he only wished he could remain as hard as he used to be. In the second place, one who finds continual *jipari* somewhat 158 of a strain or a discomfort, seems able to discontinue it 828 at will. One or two examples have been already given of 'resignations' prompted by the tiresomeness of taboos (p. 33). Another reason is the tiresomeness of the *jipari*, which is sometimes, to say the least, an ungentle pastime. Men have complained that it is 'too much like hard work', and that it gives them backache (vide also p. 67). Thus, even from the native himself, we have virtual admission that a man may submit to or resist the habit of *jipari*, and that he may retain or abandon it as he pleases. Again, many Taro men have with true native obligingness and amiability provided impromptu samples of the shaking-fit in such a whole-hearted fashion that the sham is not easily distinguished from the reality.

These considerations make it seem likely that a great 158x deal of *jipari* is sheer counterfeit—an impression which 794x all who see much of it will probably form. Moreover, when we consider the power, influence, and fame which attach to the Taro leaders, it is easy to imagine that many of the shrewder sort will deliberately assume the symptoms of *jipari* and will continually practise them in order to maintain their position. It is my own impression that a majority of those Taro men who *individually* fall into *jipari* from time to time are pretenders.

But we have seen that whole villages may be at times 158 simultaneously overtaken by the shaking-fit. With the rank and file who fall victims to the *jipari* in its collective form, I believe the symptoms are largely involuntary. In the first place, the force of general and repeated example might easily have the effect of provoking such convulsions on the suggestible and somewhat ill-balanced mind of the native. In the second place, after having yielded to the temptation of *jipari*—for such I believe it would be to a native—he becomes more and more prone to indulge in it. Such somatic movements tend toward automatic reiteration until the subject is exhausted. Thus it probably happens that at a Taro festival many of the excited

158 revellers are indulging in excesses which for the time being they cannot control. The reasons are, first, the power of universal example, and second, the sad fact that submission may become subjection.

With this third and very large class, however, the *jipari* is not a permanent phenomenon. The ordinary villager is prone to fall into a shaking-fit if others are doing so; but it passes over and, except that his power of resistance is probably weakened, leaves him little the worse. On the whole, I should make the same threefold division among those subject to *jipari* as among those subject to the Vailala Madness, viz.

1. Those who fall into the condition quite involuntarily. Some of these may be in greater or less degree 'Mental' cases.
2. Those who, for motives of their own, simulate the madness without giving way to it.
3. An important intermediate class of those who voluntarily induce the madness and, for the time being, surrender completely to it.[1]

To this I would add a comment which will seem obvious to any one who has often observed natives in the condition of *jipari*. As a collective phenomenon it is largely involuntary; as an individual phenomenon it is largely sham.

It will be necessary to revert to this question when we come to discuss the causes of the Taro cult and the attitude we should adopt toward it. The *jipari* in all its various forms cannot fail to excite our repugnance and certainly requires our careful consideration.

9. *The Taro Man as Doctor, Weather-Magician, and Sorcerer*

791 We have yet to see the Taro man in several subsidiary
756 roles—those of doctor, weather-magician, and sorcerer. There is a tendency in primitive society for many distinct functions to be concentrated in one person of pre-

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[1] Report No. 4, 'The Vailala Madness', p. 9.

eminence. When a man is credited with supernormal 791
powers in any department of life, he becomes an object 756
at once of admiration and suspicion; and he would be
more of a fool than he is if he did not make full and
varied use of this imputed supernormality. Consequently, if a man by virtue of spiritual possession can
prosper the taro, he can cure the sick and control the
weather by the same means; and, it is to be feared, he
can turn his gift of *mana* to account in other and less
amiable directions.

In respect of medical treatment the Taro cult has 753
brought with it a few innovations, though these have by
no means displaced the older methods. The Taro man 756
makes free use of old and new. There are, however, in
native belief several distinct sources of infirmity, according to which all ailments may be roughly classified.
There is, first, the mild epidemic (*yevi* or *baumi*) which is
regarded as a phenomenon of nature, brought by the
cold wind, and which usually evinces itself in a headache
and a fever. There is, secondly, a large class of ailments
due to the evil influence of spirits of the dead; these are
commonly attended by internal pains. Thirdly, there are 753
those illnesses caused by sorcery (*kai*, *inja*, *saruka*), which
have a variety of more or less severe symptoms. Now 756
the illnesses of this last category are in a sense incurable: 754
there is only one recognized way of curing the victim of
sorcery, and that is for the sorcerer himself to withdraw
or annul his evil influence. A Taro man will not treat
a case of sorcery-sickness: he acknowledges that he can
do nothing for it, and he has a means of diagnosis which
is as simple as it is infallible. He tries his treatments: if
they are not successful, and the patient is obviously dying
or already dead, he says, 'I am sorry, I can do nothing:
this is a case of sorcery-sickness.'

As for the first category, those of the natural ailments, 756
it appears that the Taro man will treat them with con-
fidence, though they are said not to be fatal, and may be 753
expected if left alone to cure themselves. It is with the

756 second category, viz. those caused by the spirits, that the Taro doctor is best qualified to deal. That the spirits 753 of the dead may afflict their surviving friends with illness is an old Orokaiva doctrine; that the spirits of the taro can do the same is presumably a new doctrine, associated only with the new cult.

753 The native goes in real fear of his dead relatives and in perpetual anxiety lest he should offend them and incur 775 their displeasure. This is probably the reason why a dead [784] man's garden is taboo to his relatives: they fear he may infect the products of it out of sheer malice. If a man ate a banana which a *binei* had touched he would fall ill; so also if he ate one of the *binei* animals, i.e. one on which the dead was reincarnated; or, indeed, if he merely neglected the offerings and the observances which are due to the dead.

X-794 In the doctrines of the new cult it was maintained that 753 a man might give offence to the actual taro spirit, and be punished by it with a sickness. Thus there were certain 776 varieties of taro, perfectly wholesome, which were made 784 taboo to the layman of the new cult. They were called *korepa*, or strong, and he ate them at the risk of illness. So again, according to Buninia and Yaviripa, taro might not be pulled without first consulting the Taro men. The taro spirits would be angry with one who was so disrespectful as to break this rule, and would enter into him and lay him up with a sickness.

It is not fair to pester a native for definite explanations of abstrusities. The dead or the taro may *influence* for evil the rash or irreverent, and this influence is felt to be a kind of spiritual possession. Just as the taro spirit may, in the accredited Taro man, be a fund of power, so in the layman who has rashly or ignorantly offended, it may be a source of sickness. We can only say that the native's conception of spiritual possession is not less hazy than our own.

755 The methods of the doctor are in the main directed towards freeing the patient from the evil influence. The

time-honoured practice of extracting the source of ailment 755
in some material form, e.g. by sucking it out, is practised by the Orokaiva under the name of *bara*. As I propose to deal at greater length with native medicine in another report, I need not describe this operation here. While commonly performed by the Taro doctor, it is, of course, as a practice of world-wide distribution, long antecedent to the cult. Another process, that of *bumbari*, or 'taking', is in universal use. This consists in massaging the patient toward the extremities of his limbs, with a peculiar plucking action. The masseur affects to be catching something from the patient's body and throwing it away. From time to time also he will blow violently into the finger-tips or into the ears, eyes, and nostrils of the sick man. This practice of *bumbari*, I am led to understand, was, like that of *bara*, well known to the Orokaiva before the advent of the new cult. The fundamental idea once more seems to be that of casting out or extracting. Mr. Holland informs me that he has seen a *Diroga* man actually suck an open ulcer on another—an operation for which he received some payment and deserved it.

The treatment, however, which is specially associated 755
with the Taro cult is that of drum-beating. The friends 533
of a sick man will invite a number of Taro men to attend him. There is the invariable feast and probably a large concourse of more or less solicitous guests. They gather about the house of sickness and unite their voices in the songs of the *kasamba* to the continual thumping of drums. The patient may even lie in the midst of the group. It is surprising that a man in high fever should not be utterly distracted by the noise; but it is said that a native likes unpleasant medicine: he puts more faith in it. Various explanations are given of the efficacy of the *kasamba* and the drum. Some said that as they made the taro 'get up quickly', so they would make the sick man 'get up quickly'. Apparently it was considered merely an enlivening process. I am informed that one magistrate, being overtaken by the fever, submitted himself by way

755 533 of experiment to the attentions of the Taro doctor and 'got up quickly'. Others, pointing out that the drum should be held close to the patient, explained that the taro spirit was enticed out of his suffering body into the hollow of the drum. After this the doctor should go to the gardens and beat his drum again, when the spirit, being liberated, would return to the taro. On the whole, however, we may rest assured that the drum is beaten and believed to benefit the long-enduring patient without any searching inquiry on the part of the drummer as to how it does so.

755 A typical example of clinical treatment has been described by Mr. C. T. Wurth:[1]

> 'Some time ago a man named Arai, of Koena Lakes, had a dream, and a taro named Porovi visited him and gave him directions as regards curing the sick. Thinking this might be a branch of "Baigona" I witnessed the proceedings, which were as follows:—A number of men quietly beating their drums line up in formation while two men go to the house of the sick man, carrying him out and placing him on a mat on the ground. While the patient is lying down his wife (or other relative, if single) places some cooked taro beside him. The men then dance around the sick man, beating their drums. Arai walks once around the patient, glaring at him all the time. When near the feet he suddenly stoops down, drawing his hands on each side of the patient's body, and throws something imaginary away; he then places his hands over the patient's eyes, then catching hold of an arm (one at a time) he draws his own down to his finger-tips, pulling each finger. The legs of the patient go through the same performance, and each toe also is pulled. After each limb has been attended to Arai throws something imaginary away. All the time the men beating their drums are dancing round the patient. Arai then catches hold of the patient by the hand, and pulls him into a sitting position—up to this time apparently the patient has been unconscious—the sick man then opens his eyes and Arai says, "I fix you up, you have food." The sick man replies, "I come, I have food." He then eats the taro placed beside him, afterwards stands up, throws out each arm, and kicks out each leg, thus showing, thanks to Arai, he is thoroughly cured.'

The *Diroga* men, with whom the spear is a symbol, use it also in the treatment of the sick. Dancing about the

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[1] Report by the Acting Resident Magistrate, Northern Division, in *Papua Ann. Report*, 1919–20, p. 63.

patient they thrust and withdraw quickly, or lay the 755
spear point to his body and then snatch it away as if
extracting something. Again, a Taro man may stroke the
patient with *Kandoro* leaves (or other *ba sivo*) and then
apply them to his own skin, or stick them in his armlet.
The express explanation in this case was that the Taro
man, through the medium of the taro medicine, was
taking the ill-disposed spirit from the sick man back to
himself, where it would do no harm.

These methods of the doctor are reinforced by placa- 755
tory offerings to the spirits. No uncommon sight is a 781
spear driven into the ground before the door of a sick
man and weighted with the valuable shell or boar's tusk
ornaments which are the Orokaiva's wealth. These are
offerings to the spirit who is causing the illness, and are
meant to buy off his displeasure. They are set up commonly
under directions from the Taro man, and in the
event of a recovery they are likely to become his property.
If the offerings be of no avail, however, and the patient
should die, the Taro man is careful to explain that the
ornaments are returned to his people.

The question of payment for the semi-professional ser- 756
vices of the Taro doctor is not an easy one. Very often
he endeavours to conceal the truth because he has formed
the impression that such payments are discountenanced
by the Government. It is certain, however, that the
taking of payment is a regular practice. It has been
pointed out already that the initiator (to use a set term)
commonly receives some reward from the initiated
(p. 33). The payment of the doctor is a different matter:
it is easy to imagine that it might develop into a system
of extortion. Sometimes, no doubt, with relatives and
fellow villagers, the doctor's services are given free.
One man assured me this was so, but afterwards, in
a forgetful moment, admitted that his brother-in-law
had given him a 'feather-hair' and a trade looking-glass
in acknowledgement of a cure. Seldom, I believe, does
the doctor send in a metaphorical account. Rather does

156 the patient make him a present, which he accepts, probably with no attempt to conceal his disgust if it be too small. A number of informants being told that the European doctor had a habit of rendering his account, replied that it was not so with the New Guinea doctor: sometimes his patients paid; sometimes they did not; but, unlike the white man, he was not wild with those who did not choose to pay. One old man, ex-corporal of police, said he was well enough aware of the white man's custom in this matter and intended to act up to it himself. Whereas formerly he had been over-generous with his skill, he now meant to insist on payment or would stand by and see the patient die. These protestations notwithstanding, it is customary to pay or reward the doctor. have no definite instance of out-and-out extortion, though I should be very reluctant to assert that extortion is never practised by the Taro man. As was pointed out, the native is shrewd enough to conceal what he knows to be unlawful, so that we cannot look for candid confession.

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It is natural enough that the Taro specialist should claim some authority over the weather. Although this weather-control is of small importance among his other activities, it deserves a brief mention. When, as so often, the afternoon sky is darkened by approaching rain, and the success of the feast is threatened, the Taro man will utter a loud inarticulate cry, a true note without rise or fall, and prolonged to the limit of his lungs' endurance. He may sweep the clouds back with angry gestures and cry *Wa doio*, 'Cease rain!' or *Hambujo, hambujo*, 'Rain, rain go away!' He may have medicines such as the branches of *Isuga* or *Esege*, which are scorched in the fire and flourished against the oncoming storm; indeed, it was maintained by some that without the medicine (which is likely to be a close secret) a man would yell and wave his arms entirely in vain.

Sometimes the rain is averted, sometimes it disregards the Taro man and gives him a wetting. A number of young men sitting in the *ba oro* were watching with

apprehension the increasing blackness of the sky. There 789
was a great accumulation of food in the village and the
guests were expected in the afternoon. The singing and 821
drum-beating of Taro men is itself efficacious against the rain. They sang and beat their drums with all the vigour of anxiety, and while they did so the mounting clouds broke over the village in a deluge of rain. This, therefore, was no ordinary rain, or it would have held off; it was the work of a sorcerer, perhaps it was said that of old Mendeambo of Bolagasusu.

As the Taro man is powerless to cure the diseases which have been caused by sorcery so is he powerless against the sorcerer's rain. His province is to deal with the rain which had been brought on by spirits, by the 'dead men'. I was told that to quarrel with a Taro man would be sufficient to bring about an untimely downpour, because the spirit immanent in him would be offended.

While the Taro man claims to avert the rain, I have, oddly enough, little evidence of his claims to make the rain. The drought has more terrors for the Orokaiva than the flood, and a long dry spell, with its attendant scarcity, is commonly ascribed to the malice of a sorcerer. Whatever the cause, it puts a check upon Taro activities. Despite its claim to succour and support the vegetable crop the cult seems unable to cope with the sun, its worst enemy as well as its best friend. One Taro man of importance made a naïve pronouncement on the case. When the sunshine and the rain both came in reasonable quantity the performance of Taro ceremonies was worth while. But when there was a 'big sun' for three months on end, what was to be done? How should they contend against the drought which ruined all their efforts? The ground was hard and hot; the young taro shoots withered and died. At such a season the Taro men might go into recess and wait for better times.

We may briefly discuss the charge of sorcery, which is 789
cognate to doctoring and weather-magic. While the 821
Taro man seems unable to disperse the drought, he is no 754

789 doubt often accused of bringing it on. It is not to be
supposed that weather-control belongs exclusively to the
821 exponents of the new cult. It is merely an old-time
754 institution which they have adapted to their own pur-
pose; but this purpose is not always wholly in the
public interest. It might probably be said that to the
benevolence of magic there is always a reverse or male-
volent side—sorcery. The native doctor is believed in
because of some secret powers, or some secret methods:
directly he uses these for an anti-social end he becomes
a sorcerer. It is unnecessary to say that the sorcerer is
believed to use his evil powers far more often than he
actually attempts to use them: he is a sorcerer more by
public opinion than by his own intent. But in this
credulity he has the weapon for terrorism and extortion
if he care to make use of it. A native doctor is a potential
sorcerer: he can strike as well as cure.

X-794 Even when he merely refuses to cure he falls under
suspicion among his neighbours. It was reported to me
754 that a certain *Baigona* man was refusing to treat a patient.
756 The informant—first brother to the patient—asked that
the doctor might be haled before the magistrate and sent
to jail. He had every confidence in the skill of the
Baigona man, and considered it a dastardly thing that he
should refuse to treat the dying man. Nowadays it is
admitted that *Baigona* was full of sorcery. But the
Baigona cult is virtually a thing of the past and witnesses
will discourse of it with freedom. With regard to the
Taro cult they hold their tongues, or guard them. *A
priori*, however, there is good reason to suppose that the
Taro men do practise a certain amount of sorcery.

X-794 One or two positive instances may be given in which
the Taro men were apparently guilty of the offence.
754 Quite recently the *Diroga* was brought to the village of
627 Aruruta, where it flourished with true evangelistic vigour.
Soon after the magistrate at Ioma was astonished to be
confronted by a whole round-up of prisoners from the
newly converted Aruruta, brought in by several con-

stables from the surrounding villages. The police brought 794x
a charge of sorcery against their prisoners, which was
naturally dismissed, while the officious but possibly well- 754
meaning guardians of the law were sent home in disgrace. 627
The incident which gave rise to the raid, however, is worth recording. A woman of Koninida, married in Aruruta, was informed that the *Diroga* men intended to 'spear' (*kajari*) her brother. She hastened to inform him and the other people of Koninida, who to forestall the attack enlisted the support of their neighbours, and descended on Aruruta with several pairs of jangling handcuffs. The spearing, be it understood, was as it were an immaterial but more than a merely figurative thing. The *Diroga* men carry spears, but they do not hurl them at their victims: they speak to them and bid them do the mischief invisibly. Then the victim is stricken down with a sickness.

A man of another village, who had been down with 794x
fever for a week, said he had been 'speared' by the 754
Diroga men of Aruruta. Some of his pupils informed Mr. Holland that they had been threatened with 'spearing' by *Diroga* men of another village. They explained that it was a 'spirit spear' which would make them die; and the pupils and their parents were thoroughly intimidated.

In the regular sorcery of the Orokaiva the agent affects his victim directly. The theory of Taro sorcery, however, is that the spirit (of the taro or the dead) enters into and injures the man who has offended it. The commonest way of offending the spirit is to offend the Taro man, to abuse him or quarrel with him, or to neglect to fete him in the proper manner. The spirit which visits or possesses the injured Taro man will enter into the offender and make him ill. Taro men alone can cure the illness by extracting or driving out the spirit. Thus we see the hold which the exponents of the cult have upon the Philistines. They have the powers of *kaiembo* or sorcerers (though they abjure the name); but they

X-794 754 shoulder off the responsibilities on to the spirits. The theory (quite commonly understood) is that the spirit will resent any disrespect or inattention; and that to fail in respect or attention to the Taro man is to offend the spirit itself in the same way; hence the punishment of sickness. If, as one informant said, any one abused a Taro man, the spirit would overhear and enter the body of the abuser. Such, I am told, is the explanation of the queer practice of universal hand-shaking. One must keep on good terms with a Taro man.

10. *Sects of the Taro and Variant Cults*

X-794 795 We have already noticed that in the course of its extension the Taro cult has undergone one very profound change, viz. from a worship of the taro spirit to a worship of the dead. But side by side with this there have been many minor changes corresponding with the multiplicity of new prophets and their inspired idiosyncrasies.[1] Such idiosyncrasies may or may not establish themselves in popular favour. Where they have done so they have given rise to more or less pronounced variants. In the first place, however, we might distinguish between (1) the 'sects' of the Taro, and (2) the variant cults which it is the purpose of this section to describe.

X-794 795 244 There are many varieties of the taro plant, each known by its proper name, such as *Kaiva*, *Porove*, *Ovivi*, *Togoro*, &c. On one occasion I listed as many as seventeen, but the catalogue was still, I believe, incomplete. Now any Taro expert will tell you that he is a *Kaiva* man, or a *Porove* man, or an *Ovivi* man, &c., as the case may be. The varieties of the taro itself afford the basis for a classification of the Taro men, and for these classes I have employed the word 'sect'. Thus each sect is known by the name of a particular variety of the plant.

X-794 795 In any one village the adherents of Taro will probably belong in the majority to one particular sect. This is

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[1] Vide pp. 36-7.

because the initiated is commonly of the same sect as the 794X
initiator. Although, as we have seen, the former usually 795
claims direct inspiration for himself, he is still in a great
degree indebted to the latter, and acquires from him the
ritual of his sect. Differences between sects are indeed
not very striking: the actual ritual of the Taro men is
throughout almost as uniform as it is simple. It is in the
various forms of *jipari* that the differences are most obvious.
In the scene at Korisata (pp. 20, 21) we have already
noticed the contrasted behaviour of several sects. Other
sects developed mannerisms, sometimes indeed going to
awkward extremes. The *Papara* men made a practice of
rushing aimlessly through the bush, careless of roots and
trailers. Frequent abrasions and injuries are said to have
cut short the popularity of this sect. The *Mereni* men and
the *Togoro* men would crawl on all fours, the former
wriggling their bodies violently, the latter beating their
foreheads on the ground. The *Pijama* men affected a
peculiar hopping movement, quite *sui generis*, but too
tiring to remain long in favour.

In some instances the sects adopted a distinctive mark. 794X
For instance, the *Togoro* men in some villages smeared
their cheeks with white ochre in two streaks, following 795
the line of the mouth. But such marks soon lost their 302
distinctiveness. Being so easily copied they became a
rage. One might see everywhere blackened foreheads,
shining as if with stove-polish; or limbs and bodies
smeared with clay, through which parallel wavy lines
were made with the finger-tips. But these had become
simply marks of the Taro men, without any distinctive
appropriateness to one sect or another. Sometimes, but 794X
very rarely, it appears that the particular sect concentrates 795
its attention upon the particular variety of taro after
which it is named: thus the *Kaiva*, *Kivere*, *Togoro*, and
Sinogu sects of Deunia on the river Kumusi declared that
they concerned themselves respectively with the *Kaiva*,
Kivere, *Togoro*, and *Sinogu* varieties of the taro plant. But
almost invariably the Taro man, whatever his sect, pro-

X-794 fesses to promote the growth of all kinds of taro, and
795 indeed of other garden products as well.

These sects probably have their origin in the early habit of changing the individual's name for a certain taro name. Mr. Elder writes: 'Every man was to be called by a different name, taking the name of some kind of Taro.' The habit of name-changing is a common one with the Orokaiva, and is an interesting as well as a difficult subject in itself. We may probably assume that in this case it arises from a motive of deference. As a feature of the Taro cult, however, the practice appears to have died out: probably it never established itself permanently or extended far beyond the seat of origin, viz. the neighbourhood of the lower Mambare.

The division into sects with taro names never seems to have possessed much importance, and is perhaps already passing out of recognition. We may regard the growth
X-794 of variant cults separately. The most important of them is that of *Diroga*, which has attained a very wide popularity in the southern part of the Division. The adherents of *Diroga* always carry spears, and are consequently called *ki-embo*, or 'spear men'. Some will probably disagree with me in calling the *Diroga* a variety or offshoot of the Taro cult, and will prefer to regard it as an entirely new movement. There are, however, many points in common, and the claim to prosper the garden crops remains the principal justification for the newer order in the south as it does for the original Taro. The most significant difference in regard to purpose is that in the *Diroga* the *curative* activities of the experts come into greater relative prominence. It is a matter of no real importance whether we regard *Diroga* as a new cult or merely as a variety of the old. I propose to give a brief account of its origin and of its distinctive practices and theories. The expression 'Spear men' will be used as equivalent to *Diroga* men, because the spear, though always carried by the Taro man in full dress, has acquired with *Diroga* a new significance.

Mr. Holland informs me that the Spear men were first 794X
noticed by one of his teachers at Ambasi, near the Opi mouth. Since then the movement has spread very widely in the Dobodura and Wasida districts, but we may remember that it appears to have had its origin farther north and nearer the fountain-head of the Taro cult.

The word *diroga*, common in one form or another to 794X
all the Binandele dialects, bears a number of meanings.
The fundamental idea is 'pertaining to the spirit of a 775
slain man'. In districts into which the new *Diroga* cult 196
has not penetrated, and where it is quite unknown, the word is nevertheless used for the 'spirit or ghost of the slain'. Among the various shifting conceptions of the life after death there is one (tolerably uniform) that the spirit of a man slain in battle differs from the spirits of those who succumb to sorcery or sickness. It has always this distinctive quality, that it travels aloft, not on the earth or in the water: it may take the typical forms of fruit-bat, fire-fly, or meteor; and it may be heard whistling or piping as it flits overhead in the darkness.

One or two other meanings are probably derivative. *Diroga* may stand for the *pona* or feast made by the relatives of a man *killed in fight*. Secondly, as Mr. Elder states, 'the word means vengeance or punishment'. The connexion is obvious: never a man was killed among the Orokaiva but his relatives thought of revenge.[1]

Now the *Diroga* man, like most other Taro men, is 794X
possessed by a spirit of the dead; but it is invariably the 775
spirit of one who was slain. That is to say, a *Diroga* man 787
is so called because he is possessed by a *diroga*. The 828
difference is fully recognized by leading votaries of the newer cult. They point out that one who is possessed by the spirit of the taro itself or by that of a man who has died 'in his bed' may indeed be a Taro man, but he has not the qualification necessary for a *Diroga* man. One or two examples will make this qualification clear. A man

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[1] *Diroga* (with a capital *D*) will stand for the *Diroga* cult; *diroga* for the spirit of the slain man.

X794 named Baiho was attacked by fever; he bathed, but his
fever continued; then he was seized with *jipari*. He did
775 not understand his plight until a certain *Diroga* man
787 explained it to him. His father Parata had been killed
828 long ago in a raid by hostile neighbours: now the *diroga*
of Parata was possessing him. Subsequently Baiho received a dream-visit from his slain father, and was presented with a certain kind of Taro named *Orori*.

Another man witnessing the dancing of a party of *Diroga* men, found himself under the influence of the shaking-fit. It was explained to him that the *diroga* of his slain brother was causing the trouble, an interpretation which a subsequent dream verified beyond question.

Another informant, possessed by the spirit of his father, likewise a true *diroga*, saw the figure of the slain man standing before him with his hands behind his back, just as the corpse of the victim is set upright with its hands bound to a pole behind it. Such instances could be multiplied. The *Diroga* man believes, or professes, with absolute consistency as far as my inquiries go, that he is possessed by the true *diroga* or spirit of a slain man.

X794 One or two of their peculiar mannerisms may find
explanation in the conception of the *diroga* itself. It used
516 to be their habit to strike postures, looking up into the
775 sky or into the tree-tops. This was where they hoped or
pretended to see the *diroga*, who always fly overhead. A recruiter informed me that the thrusting and jabbing with spears was directed at the spirits, which may be so, though I have no verification. One characteristic gesture of the *Diroga* man is a sideways jerk of the head such as a bather makes when he wishes to shake the water out of his ear. A native has given me a somewhat grisly
explanation. An *emi tataru*, i.e. one who has been done
[411] to death with the terrible *emi* or disk club, will, in his
immaterial *diroga* form, be continually jerking his head to one side to clear away the blood which is clogging his ears. There is a tale, as pathetic as it is gruesome, of a lad who left his sweetheart to go with his fathers and

brothers on a raid, telling her to wait for his home-coming, 794X
when he would marry her. In due time he came back to 516
the girl's house, far ahead of the others, to tell her that 775
the raiders had been victorious and to take her away to
his home. As they set off he bade her go in front, but looking over her shoulder the girl saw him jerking his head and stamping his foot, and finally noticed a trickle of blood from his ear. At that she became alarmed, left her husband on the track, and ran back to the village where she found the raiders bringing in his corpse. Real *diroga* jerk their heads, so should not *Diroga* men do the same?

The dance of the *Diroga* men has already been described 794X
(p. 20). With its swift advance and retreat, its dodging 535
and sallying, and its truculent, threatening air, the performance seems to reproduce the attack of the fierce Orokaiva warrior. No native has offered an explanation, but it seems that the warlike nature of the dance is supposedly due to the possession of the dancers by warrior spirits.

The spears have become an emblem of the *Diroga* cult. 794X
Many, if not all of them, are found to bear personal
names—the names in fact of the actual *diroga* which 411
possess their owners. They are in fact symbols of the 552
dead warriors. It is said, indeed, that 'the spears are 576
men'. This makes clear the practice of gripping or stroking the spear-point. The universal hand-shaking of Taro men has been referred to. With *Diroga* men it is customary to touch their spear-points as well as to shake them by the hand: this, I am told, is a salutation to the *diroga* which is symbolized by the spear. If a man neglect this observance he may fall sick, because he has offended the *diroga*.

It has been said that the profession of curing is more 794X
pronounced among the *Diroga* men than among the 155
ordinary followers of the Taro cult. The methods are,
however, the same as those previously described, with 754
special emphasis on the use of the spear (p. 60). With

X 794 curing, it is to be feared, goes the implication of sorcery.
755 It may not be without significance that the two or three
754 instances of implied sorcery which have come to my
notice are all associated with *Diroga*.

X 794 Within the *Diroga* cult itself there is already disintegra-
tion. The majority are *Ki-embo* because of their asso-
[411] ciation with the *ki*, or spear; but there are also *Gisbi-embo* and *Asivo-embo*, who affect respectively the *gisbi*, or pineapple club, and the *asivo*, or wooden sword. Concerning these latter I have only the scantiest information; and no more regarding a distinction between the 'Bush' *Diroga* men and the 'Salt Water' or coastal *Diroga* men.

There are several other more or less important variants of the Taro cult of which I may describe three, viz. those of the *Eriri* men and the *Hobora* men, and thirdly the cult of Manau.

X 794 The *Eriri* or 'Rainbow' men are numerous in the
158 Dobodura district. Some years ago one Aragata was
787 mourning the loss of his brother, and after the Orokaiva
[764] fashion was embracing his dead body as it lay on the *babara*, or exposure platform, before burial. When Aragata descended from the *babara* he found his legs unsteady, and was forthwith taken in a fit of *jipari*. In the course of this fit, he says, he became aware in some manner that his dead brother's spirit was the cause of it. Further thrills were in store for Aragata, however. That night he dreamt, and in his dream went in search of his brother. The search was fruitless. Aragata found no trace of his kinsman, but came instead to 'the place of the rainbow', where he met one Songe, a man of long ago. Songe (of whom my informant could give no clear account) questioned him and condoled with him, and finally said, 'I give you Taro' (i.e. I make you a Taro man); 'whenever you see a rainbow you will be seized
X 794 by *jipari*'. Aragata professed that the sight of a rainbow
always had the promised effect upon him, and further,
158 that the rainbow and nothing else could produce that
effect. Soon, however, he had an enthusiastic following,

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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YAVIRIPA
One of the originators of the Taro Cult

[Facing p.72]

X-794 and it is certain that his followers did not need a rainbow
158 to send them into a fit. The *Eriri* men carry spears and
have a more or less distinctive form of *jipari*: they grip
the spear and stand, trembling and dithering, for a minute
or more at a time. Other *Eriri* men, recognizing their
confreres in this condition, will come and shake them
by the hand. The aim of the *Eriri* men is primarily to
make the taro grow, but one witness informed me that
when he saw a rainbow in the sky he would know it was
the right time to go pig-hunting.

The *Hobora*, or 'Rooster' men, are widely distributed
X-794 in the central and southern parts of the Division. The
787 founder of the cult is said to be Garepa of Puhemu.
535 According to Garepa himself, his brother had died and he
was mourning, having in his grief actually imposed upon
himself a taboo on taro and bananas. In this condition
the dead man came to him and caused a fit of *jipari*.
Subsequently in a dream he met his brother on the beach
near Buna, and was informed that henceforth he was to
be a *Hobora* man. *Hobora* is the name both of the
domestic fowl and of a certain variety of yam. Garepa
was to plant his garden with taro and yams, and also
to perform a distinctive dance in imitation of the rooster.
The dance (of which he gave a demonstration) was a
good example of the Orokaiva native dance, with its
usual grace and character. Other informants assured me
that Garepa in his dream had actually witnessed a number
of domestic cocks performing their dance, but the prophet's
own account of his experience was less picturesque.
The aim of the *Hobora* men is once more to prosper the
gardens, though it does not appear that any special
prominence was given to the yam *Hobora*. As a proof of
his efficiency Garepa brought four immense taros to
exhibit at our interview; these, he said, would show
what he could do with his *jipari*. Other exponents of
[756] *Hobora*, however, declared that they were not Taro
specialists, but curers of the sick.

X-794 The Manau cult has been described by others (vide

X794 pp. 3 and 4, foot-notes), but I may give a brief account of it here for the sake of comparison with the Taro cult, of which it may be regarded perhaps not as a variant but as a rival. The originators were Dasiga and Bia of Manau, near the mouth of the Mambare, and the beginning of the cult was almost contemporaneous with that of Taro. It has been very plausibly suggested that the Manau prophets, not having received an invitation to the inauguration of the Taro cult at Taututu, were offended or merely jealous, and set up a rival business of their own. If this be so the competition was an unequal one: the Manau cult never achieved a wide popularity, and has long since become a memory.

X794 792 157 Of the two originators Dasiga was no doubt the real visionary. He is a man of striking and almost fanatical appearance, whose perpetual sternness of demeanour does not hide his real stupidity. He was formerly the village constable of Manau. Now he is a mission convert, and has adopted Christianity with what I imagine to be his characteristic intensity. Bia is a man of a different cast. My acquaintance with him is very short, but long enough to endorse Mr. Chinnery's opinion that he is a 'notorious sorcerer and a most plausible rogue'. He is a man of strong personality and magnificent physique, and to these advantages adds the prestige of his former rank of corporal in the Armed Constabulary. It may well be that he turned to profit the queer temperament of Dasiga; he saw the visions which Dasiga had seen, and entered into a spiritual partnership in which he supplied most of the brains. We might credit Dasiga with some sincerity, and Bia with a great deal of cunning. In passing I may record the same impression regarding Buninia and his collaborator Yaviripa—the latter a singularly alert, intelligent man, the former a visionary old duffer. It is significant that both Bia and Yaviripa were formerly *Baigona* men. X794

792 787 Dasiga dreamed and went up into the sky where he saw God, and received from Him certain instructions.

As he recounted them to me they were commandments 794X
against 'swearing',[1] theft, adultery, and anger, and two 792
positive injunctions—to be like the missionaries and like
the white men. He also laid down a form of service 787
which has been well described by Mr. L. A. Flint,
formerly the magistrate in charge of the Ioma District.
The only record of this ceremony is the rotting wooden
pillar in Manau around which the worshippers, led by
Dasiga and Bia, were wont to assemble.

It is to Mr. Henry Holland that we are especially in- 794X
debted for information about the Manau cult. He had 792
several meetings with the principals which are amusing
as well as instructive. On Christmas Eve of 1920 he was
in the rest house at Totoadari when Dasiga sought him
out and requested an outline of Christian teaching.
Mr. Holland willingly complied, and when he had
finished Dasiga said, 'I knew all that before'.

On the second occasion, at the old mission station of St. Andrews on the middle Mambare, Dasiga asked why the taro was not growing well. Mr. Holland made some suggestions of a horticultural nature, to which Dasiga replied, 'No, they say it is because of God's anger'. Thereupon followed a long theological discussion in which Dasiga took the part rather of a disputant than a learner. Rising finally to take his leave, in the very dignified manner of which he is capable, he burst into a volume of unintelligible gibberish. When he had finished he addressed Mr. Holland again in Binandele: 'Do you understand?' Mr. Holland confessed he did not. 'God's praise,' said Dasiga, and left him.

Some time after this Mr. Holland visited Manau and 794X
was met on the beach by one Bairi, a minor leader. He 787
was well groomed, with his hair neatly clipped, carried
a walking-stick, and greeted the visitor with an English 177
'Good morning'. He wished to show him a letter from
Jesus Christ, he said, and produced from wrappings of
calico and bark-cloth a stray missive which a neighbour-

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[1] I.e. abuse, wrangling.

X 794 787 177 ing planter had sent to the master of the launch *Misima*, asking him to call for copra. Explaining how he had come by this letter, Bairi said he had eaten a large pineapple, and that after (apparently as the result of a disturbance less terrible than he deserved) his spirit rose up into the sky, where he saw Jesus Christ, a white man with a beard. He was informed that ' something had fallen for him ', and having been conducted down from the sky by a ladder, subsequently discovered this letter. Mr. Holland was much struck by the man's earnestness in telling the story. Bairi had been instructed by Jesus to visit the Lutheran Mission on the river Waria, where apparently he merely announced himself and then returned. Jesus had also told him that he was to be ' the New Guinea Missionary '.

X 794 792 177 After this interview with Bairi, Mr. Holland entered Manau and witnessed a service led by Dasiga, who was seated on a box in the midst of the worshippers. The preacher rose to greet him but broke out again into unintelligible incantations, shaking his head, and affecting to read out of the palm of his hand. He would finish his incantation by intoning *Jesu Kerisu kaena-embo*, ' Jesus Christ the man for us ' ; otherwise his words were entirely meaningless. Mr. Holland asked what he saw in the palm of his hand, and was told that Christ's messages appeared there. Asked more precisely what the messages were, Dasiga replied, ' This must not be written in a book '. ' But ', said the missionary, ' God is open and hides nothing.' Admitting this, Dasiga (who must have been something of a dialectician) replied by a question : ' Where do your people go when they die ? ' ' They sleep, then rise again and appear before God.'

' Well, it is just the same with us,' replied Dasiga, and Mr. Holland abandoned further questioning.

X 794 158 There seems to have been nothing of taro worship in the Manau cult, though it was made plain that the prosperity of the crops depended on a proper observance of the new rites. The *jipari*, however, was as essential

a feature of this as of the Taro cult. Since the establishment 794 X
of the Mission Station at Manau (and later at 158
Duvira) by Mr. S. R. M. Gill, the *jipari* has died out.

One of the important beliefs of the Manau prophets 794 X
was that the *embo betari*, i.e. the dead, were coming back
to visit their living friends. Dasiga had seen in a dream 775
a fleet of steamers and canoes filled with spirits of the 787
dead and cruising off shore at night-time. Bia, and subsequently
two other men of Sananada (another village in which the Manau cult took hold), were favoured with the same vision. But at this distance it is not easy to discover the early tenets of the Manau faith: they are probably confused in the memories even of its foremost exponents. This is especially apparent in the matter of Kekesi, the powerful spirit who watched over Mitre Rock near the Mambare mouth. Although Mr. Chinnery could elicit a circumstantial account of Kekesi, his steamer *Kesi*, and his association with the rites of Manau, yet, after only ten years, the association seems to have been forgotten.
I heard no mention of Kekesi at Manau. To this farrago 794 X
of Christianity at Manau contributions must have come 797
from the long-established but distant Anglican stations
at Ambase and St. Andrews, and from the Lutheran 177
station at Morobe; and no doubt some of the aping of European habits was introduced by ex-police and indentured labourers. Nowadays, I believe, the village is wholly Christian.

11. *The Causes of the Taro Movement*

The observed facts of the Taro cult having been dealt 794 X
with it is now permissible to adopt a more critical or explanatory method. Its origin and dissemination have already been treated descriptively. In this section I propose to reconsider these questions and offer certain comments.

Cultural Mutations. The Taro cult followed so closely 794 X
on the *Baigona* cult that it is commonly said to have 'taken
its place' when the latter was suppressed. There is, it is 158
true, a very wide difference between their respective

X 794 158 doctrines, but they have one highly distinctive and important feature in common, viz. the shaking-fit. Since the shaking-fit is the very life and soul of the Taro cult (its doctrines being of comparatively small import in native estimation), it might even be maintained that Taro had arisen, so to speak, from the ashes of *Baigona*, with certain differences of only secondary significance.

X 794 178 However this may be, we have observed variant cults coming into existence from time to time, some of them showing but slight variations from the original, others differing so importantly as to become rivals of the original. We have marked the native medicine-man's love of independence and notoriety: he longs for the limelight, and there is always an element—large or small—of originality in his inspiration. It is not unreasonable to suppose that motives of jealousy, ambition for notoriety, and love of independence, may give rise to local variations of a truly original nature. The ambitious Taro man seizes upon a new idea and incorporates it into his own version of the cult. As it is surely unnecessary to suppose that these new ideas are introduced from a different culture, we may claim to see a movement growing and changing on its own ground, the seeds of growth being the chance ideas of its followers.

These changes are, as we have seen, often of a trifling nature. But they are not always so. We have briefly discussed the *Diroga*, the *Eriri*, and the *Hobora* cults, and have seen how considerably they differ from the original Taro. The cult of Manau is still more widely differentiated. It matters little whether we regard these as offshoots of the Taro cult or as independent growths; and it matters no more whether we regard Taro itself as an independent growth or as an offshoot from *Baigona*. In either case we see the sudden emergence of highly distinctive types.

Thus we find two kinds of development: one by the addition or substitution of trifling details such as is made by almost every new convert to the Taro cult; the other

by the sudden and somewhat revolutionary change which 794 X
gives rise to what we might call a new cult. These two
types of change present a striking analogy to the two 178
kinds of change in biological evolution—the minute
variation on the one hand and the mutation on the other.
(Indeed, to carry the analogy further, we might say that
popular favour exercised a sort of natural selection.)
In biology the importance of mutations has of late been
recognized. It is suggested here (without being indebted
to the analogy except for the use of the term) that a
theory of *cultural* mutations might be added to our
theories of the growth of civilization. I suggested in the
introductory section (not without an appeal to authority)
that native culture did not possess that degree of stability
or immobility which anthropology has usually taken for
granted. The evidence of *Baigona*, of Taro, and of the
variant cults seems to demand that we make allowance
for swift and important changes—important both because
of the greatness of the change in custom and because of
the great numbers of people whom it may effect.

It is of the first significance to remember that the Taro 794 X
cult has sprung up, flourished, and put forth its various
new branches among one and the same people—the
Orokaiva. If we conclude that Taro is at all indebted to
its precursor *Baigona*, we would have to admit that to
this extent it is an importation. But there is no question
that Taro as a cult, which is to all intents and purposes
a new one, came into being among the Orokaiva, and
that the variant cults which have been mentioned in the
course of the report likewise came into being among the
Orokaiva.

Now this people, occupying almost the whole of the [101]
Northern Division of Papua, is strikingly homogeneous,
not only in physique but also in language and culture.
The differences between the several dialects of 'Binan- [197]
dele', puzzling as they are to a European, do very little
to hinder the freest intercourse and conversation between
members of the various tribes. As for their culture, one

X 794 might fairly say that, despite certain local differences, it is in all fundamental points remarkably uniform.

X 794 177 The external influences which bear upon this civilization are not many. The principal sources of such influence are (1) the Government and the Anglican Mission, (2) the returned indentured labourers. While many new ideas are introduced from both of these sources and take more or less permanent root, it is not necessary to believe that they have given rise to the Taro cult and its variants. The only ways, I believe, in which Government, Missions, or returned labourers can be held responsible for the cults are indirect: they are at once unsettling and repressive. Whether intentionally or no, they have a destructive influence upon old belief, and they are not always able to provide an adequate substitute for what they destroy. Further than this, they keep native passions under and block their accustomed outlets. Under such circumstances the remedy comes from within. It is as if an irritant should provoke some strong internal reaction, or an injury should call for some organic adjustment.

X 794 178 Granting this indirect effect of outside influences, we may claim that the Taro cult and its variants are in themselves of original growth. If, amid the social unrest which accompanies or follows European settlement, there can arise the strange and somewhat exaggerated movements of which we have seen so many examples in Papua, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in other periods of stress there should have arisen similar movements. If this be the case we may suppose that native life in the past has from time to time been subject to sudden and even revolutionary change. Nor is it perhaps necessary to assume that such changes always take place in the phase of social unrest which accompanies the clash with another culture. However this may be, the evidence of the new religious cults of Papua seems to indicate that native custom is capable of changing itself in no insignificant degree.

This view does not, of course, preclude the theory of

794X 178 culture contact and transmission. The Taro cult and others of its kindred merely supply some evidence for the old evolutionary hypothesis which is supplementary rather than antagonistic to that of culture contact and transmission. To continue the metaphor again, we might, while making allowance for the gradual change of society by minute variations, lay more stress on the sudden, widespread, and important movements for which I have suggested the name of cultural mutations.

794X 787 158 *Dreams and Visions and Social Movements.* If we examine how these mutations have come about we find that in native theory, and as far as the Taro cult is concerned, it is through the somewhat bizarre agency of a dream or vision. Numbers of such dreams have been described or mentioned in the course of the report. The majority of them, no doubt, are sheer fabrications, designed to secure for the dreamer the credit of direct communication with the spirits. If he has lighted upon some idea which will lend a little individuality to his version of the cult, he will affect to have dreamt it. Then he publishes abroad his idea as if it were conferred upon him in a dream-visitation, and thus wins for it a supernatural sanction. Even when the dream is fictitious it has its effect upon the impressionable native who, as we have observed, is a firm believer in dreams and what they portend.

But there can be no doubt that some at least of the dreams of Taro men and others are genuine. Sometimes the visitation takes the form of vision or hallucination rather than of normal dream. The comparative frequency of mental abnormality among these natives has been remarked. It may be evidenced by trance or seizure, and any visible symptom is regarded as a very strong corroboration of the dream, vision, or hallucination which accompanies it. One highly characteristic phenomenon among the Orokaiva is the retirement into solitude, in which the subject lives like a hare-brained recluse, supporting himself on what he can find, and after

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his forty days and forty nights in the wilderness returns or is rescued by his friends. The native explanation of this curiously frequent phenomenon is that of capture or kidnapping by the spirits of the dead; and the crazy, but by now chastened, victim usually has some astonishing tale of his encounter. Such a case, no doubt, was that of the originator of the *Baigona* cult.

As for the dream of Buninia in which he saw the Taro spirits, there is no conclusive reason to doubt that it was genuine. The fact that he found it, so to speak, very profitable, in that it brought him so prominently before the public eye, is sufficient reason for his dreaming the same dream a number of times. One may as readily believe that the first dream was genuine as that the subsequent dreams were false. In considering the case of Buninia we should bear in mind also the fact that even in his boyhood he was admittedly subject to some kind of seizures. The seizures themselves would be considered to substantiate his dream-theory that they were caused by taro spirits.

In the two cases of the *Eriri* and the *Hobora* men, the founders were both mourning the very recent death of their near relatives. In such circumstances the native gives way to his grief in a manner which we would ourselves consider almost improper, and the distraction of sorrow is more likely to cause mental vagaries in him than it would in those who make a practice of self-control. Again, Dasiga of Manau is a somewhat erratic and ill-balanced character, and there need be no doubt that his visits to heaven and his colloquies with God were, in the first place at any rate, bona-fide visions.

Where such visions are attended or followed by trances, epileptoid seizures, or other visible signs of abnormality, they receive in native eyes a strong confirmation. Such bodily seizures are very commonly ascribed to spirit possession. Even where this is not the case they are queer enough and sometimes horrible enough to strike awe into the hearts of those who witness them. Thus the seer, the neurotic, and the madman gain a power and ascendancy over the normal by their very abnormality. 794 X 787 158

It is not by any means maintained that the mutations of culture have their invariable rise in dreams, sane or insane. But the frequency with which these have been put forward as explanations of the new cults makes it possible that they are at least to some extent the original source of them. If this be really so, then we see movements of importance based on the baseless fabric of dreams or even on the hallucinations of the insane. 794 X 787 158 178

The Spread of the Taro Cult. It was suggested that the spread of the Taro movement, rather than its actual origin, was a matter of practical interest. The general methods of its dissemination have already been described. It is here proposed to debate this question anew and to suggest reasons why the dissemination has been so complete and so successful. The matter might be considered from two angles—the acceptability of the cult and the susceptibility of the native. 794 X 182 178

(1) *The Acceptability of the Cult.* We have seen the reputedly conservative native receiving with open arms a very considerable change in his religious life. But we have also noted the newest or the most startling features of the Taro cult toning down so as to harmonize better with the existent cultural background. I refer to the way in which the worship of the taro spirits, an idea which is alien to native habits of thought, has gradually yielded place to the old-fashioned worship of the dead.

While this adaptation has taken place the general activities of the cult have remained the same. The feasting, the singing, and the placatory offerings are performed or offered with the same zeal, no matter whether they are in behalf of the taro plant itself or of the dead. The *iipari* is still indulged in with the same abandon, no matter whether the taro spirits or the dead have inspired it. This all bears out the view that, in native religion, theory or doctrine is wholly subordinate to action or

X 794 ritual.[1] And this view is further substantiated by the
182 general fact that those who carry out all the observances
of the Taro cult with precision and confidence are often
178 ignorant of or indifferent to its theories.

Furthermore, we must credit the new cult with a large degree of adaptability. It has conformed to native standards of hospitality—one might say prodigality; it has given a fillip to the power of the medicine-men; it has inspired the food quest with a new enthusiasm. It fits in, so to speak, with native customs and native interests. And what is more, it has never, as far as I know, been antagonistic toward existing ceremonies. (If it has interfered with these ceremonies it has done so simply by replacing rather than by opposing them.)

It is by virtue of these two facts, I believe, that the Taro cult has proved so acceptable to the Orokaiva. First, it is primarily a ceremonial, not a faith; second, it is conformable to native interests. From this acceptability of the Taro cult we might perhaps draw a lesson. Compared with its sweeping advance the slow and laborious progress of Christianity among the natives might be thought discouraging. It is true that Christianity is much farther removed from existent native culture than is the Taro cult, and consequently more subject to the hostility of native conservatism, so that it would be entirely unjust to make a fifty-fifty comparison. And it may well be that exponents of Christianity would be averse to adapting their religion too closely to native customs in order simply to make it agreeable. However, it is in this direction, I consider, that the best tactical approach lies for mission enterprise.

+794 It is essential that we bear in mind the emotional aspect
of primitive religion, and remember that unless religion
182 provides some emotional satisfaction it fails to fulfil
what is perhaps its principal *raison d'être*. The Taro cult—which is obviously enough a religious movement if we allow a proper wideness to the term—gives its devotees

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[1] Cf. 'Vailala Madness', pp. 58–9.

more to *do* than to think about, and it gives them what 794X
they like doing. Besides that it is intermixed with all the 182
pursuits and interests of their daily life. It is probably safe to say that native religions are usually associated with, or rather embody, a deal of ceremonial, of dressing-up, of feasting, and of high excitement. These things, which may seem mere frills and furbelows to those who follow a sterner creed, are in primitive religion of far greater relative importance. A religion without such attractions is hardly likely to be acceptable to the native, especially because it is too completely separated from his other interests.

Would it be possible or permissible to adorn Chris- 000
tianity in a manner more attractively, to exchange its sometimes too sombre habit for the gayer and more cheerful hues which are better in keeping with native taste? This suggestion has regard not to belief (for there is more than enough of fear and unquiet in native belief which Christianity can replace), but to religion in its manual or ceremonial aspect. A new native religion, like the old, should possess an attractive and engrossing ceremonial, and it should not despise the mere dressing-up, dancing, and feasting, but should actually incorporate them. If Christianity cannot condescend to employ such methods, if it cannot adapt itself so that the Christianity of the native is part and parcel of his life, in which he takes really spontaneous interest and pleasure, then in my opinion Christianity is not suitable for him.

No side of the native's life is more important than the religious and ceremonial side. This is so in his own estimation even more than in ours. That the native, whose civilization is so severely shaken by the impact of our own, needs care and sympathy in the rebuilding of his religion is a truth which all save the hopelessly materialistic will recognize. But religion is made for man, not man for religion. There are so many varieties of both that we might make due provision for their mutual suitability. While anthropology is not called

080 upon to hold a brief for Christianity in particular, yet we may presume that this religion will be supported by the most enlightened of those who are endeavouring to help the native. However, if Christianity is to fill the void in the native's life, if it is to renovate his decaying civilization, it must, I believe, take a very plastic and adaptable form.

X 794 158 (2) *The Susceptibility of the Native.* There can be no doubt that the most potent cause of the rapid spread of the Taro cult was the *jipari* or shaking-fit, and we have now to discuss the marked susceptibility of the native in regard to it. But for this *jipari*, despite the attractiveness of the new movement in native eyes, it might have languished earlier or been confined to narrower limits.

The *jipari* is in itself a very striking manifestation and one which would appeal to the native imagination, especially so in view of the prevalent theory of possession and the power and influence of the possessed. But it is not this so much as the transmissibility of *jipari* which makes it so important an agent in the dissemination of Taro. Metaphorically speaking, the shaking-fit is violently contagious. The manifestation has already been described both as an individual and as a collective phenomenon. We may look for its explanation both in the individual character of the native and in the collective character of the crowd.

The latter subject has been dealt with extensively by psychologists of recent years, notably by McDougall. The exaggerated suggestibility and imitativeness of the members of the crowd or mob and their unconscious or almost wilful surrender of self-control, are too well recognized to need elaborating here. If these characteristics become more marked under the influence of excitement, we can understand why they flourish so remarkably among natives, who are by general consent called excitable. Many similar phenomena have been observed and described, but for a collection of remarkable parallels one should refer to the work of F. M. Davenport called

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Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals.[1] In this book there are gathered together a number of instances from among North American Indians, Negroes, and Europeans in the New and Old Worlds. I quote at length several passages describing instances which resemble the *jipari* in its collective form. The first has reference to the Redskin Shakers of Puget Sound:

> 'The votaries of the new faith . . . dreamed dreams, saw visions, and were overcome by violent shaking. "With their arms at full length, their hair and arms would shake very rapidly. Gazing into Heaven, their heads would also shake, sometimes for a few minutes, sometimes for a few hours, sometimes for half the night." The shaking took possession of entirely normal people, but it finally became so extreme that it seemed likely to cast great numbers of them into insanity.'[2]

After describing another set of movements among North American Indians known as the 'Ghost-dance Revivals' (in the last decade of the nineteenth century) the author deals with the better-known phenomena of negro revivals:

> 'At many of the "big quarterlies" and the "protracted meetin's" which are held in the South, there are scenes of frenzy, of human passion, of collapse, of catalepsy, of foaming at the mouth, of convulsion, of total loss of inhibition, compared with the scorching heat of which the Indian ghost-dance seems at times only a pale moon.'[2]

The 'Scotch-Irish Revival in Kentucky in 1800' provides an instance of the same phenomenon among Europeans:

> 'Next to the "falling" exercise the most notable and characteristic Kentucky phenomenon was the "jerks". The unhappy victim shook in every joint. Sometimes the head was thrown from side to side with great rapidity. Again the feet were affected, and the subject would hop like a frog. Often the body would be thrown violently to the ground, where it would continue to bound from one place to another. Peter Cartwright declares that he had seen more than five hundred persons jerking at once in his congregation.'[2]

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[1] Macmillan, 1905.

[2] Davenport, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–4, 53–4, 78–9.

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Even the gibberish of Dasiga (vide pp. 75–6) has its parallels, being a manifestation of religious excitement which is common enough to be given not only a scientific name, *glossolalia*, but also a popular one, 'the Gift of Tongues'. This kind of jabbering was noted as characteristic of the Vailala Madness, when it was called '*djaman*' (German).[1] Mr. Chinnery observed in Dasiga's speech, while the gist of it was unintelligible, a mixture of several Binandele dialects. We may compare a case from primitive China given by Davenport:

> 'When the supposed "spirit" enters the subject, "the man's eyes close tightly, his whole body trembles, his hands and feet continually move, his hair loosens from the braid—then he begins to speak, and is able to talk not only in his own dialect, but in others as well".'[2]

The author explains that the Gift of Tongues, which has its biblical parallels, was probably always a natural, not a 'spiritual' phenomenon. A quotation makes the explanation clear:

> 'The "gift" was a feature of the first flush of Mormon fanaticism. . . . "Those who speak in tongues are generally the most illiterate among the 'saints', such as cannot command words as quick as they would wish, and instead of waiting for a suitable word to come to their memories they break forth in the first sound their tongues can articulate, no matter what it is."'[2]

Besides the facts of mob psychology, Davenport calls in the nervous instability of the individual to account for such demonstrations as those described above. This instability he regards as in itself primitive: 'nervous instability appears as a fundamental primitive trait;'[2] 'we may mention together a group of primitive characteristics, the chief of which is nervous instability, with its inevitable accompaniments of remarkable imitativeness and suggestibility and great lack of inhibitive control.'[2]

A more cautious generalization is made by C. G. Seligman:

> 'It has long seemed to me that one of the characters of those of the

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[1] 'Vailala Madness,' p. 6.

[2] Davenport, *op. cit.*, pp. 256, 7, 20, 18.

[facing p.88]

A TARO PARTY EN ROUTE

X794 more primitive peoples of whom I have had personal experience, Africans, Melanesians, Veddas and up-country Sinhalese, which 158 seemed to differentiate them from ourselves was their greater suggestibility (using the word in its psychological sense) and the ease with which they passed into conditions of dissociation.'[1]

E. N. Fallaize writes of the Malays and related peoples of the Indonesian area that they appear to possess 'a peculiarly highly strung and ill-balanced nervous organization'.[2] This condition has long since been recognized in Malaysia, but of late years investigation—particularly that of Czaplicka—has brought to light many other examples and reveals a very wide distribution for the phenomenon. Whether or no we accept the generalization that nervous instability amounts to a characteristic of primitive peoples, we can hardly avoid admitting that it is characteristic of the primitive inhabitants of Papua.

Before we are in a position to consider the practical treatment of those who indulge in *jipari* we may first debate whether the instability, with the consequent tendency toward *jipari* and similar manifestations, is (1) a racial or a merely primitive characteristic, and (2) whether it is pathological or normal.

As to the first question it might be possible to accept the generalization of Davenport (vide p. 88) with the reservation that the degree of instability varies with different races. According to Seligman the Papuo-Melanesians, though strongly extravert, are less given to ecstasy and hysterical dissociation than are, for example, the Veddas and many African Negroes. He regards extraversion as normal, and characteristic of this as of most other primitive peoples.[3] Admitting such variability we admit that the apparent nervous instability of the savage is to that extent a racial characteristic; and if this be the case it should be possible to determine which races are relatively stable and which relatively unstable. This, however, has not been definitely done, and in the mean-

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[1] *J. A. I.*, vol. liv, 1924, p. 14.

[2] 'Some Examples of Collective Hysteria,' *Discovery*, February 1923.

[3] Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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time, since the symptoms of nervous instability are so widely spread among primitive peoples, we might safely regard the condition as one which appertains to them mainly by virtue of their primitiveness.

As for the second question—whether such manifestations as the *jipari* are pathological or normal—everything will depend upon our standpoint. It has already been maintained that some of the most prominent of the Taro men are abnormal or eccentric (p. 54). But even with such subjects it is more than doubtful whether their conduct is considered morbid by their fellow villagers. It is not placed in the same class with madness or imbecility (p. 49), but being ascribed to spirit possession is viewed as transcendental rather than pathological. Czaplicka, writing of the hysterical fits of the Siberian shamans, says: 'This is one side of their nature, pathological from our point of view, but normal or supranormal from theirs.'[1] This, I believe, will be equally applicable to those of the Taro men whom we have seen to be eccentric or neurotic.

Regarding the mass of those who fall victims to the *jipari*, it is obvious that they are not abnormal in the estimation of the Orokaiva, but simply, so to speak, elevated. It is equally obvious that, considering the great proportion who have been subject at one time or another to the seizure, we cannot ourselves regard the condition as altogether abnormal. The tendency is apparently a primitive one which may vary in intensity according to race. We cannot fairly lay a charge of abnormality or morbidity against a whole race or people, much less against the whole of primitive society.

However, while we may look upon the tendency as a natural, or at least an excusable, one, we need not entirely condone it or regard it as unalterable. In so far as it is racial it is unalterable; in so far as it is primitive it may be remedied by education. We need to understand the native attitude of appraisement toward the

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[1] Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 319.

jipari and similar manifestations. While we regard them as pathological and horrible, he regards them as a sign of power. With him they are not a disease but a gift. As I pointed out in respect of the Vailala Madness, a native who falls in a fit is not ashamed of himself, but rather on the other hand pleased with himself. With ourselves there is a more or less strict standard of self-restraint. The native's standard is far lower. We may see frequent evidences of this in his ebullitions of rage or his prostrations of grief, when he is all too prone to indulge in self-inflicted violence.

We have, I think, given due consideration to the non-volitional aspect of the *jipari*. I now wish to stress the other aspect. It is probably true that we are dealing with people who suffer from nervous instability. To some extent they cannot refrain from *jipari*; but on the other hand there is no doubt that to some extent they could refrain if they wished. I would lay special stress on this absence of or deficiency in a standard of self-control, because herein lies the clue to our treatment of those who engage in *jipari*. If they could be persuaded that *jipari* was a shameful and ridiculous thing, they would be less addicted to it. To alter public opinion on this point is no doubt a difficult matter, for the occasional excesses of religious revivals show the possibility of relapse in societies far more advanced than that of the Orokaiva.

In the meantime, however, as native opinion is so markedly susceptible to white opinion, one might suggest that an unmistakable condemnation or ridicule of *jipari* by the white man might serve to discourage it. It is presumably a highly undesirable practice and should, if possible, be stamped out. It has been the experience of magistrates that firm methods can immediately put a stop to individual cases. As a tangible suggestion one might propose that *jipari* be treated ostensibly as a disease or form of madness, and that any man found practising it be removed to 'hospital' and kept under temporary supervision. The district jail would serve well enough as

X 794 158 hospital, though there should be a rigid distinction between those who were imprisoned for offences and those who, so to speak, were recuperating after a nervous breakdown. Far be it from me to suggest that their detention should take the form of a rest-cure. After a period of wholesome, and let us hope useful, exercise the patient might be discharged with a fair degree of certainty that he would not fall ill again of the same malady. His power to resist, or at least his will to resist, would be considerably strengthened. It would be necessary to use every care and consideration lest genuine abnormals be subjected to an undeserved and perhaps useless correction; but for the rank and file who give way to *jipari*, and with whom the cause lies in a mere lack of restraint, I think a term in the observation ward would be a very salutary lesson.

The Craving for Excitement. The low standard of self-control with its attendant lack of inhibition has been mentioned as a cause of the *jipari* which admits of a practical remedy. There is another cause, or perhaps rather a favourable condition, which may be countered with an equal chance of success. I refer to the native's craving for excitement.

X 794 158 177 We have seen that European influence is in some respects repressive to the native, and therefore, by blocking the way of old activities, may give rise to new and somewhat startling phenomena, in fact to what we may call social outbursts. The several ways in which our influence has exerted this repression are fairly clear. In the first place by the introduction of steel implements we have considerably reduced the hard work of the native gardener and left him with a good deal of time on his hands. Whereas he must have formerly worked off much of his surplus energy with repeated blows of a stone axe, he now strikes a few blows with a steel axe and his energy remains bottled in his bosom. A far more important consideration is the abolition of tribal warfare, by which he has lost what was probably his foremost

interest and what provided an outlet for his naturally 794X
fierce passions. Sir J. H. P. Murray has truly said that 158
these two facts—the introduction of steel tools and the 177
abolition of tribal warfare—have had a more telling effect on native life than has any other material influence for which we are responsible.[1] In the report on the Vailala Madness I made much of the decay or discouragement of ceremonies. In so far as this is taking place it is another important influence working in the same direction.

The activities which our native followed with the 794X
greatest zeal, or which, by their strenuousness, provided 158
an outlet for his energies, are now suppressed. He is allowed more time to idle about his village and brew mischief. The Taro cult comes along with the attraction of novelty. He throws himself into it with an enthusiasm which may well astonish us. The actual shaking-fit means a complete abandonment of self; it is the most novel and exciting feature of the cult, and it is not surprising that a thoroughly bored native should make an orgy of it. There can be no doubt that in the *jipari* and other excesses the native finds some satisfaction—senseless though it be—for his pent-up feelings.

If this be the case it should follow that by providing 000
some more sensible or attractive kind of relaxation, amusement, activity—whatever form it may take—we would profitably divert much of the nervous energy which is poured so wastefully into *jipari*. Elsewhere I have argued that if we would consider the native's happiness we must make what provision we can for his emotional satisfaction. He is now suffering from a lack of *joie de vivre*. He is not getting so much *fun* as he used to. The importance of that point may easily, I think, be under-estimated.

The older ceremonies entail no small amount of excitement, and provide a means of satisfying social feeling as

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[1] J. H. P. Murray, *Native Administration in Papua* (Government Printer, Port Moresby), p. 8.

000 it rises to a periodical climax./For the most part they are devoid of harm (such harm as there is in them might be expurgated), and sometimes they possess no small artistic value. It would be a pity if these ceremonies should languish entirely, as they now constitute a true native interest which is pursued with some intensity of feeling.

While one may advocate the retention and adaptation of the ceremonies rather than the substitution of anything for them, it is hardly feasible to make the same claim for warfare. A plain substitute is demanded, and no doubt the best substitute for war is a good warlike game. Football, with less of science than of rough play, hockey of the somewhat haphazard kind called 'shinty'—such games as these might enable the bellicose Orokaiva to work off his energy with no more than a little bloodshed. Experience has proved the popularity of games among the natives. It is perhaps only necessary to encourage them and give them a rudimentary organization in order to create a wholesome and interesting form of competition.

12. *Good and Bad in the Taro Cult*

X794 Before deciding what should be our attitude toward the Taro cult we may discuss some of its effects on native
158 culture. The physical effects upon its followers may be
147 dismissed briefly. It is apparently the *jipari* alone which is responsible for any noticeable result of this kind, and it may be that the ill effects of it have been somewhat exaggerated by observers. However, there is good reason to suppose that continued indulgence in the shaking-fit has a bad influence on the nervous system. This may be apparent in the weary, blood-shot eye and the rather vacant or stupefied look of those who are constantly practising it. Further, it is said in the long run to cause wasting and physical deterioration. On the whole, it is probably true that the frequent abandonment of self-control which is the characteristic of *jipari* must be a demoralizing influence and as such have an adverse effect on the system.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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794X 244 A more difficult question is the effect of the Taro cult on life and manners. This is naturally somewhat complex. We have seen that the ostensible purpose of the cult is to promote the fertility of the gardens. In reality the rites which are most directly aimed at this result seem on the whole useless, and in one or two cases destructive. However, it is likely that the gardens do receive some benefit from the cult simply by the increased interest with which it has invested them, and that this indirect benefit outweighs many times the small amount of harm done by such a ceremony as that of medicining the taro (pp. 42, 43).

794X 517 Those who travel in the Northern Division cannot fail to be impressed by the frequency of Taro feasts and functions. It would be wrong, however, to regard these as mere waste of time, as if the cult were making greater idlers than ever of the natives. It is in fact providing them with a new interest to which they devote much of the time that would otherwise be spent less pleasurably and probably less profitably.

794X 668 It is perhaps on law and organization that the Taro cult has the most significant effect, albeit a rudimentary and indefinite one. The voluntary acceptance of a new ritual, however lax, the observance of taboos, the necessity for probation, are all influences making for law and law-abidingness. More significant still is the elementary hierarchy which we have observed among the Taro men (p. 32). The existence of leaders in one tribe who are recognized by distant votaries of the cult in another tribe stands perhaps for a new idea among the Orokaiva. The absence of any political cohesion among and within the peoples of Papua has been remarked by others. It is conceivable that such a movement as Taro might give the initial impetus to some more or less spontaneous political organization.

794X 622 792 The emergence of strong personalities who attain to an eminent position in the cult may give promise of a more advanced kind of chieftainship than the very primitive

X 794 patriarchate which has been the Orokaiva fashion.
While, however, we may welcome these signs of an inci-
622 pient chieftainship in the power and influence of the Taro
792 men, we cannot deny that they are to some extent—how
far I have been unable to decide—founded upon the
obnoxious practice of sorcery. Incidentally the theory of
possession and the double role of priest and magician
which the Taro man is called upon to play may give some
colour to the theory that the functions of magician,
priest, and chieftain were originally combined.

X 794 We have already noted the mutual amity which prevails
among all branches of the cult, and have discovered cause
571 to suspect that it is based on the fear of sorcery (p. 47).
574 This general amity or fraternity, however, whatever its
basis may be, is not only a striking, but on the whole
a commendable feature of the cult. Clashes of arms—
part in fun, part in earnest—are still common enough
among the clans of the north; the warlike display at
the welcome of visitors which sometimes leads to these
affrays is in fact a regular custom. But although the Taro
parties are constantly engaged in travel and visiting,
I know of no serious quarrel between rival parties *qua*
Taro parties. It is not necessary to observe that, but for
the previous pacification of the Division, the Taro cult
could never have spread itself so widely in so short a
time. But it is still true that the cult is consolidating the
work to which it was in the first place indebted. In fine,
by arousing this elementary tendency toward cohesion,
by establishing the intertribal power of a few individuals,
and by advancing the spirit of intertribal friendliness, the
Taro cult has played its part in emphasizing the unity
of the Orokaiva. No movement of native origin has,
since European occupation, made the same universal
appeal to all the clans and tribes of this people.

X 794 We may briefly consider the effect of the Taro cult on
Orokaiva art. This art, comparatively ill-developed on
535 the decorative side, has attained to a high degree of per-
fection in the conduct of certain ceremonies. The

Orokaiva dance, with its characteristic mime or drama, 794X
may justly be called an admirable work of art. The 535
northern native is naturally musical, fond of colour and display, and built for graceful and powerful movement. These gifts he has developed into a somewhat rugged but nevertheless charming and even impressive art.

It cannot, I fear, be claimed that the Taro cult has done anything to improve or augment this existent art. The
chorus singing—always no doubt very crude—has [533]
evidently received an impetus, and appears to have taken on a new form, with the special feature of a distinctive rhythm (p. 38). A few more or less meritorious dances have been devised by different sects or variant cults. But in the main the activities of the Taro men have far more of enthusiasm than of artistic form about them. Yet, since savages are very prone to express their emotions in rhythmic as well as lyrical form, it is to be hoped that the ill-controlled movements of the *jipari* may in time be replaced by others that are more formal and artistic. It would not be surprising if, when the *jipari* has completely died out of fashion, there should survive some regular dances which, while distinctive of the Taro cult, will conform more nearly to the older and eminently superior models.

In the meantime it is to be feared that the new cult has 794X
seriously set back these older ceremonial dances. The 535
alleged decline of these in the Northern Division has been 796
discussed in an interim report. Among several other causes it seems that the Taro cult is mainly responsible for this decline of the ceremonies, simply because it has for the time being overwhelmed them. I may be permitted to repeat an extract from the above-mentioned report. It is to be hoped that the effect spoken of will not be permanent.[1]

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[1] As far as my knowledge goes there is no antagonism among the Taro men toward the old-fashioned ceremonies. Certain of the Taro leaders about the Mambare have expressly denied that the old and the new are in any way incompatible; and in other parts one

X 794 535 796 may see commonly enough a mingling of them on one and the same occasion. Indeed it is too often that a ceremony which, through generations of practice has assumed a refined and artistic form, should be interrupted and distorted by the excesses of a few vulgar Taro men. Regrettable as this must be, it serves to indicate that the Taro cult does not condemn the old ceremonies. For had it taken this turn it could have made as clean a sweep of them as the Vailala Madness did in the Gulf Division.

'In spite, however, of this neutral attitude, the Taro cult is probably responsible to no small extent for the decline of the old ceremonial dances. In these times the villagers find much of the social excitement they require in the feasting, singing, and inferior dancing which are features of the Taro cult, and also (though less now than formerly) in the various physical convulsions and
Q paroxysms with which its devotees are affected. Moreover, as constant feasting and entertaining are the cardinal points of Taro ethics, the surplus of food which might provide for a celebration in the old-time way is squandered, so to speak, on these minor entertainments.

'The constantly recurring "*Kasamba*"—the combined singing and feasting which is typical of the Taro cult—very easily supplants the older and more elaborate ceremonies for several reasons. First, it is a craze: every village is anxious to be in the fashion. Secondly, it is a craze easily indulged: a *Kasamba* requires no rehearsal and no preparation, but can be got up at almost a moment's notice. Thirdly, it is in a sense obligatory: in some places the spirit of the taro, in others the spirit of the dead (according to the doctrine which happens to obtain) demands these feasts, and the effect of them is made visible in the output of taro. The more *Kasamba* the more taro.

'It may well be that this modern movement, which of late years has so occupied the thoughts of the Orokaiva, is now slackening, and that the activities of the Taro men, already greatly modified, no longer entirely crowd out the older ceremonies; and there seems every likelihood that further modifications will permit a revival of these older practices, which from most points of view (certainly the artistic) are eminently superior.'

060 Having reviewed some of the effects—vague as they are—of this remarkable movement we may formulate in very general terms our own proper attitude toward it. That native life should be permitted to shape itself out rather than be completely remodelled according to European taste, is a doctrine more often preached than practised. We may, however, cling to the theoretical

truth of it, always making allowance for the exercise of 000 European authority in two respects. The native is undeniably under our charge: first, we must give him or show him such of our ways as will fittingly improve his own way of life; second, we must restrain or prohibit such of his ways as are absolutely irreconcilable with our own way of life, or indisputably harmful to his own.

Only the second form of interference need apply when we are discussing the good and bad of any particular part of native life. It will be necessary to weed out the indisputably evil elements, though even here we must beware of harshness or prejudice in ourselves. If we preserve a properly tolerant, judicial attitude we may find that much that seemed to accord very ill with our own standards is not bad but merely harmless.

On the whole we should make, not a twofold division into good and bad, but a threefold division into good, indifferent, and bad. In regard to the first our attitude should be one of active encouragement, even though the good elements we are encouraging be utterly non-European in character. For the second we might adopt an attitude of toleration: we should be ever on our guard against damaging native custom irretrievably, and we might be generous enough to give the benefit of the doubt. For the third we are compelled, in the interests of the native himself as well as in our own, to forbid. I may leave it to others to decide finally what in the Taro cult is good, what is indifferent or harmless, and what is bad, and will only suggest that to a sympathetic critic the middle category will appear the largest.

2: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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APPENDIX

(*Extract from a letter from Rev. E. Raff, Vila, New Hebrides*)

10th Jan. 1924.

794 On Santo, one of the largest and the most northerly island of
this group, we have had an outbreak of insanity very similar to
that in the Gulf Division of Papua. Some years ago several 'pro-
[792] phets' arose and caused great unrest among the people prophesying
a flood in which only the elect, i.e. their 'paid up' followers, would
be saved and promising resurrections and a ship from Sydney filled
with rice and trade goods.

A large house was built to receive these goods and on one occasion the people nearly took possession of a recruiting schooner in the belief that their ship had arrived. Every passing sail aroused great excitement and fire-signals from the anxious watchers posted on the beach. Emissaries of the chief prophet travelled far and wide over Santo and enrolled hundreds, perhaps thousands, who paid first pigs and later money, 5*s.* to £1, for the privilege and the promised benefits. In one quarter the plantation boys were convinced of the truth of the prophet's assertions, because, though he had never been to school, he could write 'language belong white man'. In evidence they produced a piece of paper scrawled with unintelligible marks.

794 Some of the natives heard that Ronovuro, the chief prophet, had
raised a dead cow and at one of the 'sing sings' (dances) a follower
792 who fell down 'dead' was promptly revived. But the promised
115 resurrections were postponed time and time again, and at last it
was given out that the 'whites' who were the cause of most deaths
(except old age) on Santo were also preventing the resurrections
and the cry became 'Santo for the Santoese' and ideas arose about
driving out the whites.

794 Credence was given to this idea by an old story which became
very popular. This old story told how, when at last a noted native
115 murderer was done to death, all his victims came to life. The natural
deduction was 'Kill the whites who have caused the deaths and the
dead shall arise'. About sixteen months ago I was on Santo and
things were then in a dangerous condition.

794 The culmination was a tragedy which occurred on the 24th of
115 July of last year. Ronovuro was holding a great 'sing sing' at
the conclusion of which the resurrections were to take place.
674 Probably it was decided then that the Europeans were to die.
A half-caste visited this 'sing sing' and was recognized by Ronovuro

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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as his deceased son. The resurrection bodies were to be white 794
skinned. The half-caste did not appreciate his adoption and took the 775
first opportunity for flight. In the middle of the 'sing sing' Ronovuro's
wife died and when all attempts to raise her to life failed, 674
he declared that a planter named Clapcott was the cause and must be killed before she would come to life. Five men were sent to shoot this planter, who was an inoffensive man, deaf and in a very lonely place. He was shot, his body mutilated and parts of it eaten. The sequel to the tragedy was that six men were condemned, three including Ronovuro were executed, three were reprieved, and a number of other natives are in prison for sharing in the loot. There is a good probability that now the ringleader is out of the way the madness will soon disappear.

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THE GARDEN CULTURE OF
THE OROKAIVA

[P. 105]
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THE GARDEN CULTURE OF THE OROKAIVA

1. *Introductory*

241 THE advocates of native agriculture put forward two principal arguments. Firstly, they claim it is the most effective way of developing the agricultural resources of the tropics; secondly, and perhaps more confidently, they claim it is the best way of developing the native inhabitants of the tropics. With the first argument this report has no particular concern. The territory has entered upon a course which, however full of difficulties at the outset, may, it is hoped, become a broad and easy path to prosperity. Time will have to decide whether the effort and money expended on the native plantations have from this point of view been well invested.

To the rest of the world, it is true, tropical products are a necessity; and it has been pointed out, forcibly and often, that tropical countries are in duty bound to produce and contribute their share towards this demand. J. C. Willis, for instance, writes:

> 'the northern powers will not permit that the rich and as yet comparatively undeveloped countries of the tropics should be entirely wasted by being devoted merely to the supply of the food and clothing wants of their own people, when they can also supply the wants of the colder zones in so many indispensable products'.

And again:

> 'There is further the ethical objection, that no country has a right to exclude itself from the general progress of mankind. . . .'[1]

The administration of any tropical country will obviously aim at a thorough development of its resources and a large export trade. But this is not the only or all-sufficient object of such an administration. There is another, of which it cannot be allowed to take precedence,

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[1] J. C. Willis, *Agriculture in the Tropics*, pp. 38, 39, 145 (Camb. Univ. Press, 1909).

241 viz. the care and development of the natives. If it were a question of choosing between these two objects, the development of the land and the development of the natives, there can be little doubt that the British administrator would give precedence to the latter. It is significant of modern opinion that in the Mandate for German New Guinea from the League of Nations the first definite injunction should be framed in these already oft-quoted words: 'The mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory.' Whereas the development of the land is a means, the development of the native is an end.

Happily, however, these two objects are not irreconcilable. C. R. Enock states the case as follows:

> 'The problem for the future development of the tropical lands which lies before the civilized world is . . . a twin problem. It calls for a system under which the coloured native races will fully and fairly enjoy the wealth of their native lands and the fruits of their labour, whilst at the same time the oversea white inhabitants of the globe continue to draw their necessary supplies from the tropics, supplies which their own lands can, of course, not produce, and to which they are geographically entitled as inhabitants of the common earth.'[1]

241 464 By encouraging a system of direct native production it is possible perhaps to solve these two problems simultaneously. But even granted that the solution is a successful one, there still remains what is usually called the 'Native Labour Problem', i.e. the supply of native labour for capitalistic enterprise under European direction. It is no doubt the business of an administration to forward the interests of the commercial element of the white population—in so far as such interests do not conflict with those of the native population, over which the Government naturally takes the stand of a protector. No influence, however, save that of economics, should govern the supply of labour, and no government should be expected

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[1] C. R. Enock, *The Tropics*, p. 438 (Grant Richards, 1915).

241 464 to act as a labour bureau. Consequently the only reasonable attitude for a government to adopt in regard to native labour is that of a neutral, or rather a referee.

The respective merits, from a strictly economic point of view, of capitalistic enterprise and peasant proprietorship are still subject to debate, and from that aforesaid point of view I am unable to form an opinion. But, to repeat, it is rather the moral or social aspect of the question which we have to consider here. While it is still maintained by many that the wide exploitation of native labour by Europeans is economically more efficient, nevertheless, if it can be proved that a system of peasant proprietorship is more conducive to native happiness and prosperity, then the latter system may fairly be given the preference of Government support.

060 From this aspect the case for native proprietorship may be summarized in very general terms. Firstly, the present writer is wholly opposed to the idea that the native should abandon his own civilization entirely in favour of the white man's; even as an ultimate end this is to be deprecated. The native's true future lies in the development, adaptation, and improvement of his home-grown institutions. If these institutions are to flourish—not remaining static, but changing form and colour with every advance which education and enlightenment can effect—then they may be expected to flourish most on their own ground. Indentured labour—reasonably limited both in regard to length of service and number of recruits—has an influence, physically and morally, for good. But exceeding these limits it has a seriously disintegrating effect, under which the whole fabric of native institutions could eventually fall to pieces.

Secondly, it is well recognized that the native, having been deprived of many of his former interests, now suffers from a lamentable lack of *joie de vivre*. The ever-ready suggestion is work: this is supposed to be the panacea. It is in fact not the complete solution, for all work and no play makes Jack, brown or white, a dull

010 boy; however, it may well be that work is a factor of principal importance in the solution of the difficulty. There is, however, one proviso: work for oneself is *per se* an interest, work for another is probably none at all. If we seriously recommend hard work as an enthralling interest for the native, it must surely be work on his own property, with improvements to tax his ingenuity and profits to spur his energy—not labour with a plantation gang at 10*s*. per month.

Thirdly, there is the question of wealth. Though profits from native enterprise are likely to be small for many years to come, it seems obvious that, given the hoped-for prosperity, the ultimate profit to the peasant proprietor would be greater than to the labourer. The former's returns might be smaller than the latter's wages, but they would at least have the advantage of being continual.

Lastly, there is a consideration of no small importance. Coupled with the declining interest in life which is known so often to afflict subject peoples, there goes a serious loss of self-respect. This sense of inferiority in the native—often unduly exaggerated by the harsh and contemptuous manners of those who have the smallest claim to superiority over him—adds to the hopelessness of his general attitude. There can be little doubt that a system of independence in property and labour would do more to sustain or restore the self-esteem of the native than would labour under the usual conditions of indenture. On the whole it may be conceded that, in respect of native prosperity alone, the system of peasant proprietorship is preferable to that of European enterprise and the exploitation of labour.

241 It is obvious, however, that native agriculture must not be left entirely to itself. Since it has existed for so many generations with everlasting repetition and presumably little advance, there is no likelihood of a sudden spontaneous improvement. The Papuan Plantations scheme aims at introducing certain new products to the

native and teaching him to cultivate them. It is hoped 241 that production will eventually reach a commercial scale, and hitherto experiment and progress have been made principally with products of an economic nature. However, the native in all parts of the territory is first and foremost a gardener: his work, his interests, and his livelihood are found mainly in the forest clearing which he plants with yams and taro. It seems that, quite apart from the plantation proper, much might be done to improve or correct the native's wasteful and primitive methods in his own vegetable garden.

If we would seek to improve native horticulture we must begin by understanding it; and further, it is not impossible that the primitive husbandman has evolved certain methods which should be encouraged rather than abolished. J. C. Willis, pointing out that there is hitherto no developed *science* of tropical agriculture, writes: 'The proper course is to find out first of all the actual facts of native knowledge in all agricultural matters, and then to work from these.'[1]

It is, then, with these ideas in mind that I give an 000 account of native horticulture in the Northern Division, in the hope that the ways and means of improving it may suggest themselves to those who are expert in such matters. The plantations scheme holds the promise of certain advantages to the native: an improved garden-culture may be expected to bring about—in different degree—the same results, viz.

(1) a betterment of diet and an increase of wealth;
(2) an advance in social civilization.

A final note: I have not hesitated to include in this report a good deal of matter which is not strictly relevant, but of interest rather to the anthropologist (or even the folklorist) than to the student of horticulture. However, no apology should be required for attempting to embellish a somewhat dry subject.

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[1] J. C. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

2. *Environment and the Food Quest*

133 The Northern Division, peopled by the Orokaiva, is one of the favoured regions of Papua. From mountain boundaries on the inland side—the Central Range on the west, Lamington and the Hydrographers on the south—a wide alluvial plain slopes very gradually down to the sea. A number of rivers pursuing a north-easterly course and running almost parallel, divide this plain at curiously equal intervals: from south to north they are the Girewo, Kumusi, Opi, Mambare, and Gira. Except for abrupt but shallow river terraces and a few island hills, this northern plain is almost flat with a hardly perceptible seaward slope. Viewed in the afternoon from one of the hills on its western border and dimmed slightly by a tropical haze, it resembles a perfectly calm sea, whose further margin fades unnoticed into the real sea on the east.

Whereas the foot-hills of the Central Range rise somewhat steeply from the level plain, those of Mount Lamington and the Hydrographers descend in a broad comfortable sweep intersected by ravines and bounding rivulets. Thickly populated and with innumerable garden-clearings, this piedmont area of the Northern Division is perhaps one of the most fertile and beautiful in all Papua.

But though here the soil is comparatively rich and well
134 drained, it is often of poor quality on the plain proper.
Sometimes sandy it is more often soggy and clayey, and
where the vegetation is cleared it will become in the dry
weather a hard, light-coloured earth—so hard as almost
to defy the gardener's simple digging-stick. On the
137 lower reaches of the rivers are stretches of sago swamp
of an extent not fully known; and along the coast belts
of nipa and mangrove.

By far the greater part of the Northern Division is covered with forest. Very extensive areas have been at one time or another cleared for gardens, and here the timber is lighter, and from the forester's view-point

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probably useless. In the neighbourhood of Dobodura 137
behind Buna and of Ambasi in particular, but sporadically over the whole Division, are to be seen wide stretches of grass country,[1] very beautiful with their copses and belts of wood, but at present entirely unproductive, save that they harbour a good deal of game which is hunted at the annual burning.

The climate in the Northern Division is not worse 132
than elsewhere in Papua. The two seasons are well enough defined though the accepted names 'South-East' and 'North-West' are scarcely applicable in this part of the territory. Indeed, the interior of the forest-covered plains seems seldom visited by strong winds from any quarter, and on either side of the track high trees will stand in an almost absolute stillness. When occasionally some overhead wind swoops down, it may do so with great violence, overthrowing the shallow-rooted trees or tearing down a litter of feebly-resisting branches.

The natives call the South-East season *Tavira*, because 132
it is first announced by the scarlet blossoming of the 805
Tavira tree, one of many that blush unseen by an unobservant European. It is a season of comparatively dry clear weather, sometimes of drought; of many brilliant days and star-lit nights, when one may be glad of a blanket; of dry tracks and transparent, fordable streams. The North-West they call *Taperi*. This is the time of rains and plenty. The nuts of the *Tauga*, which blossomed at the beginning of the South-East, begin to fall. The weather is more oppressive and almost every evening the thunder is rumbling in the valleys of the range. The rain comes down towards evening, there are heavy falls in the mountains, and the rivers are brown and swollen.

The river may rise with extraordinary swiftness. 133
Splashing over a shallow bed of rocks and pebbles, or pausing in some quiet pool overhung by trees but

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[1] The grass referred to (*Imperata arundinacea*) is commonly known in Papua as *Karobara*, or 'pale grass'. It is presumably identical with *alangalang* and grows to a height of 5 feet or more.

133 illuminated to its depths by a broad shaft of sunshine, no more charming stream could be imagined than the upper Opi in dry weather. But if overnight the thunder has been very loud in the hills, the next morning may see the Opi a brown swirling flood, bearing along uprooted trees and piling them one upon another against every obstacle. It will soon overflow its deep banks, and the surrounding bush is submerged and impassable. One may be astonished, passing along a dry track some few days after such a flood, to find a raft or canoe left high and dry among the trees, or to see, head-high on the trunks and leaves, traces of mud left by the last inundation.

The water will subside rapidly with very little damage done. The occasional flood is rather welcomed than feared, for it is the hunter's opportunity. The small [224] game of the forest—rats, hedgehogs, the little marsupial called *Aisi*—are driven from their shelters and are easy prey for the native dogs. There are shallow depressions and hollows which in flood-time become water-courses, [226] and in these men and women are using their scoop-nets or setting their cage-like traps for the insignificant fish which are making their way back to the river with the falling water. Last and least there are the frogs who 'come down from the trees' in the flood-time, to be finally caught in the hands of the women. Sometimes the flood does some damage in the garden; but the water rises and falls so quickly and withal so steadily that it does little actual violence, and the taro seems quite able to survive a submergence. On the whole we are prone to over-estimate the ill effects of the flood in this district.

132 262 A far more serious affliction is the occasional drought. After a long spell of fine weather the garden ground becomes dry and hard; the taro leaves droop and the young shoots die off. Even the swamps subside and sago-making is made difficult by lack of water. The hunting of small game and the fishing in creeks are hindered. The result of all this may be a real scarcity. To eke out their supplies the people will have recourse to fern fronds,

edible leaves, and roots gathered in the bush, and will fall 132 back on sago, which is plentiful by the coast but rare in 262 the interior. Though there is sometimes scarcity and a certain amount of hardship, these are never, I believe, very prolonged; and they never approach to genuine famine.

Dry weather, like wet weather, may, when it is inconvenient, 132 be ascribed to the machinations of a sorcerer. If 789 a man go a journey and be overtaken by torrents of rain 821 which compel him to build a bush shelter and wait, he is likely to say, 'My enemy so-and-so must have done this; he knew I wished to travel.' So when the fine weather lasts so long as to become a plague, people will bethink themselves of some sinister old man and say, 'he has made sun medicine and is keeping the bamboo "bottle" in the heat over his fire.' The people of 'Wire Rope' on the river Kumusi had a singular reputation (which they were perhaps careful to maintain) for sun-magic. There are many rain-makers and many methods of rain-making. Where the dry weather is a mere whim of Nature's, they will avail; where it is the result of sorcery, they can do nothing. At any rate the long dry spell is unwelcome weather to the Orokaiva.

Before proceeding to the principal occupation and 224 support of the people, viz. gardening, one may dismiss with a brief mention the other phases of the food quest.

As hunters the Orokaiva are always opportunists. No man travels through the real bush without his spears and his dog, if he possess one. He is extraordinarily alert to detect his game, be it bush-pig, rat, or lizard, and will spare himself no trouble to capture the most insignificant quarry. Communally he hunts with the long net, into which the pig or wallaby is driven through the bush by a semicircle of beaters, while some stand ready behind the net with their spears. The grass plains are burnt off yearly, and yield a variety of game, from pigs and pythons to ground-rats.

The common hunting-traps are (1) *Bagi*, in which the unsuspicious pig, nosing at his bait of sago pith, releases

224 a trigger and lever and brings down a weight of logs
on his back; (2) *Hoto*, a concealed pit, the bottom of
which is abristle with spear-points; and (3) *Kombu bagi*,
a close array of sloping spear-points on the inner side of
a gap in the garden fence, so called because the pig,
having leapt unwarily through the gap, finds himself
transfixed through the *kombu*, or liver. There is an in-
genious trap known as *Ibive* for small wallabies, consisting
of a noose, a sapling bent to the ground, and a trigger.
The trigger is released, the sapling springs upright, and
the wallaby is, or ought to be, dangling in the noose.
There are many other interesting methods which cannot
[262] be described here of catching cuscus, bats, rats, birds,
and lizards, all such creatures being held at their proper
value as diet by the Orokaiva.

231 The native is of course a pig-keeper, and one who is
constantly obtaining fresh recruits for domestication in
262 the shape of captive sucking-pigs from the bush. But
pigs are meant for feasts and ceremonies; there is no
regular supply of butcher's meat. When all is said and
done, meat food is to the Orokaiva, like many another
keen hunter, rather a dainty than a diet.

227 In fishing there is some variety of methods. The
inland people rely mainly on various forms of scoop-nets
which are used in shallow creeks. They also poison fish
with the plant known as 'New Guinea Dynamite'. The
river people use in addition a kind of stationary trap
called *sirava*, and the coast dwellers, besides all these, have
the common triangular hand-net *yako* and a drag-net
komboru. In fishing, as in hunting, there are many other
contrivances which cannot be dealt with here. On the
whole (except in the case of the coastal people) it is of
minor importance as a means of subsistence.

262 Another resource of much greater importance is sago.
The river people, i.e. principally the Binandele, who live
along the lower reaches of the Gira, Mambare, and
Kumusi, have almost inexhaustible supplies to draw
upon; and, except among the bush dwellers in the south-

western part of the Division, it cannot be said that sago 262
is anywhere scarce. The mode of preparation is simple 252
and expeditious: it consists in kneading and watering
the pith which has been scraped from the trunk, in allow-
ing the sago to be carried off in suspension, and in leaving
it to settle in a trough. The apparatus is prepared almost
wholly from parts of the sago palm itself, and, except for
the scraper and a strainer or sieve of coco-nut fibre, may
be extemporized on the spot. The finished product is
known as 'wet' sago, being a solid block of which the
surface is hardened and glazed by scorching. The natives
do not find it necessary to dry the product for their own
use, and probably know nothing of the process. In the 423
inland districts where the trees are sometimes indivi- 245
dually owned sago is highly prized, and young palms,
I am told, may be transplanted. In the large swamps the
system is one of clan ownership, and as far as I know
there is no sort of culture of the palms.

As a collector the Orokaiva is again an opportunist. 222
Only in time of scarcity, it would appear, does he or his 262
wife go out expressly to gather fern fronds and leaves—
the pidgin English 'cabbage'; but wherever he goes he
keeps his eye open for food—honey (for which he will
fell a tree and smoke out the bees), clusters of somewhat
insipid wild figs, nuts, snails, even a nest of flying ants.

He has certain trees, however, which afford a regular 137
supply of food, viz. bread-fruit in several varieties, the 262
Tauga nut, and the cycad *Puga*. The bush does not abound
in fruit: of the numerous representatives of the genus
Ficus only a few are edible, none very tempting, and the
wild mango is comparatively rare. [There are some
poisonous fruits and plants, chief among them the creeper
called 'New Guinea Dynamite', used by the natives for
fishing and suicides.] But they have definite opinions as
to what may be eaten and what must be left alone, being
presumably brought up to this knowledge. [I have seen
a little child scolded for mouthing a leaf of 'New
Guinea Dynamite' growing in the village.] Although

137 edible fruits are rare, there is a very fine red or yellow
262 ball called *Hega* which is plentiful and which annoys the
thirsty traveller by its resemblance to an orange. It is
in fact, as the natives say, only food for devils.

3. *Garden Products: their Introduction and Distribution*

244 The products of native horticulture in the Northern Division may be roughly classified. The list opposite is fairly complete in the more important items.

In addition to the list there are some garden herbs
and plants used as spinach, or flavouring to the cooked
taro. The native names of the most important, as far as
I know them, are *Ombi*, *Taramu*, and *Nyaditi*. Lastly,
247 there is a list of ornamental plants—croton in countless
varieties, striated dracaena, crimson amaranth, and flame-coloured or magenta coxcombs—which add much to the brightness and charm of a village or a sunny garden-clearing, and which have in some cases a magical as well as an ornamental value; and besides these a number of scented plants which a native loves for their own sake and for the seductive fragrance which is meant to make him an irresistible lover.

244 If we select the products which are of real importance
to the Orokaiva they will make a much shorter list. They
245 are taro (the staple diet), yams, and sweet potatoes (both
of them no more than subsidiary), *ina* and sugar-cane,
bananas and plantains, coco-nut and betel palms.

The Orokaiva are essentially taro people. The plant
244 is grown universally and in a great number of varieties.[1]
It is easily cultivated, nutritious, and, prepared by a
native housewife, very appetizing. The cook's habit of
252 spraying condiments out of her mouth over the pot may
daunt the inquisitive European who would otherwise
be willing to sample her work, but there is no denying

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[1] I have the names of seventeen varieties, distinguishable by various properties of leaf, stalk, tuber, &c. There are no doubt many more. Codrington notes the great variety of taro. Of yams, incidentally, he listed no less than eighty varieties in the small island of Mota (Codrington, *Melanesians*, pp. 304, 319).

2: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

9	*European Name.*	*Native Name.*	*Remarks.*
Tuberous	Manioc*	*Maniota*	Very rare among Orokaiva.
	Sweet potato	*Geroia*	
	Taro	*Ba*	
	Yam	*Kai*	
Graminaceous	*Ina*	*Ina*	An *Andropogon*
	Maize*	' *Koni* ', *Komona Kuku-ta-pije*	
	Sugar-cane	*Jou* (*Dou*)	
Cucurbitaceous	Cucumber	?	Indigenous
	Gourd	*Sigi* (*Tigi*)	
	Pumpkin*	*Pumpkin*, *Batana*	
	Water-melon*	—	
Miscellaneous fruits, &c.	Bananas and plantains	*Pije* (*Bido*)	
	Pineapples*	—	
	Tomatoes*	—	Rare
Narcotics, &c.	Betel pepper	*Hingi* (*Kingi*)	*Piper betle*
	Tobacco	*Orokaiva*, *Kaiva Kuku*, *Soka*, *&c.*	
Cultivated trees and palms	Areca	*Sa* (*Da*)	Betel-nut palm
	Coco-nut	*Bu* (*Mutari*)	
	Lime*	*Siporo*	
	Mandarin*	—	Rare
	Mango*	*Ewa*	Rare
	Orange*	—	Rare
	Papaw*	' *Popo* ', *Bitani*	
Valued trees, palms, &c.	Bark-cloth tree	*Ajimo*	Sometimes planted
	Bread-fruit	*Oga* and *Eumba*	Sometimes planted
	Fig	*Jonga*	
	Hombari	*Hombari*	?
	Mango (wild)	*Ewa*	
	Pandanus	*Monga*	Used for fibre
	Pandanus (fruiting)	*Onja*	
	Puga	*Puga*	*Cycas media*
	Okari	*Tanga*	*Terminalia Okari*

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* The plants marked with an asterisk are of European introduction.

252 that a plate of firm morsels, the size of potatoes, impregnated with the juices of savory leaves and set off with a few scraps of fish or dried iguana, presents at least a sufficiently attractive *tout ensemble*.

244 The relative distributions of the taro and the yam are interesting. Whereas among the mountain people of the Hydrographers and the Koiaris of the Central Range the yam is probably the mainstay of existence, its place is taken by the taro among the Orokaiva plainsmen. In the piedmont country of Sangara, Isivita, and Hunjara the yam is grown extensively side by side with the taro, and the same is true among the tribes immediately north of the Hydrographers and Lamington foot-hills. By the time one has gone north as far as the Aiga people of the middle Opi, however, the yam-houses are no longer seen in the villages, and the yam has become a product of minor importance; and it continues so throughout the north of the Division. There is no reason, as far as I know, why the yam should not flourish on the plains, and the distribution presumably is not climatic but cultural.

773 So it might appear from a well-known story of the Orokaiva./ In the hills to the southward there was a hole in the rocks, first discovered, according to one version of the legend, by the pecking of birds. Out of this hole, once opened, there issued a number of men bringing with them certain habits and possessions which they have distinctively retained. The first to emerge were the Orokaiva, who brought up the taro besides the other garden products—bananas, sugar-cane, and so forth. After them came the Kaume, or Managalasi, who wore numerous long pigtails, bound with bark. But as their forerunners had appropriated all the taro, they had to be content, for the main support of their existence, with yams.

This is merely the northern version of the legend. On its own ground, namely the southern slopes of the Hydrographers, it is told with greater detail, and they will even show the identical hole, I believe, somewhere on the Bariji river. It is said to be deep like a well, and some folk still live down there who have never succeeded in reaching the earth's surface. If you fling a stone down they will call up from below in protest, and sometimes it is said you may even hear the crowing of subterranean roosters, which proves beyond doubt the presence of human beings.

Another tale—on which one might place a convenient construction—was told among the Aiga. A man named Gause came out of a hole in the ground and built himself a house where he lived alone. But he had a drum and a *bui*, or trumpet, and would be continually beating the drum, blowing the trumpet, and singing to himself. The surrounding people from curiosity went to see him, and as they found his music an annoyance, burnt his house, and killed him. Then they broke his bones and cut his body in pieces, and the women cooked him in their pots. But Gause boiled quite away, and instead of good toothsome junks of meat they found to their disgust only soup and bubbles. Despite this treatment the spirit of Gause survived and, in some manner reincarnated, built his house anew and recommenced his noxious singing and drum-beating. Once again despoiled, dismembered, and boiled by his neighbours, the contrary Gause fell away to a mawkish liquid. Thus several times they killed their resurrected victim and dealt with his body in the customary manner of cannibals, but always with the same disappointing result; until at last they made him fast to a long rattan and lowered him into the deep crocodile-haunted water of the creek Elaga that finds the Opi, saying, 'Maybe he will turn into a crocodile, maybe not; anyhow we will let him down.' And the crocodiles came and tore him to bits under the water, and that made a real end of him, so that the annoyance of his drum-beating and trumpet-blowing ceased at last.

In most of these fables the hero plays a thoroughly human part, and in this one Gause is a man. But, as my informants volunteered, quite innocent of the connexion which may or may not exist, Gause is also the name of

773 a yam. Now yams are best roasted; if boiled, they must be boiled with care, or they resolve themselves into a watery mash. The Orokaiva like their taro in firm lumps, and perhaps they would be ill disposed towards a new kind of food whose consistency was so little to their taste.

244 On the whole we may reasonably associate the taro with the Orokaiva, and the yam with the mountain peoples on the south and south-west; the commonness of yams among the southern Orokaiva tribes is no doubt due to a gradual infiltration. Communication between the plainsmen and the mountaineers seems to have been principally in this quarter, viz. with the Biagi, and to some extent the Managalasi. It is not improbable that the sweet potato (*Keroia*) has come from the same source: although grown quite extensively now over the whole Division, it is not held in very high favour, and, like the yam, is likely to remain wholly subordinate to the taro.

249 177 There can be no doubt that several other products have found their way into the Orokaiva plains through this avenue, and that they were established before the advance of the white man into the Division. The principal among them is native tobacco. This is widely distributed among the Orokaiva, though nowhere grown in great quantity. It has evidently preceded the coming of the European by only a generation or two at the most (for the names of agents in its disposal are well remembered), and all informants have been in agreement as to the route it has taken, viz. from the non-Binandele-speaking Isurava or Biagi people in the neighbourhood of Kokoda, down to Oivi and Papangi; thence to the Kumusi and (within living memory) to the Aiga people of the middle Opi; and thence again to the true Binandele of the Mambare and the lower Kumusi.

249 Tobacco, as an unfamiliar product, is known by a variety of names, such as *Hajojo* and *Tonaki*, from the resemblance of its leaf to those of the *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* trees; *Soka*, a word of doubtful meaning; and *Kuku*, said to be a pre-white-man expression in the north. The

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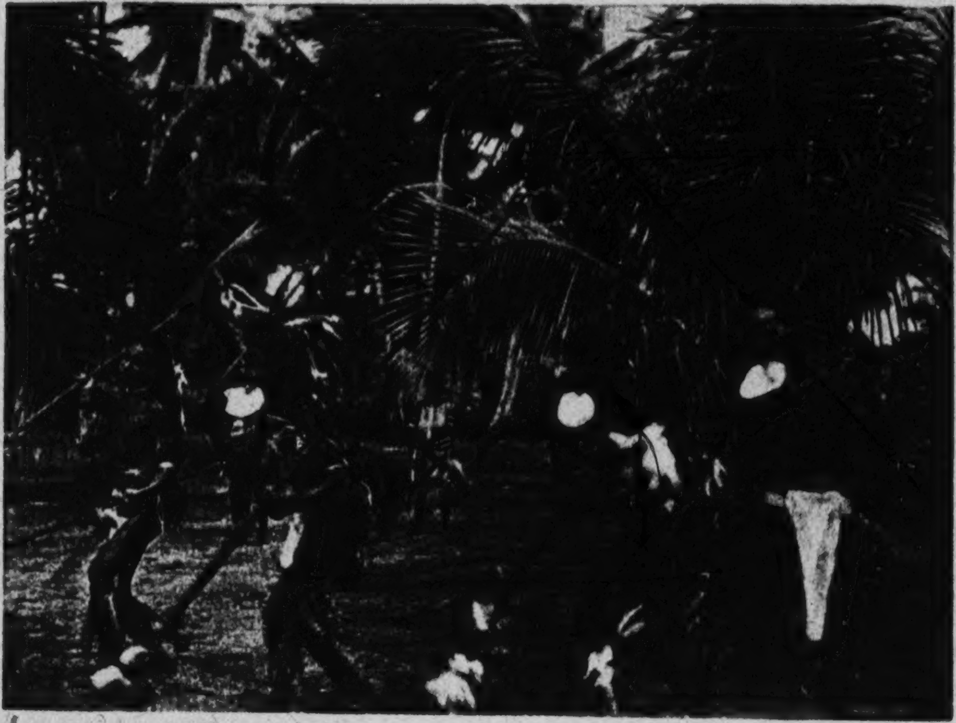
[facing P.120]



DIROGA MEN DANCING

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249 commonest names, however, are *Orokaiva* or *Kaiva*. I will not enter into the dispute as to the original meaning of the mysterious word *Orokaiva*, but if you pluck a tobacco leaf in a village and ask what it is called, three times out of four you will get the answer 'Orokaiva'.[1]

Associated with native tobacco is another plant of late 243 introduction, viz. maize or 'corn'. Informants will 177 insist that maize was known, at least in some parts of the plains, before the coming of the white man; and they lay down the same course as that of tobacco for its progress northwards. Nowadays the usual name for maize is *Koni*, a native rendering of 'corn'; but there are at least three other names which are said by some to be earlier than *Koni*; they are *Komobani* and *Tambara* (neither of which I can explain), and the picturesque compound *Kuku-ta-pije*, literally, 'tobacco-banana', which implies a likeness between corn-cob and banana and perhaps a simultaneous introduction of corn and tobacco. As it appears certain that corn was introduced to this country by the white man, we have another instance in which the introduction has outstripped the introducer.[2]

244 Lastly, it was claimed by some that the papaw and the 177 pumpkin had come down from the hill people in the same way. Both these are European introductions, and if the claim be a true one, then we have a somewhat remarkable proof of the rapidity with which an introduced product may spread by contact—provided always that, like corn, it is a welcome addition to the native's *menu*. Of the more important products sugar-cane, sago, and some varieties of plantain are probably indigenous in the true sense of 245 the word. The better kind of areca palm is said to be introduced, but there are wild varieties in the bush. The coco-nut, most domesticated of trees, seems to follow in the train of the human wanderer, thriving and rejoicing, as they say, in the sound of his voice.

773 The legend has it that the coco-nut was first a girl.

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[1] This at any rate among Wasida, Aiga, and Binandele people.

[2] Cf. *Papua*, J. H. P. Murray, p. 103.

As the palm has a strong sheath about its young flower-cluster, which is hard and needle-pointed, and a danger to the unwary climber, so this girl had sharply pointed breasts, which were the death of all who tried to embrace her. One after another her lovers fell victim until her father grew suspicious and angry. When he had recommended a favoured young suitor to sleep with his daughter, and found in the morning that he was as dead as the others, he felt his suspicions were confirmed. So he took the coco-nut girl into the bush to help him dig a pit for a pig-trap. First he dug away himself until the hole was of a good depth, then feigning to be tired he told her to take his place while he rested. No sooner was the girl bending to her work in the pit than he dropped a heavy stone on her back, heaped in the earth, and left her buried.

Some while after this the father returned rather sadly to see the spot where he had left his child, and found there a strange tree, to wit the coco-nut. The tree was fully grown and some of the nuts had fallen. These he took home and set on his verandah rather as curiosities than for any use he could make of them. But in his absence his inquisitive little son succeeded in breaking one and was found eating greedily, with inarticulate expressions 'Oo, oo!' which his father could not understand, but which were merely indicative of the child's delight. At first the man was horrified, thinking his son must be poisoning himself; but then he reflected, 'He is a poor little brat, anyway, covered with sores; we will let him be and see how it turns out'. But next day, instead of dying as the father had anticipated, the little boy was clamorous for more, crying, 'Oo, oo!' again, and, not only that, but showed signs of a remarkable overnight growth. After such a satisfactory result, the paternal experimenter felt justified in sampling the strange fruit himself, and in this manner the virtues of the coco-nut became generally known. No better name could be given it than the 'oo' of the little boy, or the

'boo' which another little boy said in another version 773
of the story.[1]

Regarding the betel palm there is an old story of a liaison with a village woman. Nightly the betel palm bends down over her house to visit her, and every morning, when the birds are waking, bends slowly back to stand once more as a silent palm, but leaving around the house a litter of small flowers. Every morning the wife is seen sweeping these aside, till at last suspicions are aroused: the little boy hides behind a tree to spy; the betel palm is discovered in his intrigue and chopped down by the jealous husband. Collapsing he cries, 'Now I am no longer a man but a mere betel palm: take these nuts and eat them,' and he scatters bunches for all the tribes of the north.

The betel pepper grows wild in the bush, and there is 276
a plausible though no doubt imaginative tale of how its properties were discovered. Formerly the areca or betel-nut was chewed with lime alone, and the chewer had not the pleasant hot flavour of a condiment nor the highly becoming colour of red in his mouth. But once a solitary hunter speared a pig, and sat down on the scene of his exploit to refresh himself with lime and betel. Then he looked about him for the wherewithal to bind the pig to a pole. With the usual extempore resource, he dragged down a liana from a near-by tree, and worrying and biting it through with his teeth, by way of the handiest implements he had, discovered as he thought that his mouth was full of blood. But he soon reassured himself, and understood that the redness was due to nothing more than the mordant, peppery juice of the creeper, which had mixed with his mouthful of lime and betel. After this follows the happy scene in which he acquaints his people with the discovery, and the general inauguration of a very ugly habit.

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There are other tales of other products, more interest- 177

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[1] 'Coco-nut', in Wasida dialect, *u*; Aiga, *bu*; Binandele *mutari*. *Mutari*–*mu-tari*, i.e. 'to say "*mu*"'.

241 177 ing than informative. However they may have been acquired, there is a fair range of food products at the disposal of the Orokaiva. The most essential of them have been his since time immemorial; those that he has acquired—either directly or through the agency of the mountain folk—from Europeans serve only to garnish his table. The most important among them are maize—which is a favourite though not grown in great quantity—some varieties of sweet banana, pineapples, and pumpkins. The last mentioned, although grown very commonly, are not really liked: villagers are always anxious to sell them to the white man. An informant once interrupted a conversation to remark that melons, tomatoes, 'pummerkins', and the rest of them, were all humbug; why did not the Government leave the New Guinea men to plant taro, yams, bananas, and sugar-cane, their proper food? It is fortunate that such an extreme view is not often met with; but the Government is prepared to expect a conservative opposition to nearly every new product which it seeks to encourage. It can only be said, very obviously, that, to be spontaneously successful, a new product must, in the primitive condition of native horticulture, be grown with a minimum of effort, and must happen to make an appeal to native taste. Otherwise, as in the case of the new experiment, rice, the work must be compulsory.

4. *The Land System*

423 618 Before we can fully understand the system of using the land, it is necessary to describe the system under which it is owned. Among the Orokaiva there is a multiplicity of small clans, which from time to time increases by subdivision (a process which is in part neutralized by the dying out of older clans). Now the land is owned in reality by the clan. The fact that very commonly the clan is a local unity, being often coincident with the single village, makes this system a simple one in the normal instance. Sometimes, however, the clan is somewhat

scattered, occupying several villages or parts of several 423
villages. In this case the clan will in all probability retain 618
a nominal ownership of all its lands; but in practice it is customary for the various sections to assume by general consent or else by the allocation of a headman, the occupation and usage of particular parts of the land. In due time the section is likely to adopt a distinctive name, and to develop into an independent clan: the right of usage tacitly becomes ownership, and we find the normal condition restored, viz. the clan locally unified and in possession of its own tracts of land. A system exactly similar governs the ownership of the small waterways (useful for fishing) and of the sago swamps.

The Orokaiva clan is virtually a patriarchal group; 423
there is no real chieftainship, but a recognized ascendancy 622
of the old man, provided his vigour of mind and body is equal to his position. As it begins to fail his place is gradually occupied by a younger man. Only in the larger clans, where there are well-defined family groups, does the question of hereditary succession appear, and then it is a somewhat faint appearance.

It is sometimes said that the chief owns the land, though 423
this is hardly more than a form of speech. He does some- 622
thing, however, towards administering it. For instance, he 618
can say which area is to be laid under cultivation at any time, and he can subdivide and allot the territory of the clan among its branches. He feels himself and is felt to be the guardian of the land. Thus we hear an old man telling how his father had given him death-bed injunctions—'Friday he talk, Saturday he die,' as the interpreter put it in order to make clear the testamentary nature of the charge—to allow all his own people to make their gardens on the clan's territory, but to suffer no strangers.

Among the members of the clan there is a very con- 423
siderable amount of personal freedom, and, except in so 618
far as there may be an allocation of land and fishing rights between branches or families, they may in theory make their gardens where they please. There is occasional

423 618 wrangling as to garden boundaries, but these petty disagreements within the clan, so to speak, are as a rule easily settled. The land disputes which bring endless trouble and labour to the magistrate are disputes between clans. While the land is owned communally the garden is owned individually. Between two adjacent gardens the boundary is made of felled trees, laid end to end, sometimes in two rows so as to form a path between. So long as this ground is under cultivation, not only the produce of the garden but the garden itself is individual property, and a displacement of the boundary would mean a quarrel.

I may now describe the system by which the land is used: it may be called a Rotation of Areas. Each clan will possess a number of tracts of land, which bear locality names. These may or may not be contiguous. Often, owing to migratory habits or to the reclamation of some distant and hitherto unoccupied block of land, they may be somewhat scattered.

A diagram of the areas about Korisata, an Aiga village, though quite inaccurate as to their relative sizes, will serve as illustration. In extent these areas differ greatly, some being measured by acres, some by miles. The boundaries, not obvious to European eyes, are tracks, swamps, creeks, clumps of palms, and so forth. At any one time the village gardens will probably be found in one large clearing, mostly abutting upon one another.

311 241 As the gardeners use up the taro in their old gardens, so from time to time they extend the clearing and plant afresh. Never in the Northern Division, as far as I know, do they immediately plant a second time on the same ground. Thus the gardens gradually extend, or rather progress over a whole 'area', the abandoned parts quickly clothing themselves in a rank luxuriant growth of grass, bushes, and young saplings. When one of the 'areas' has been used up in this manner—and where it is an extensive one this may not be for two or three years—the clan will make a fresh beginning on another

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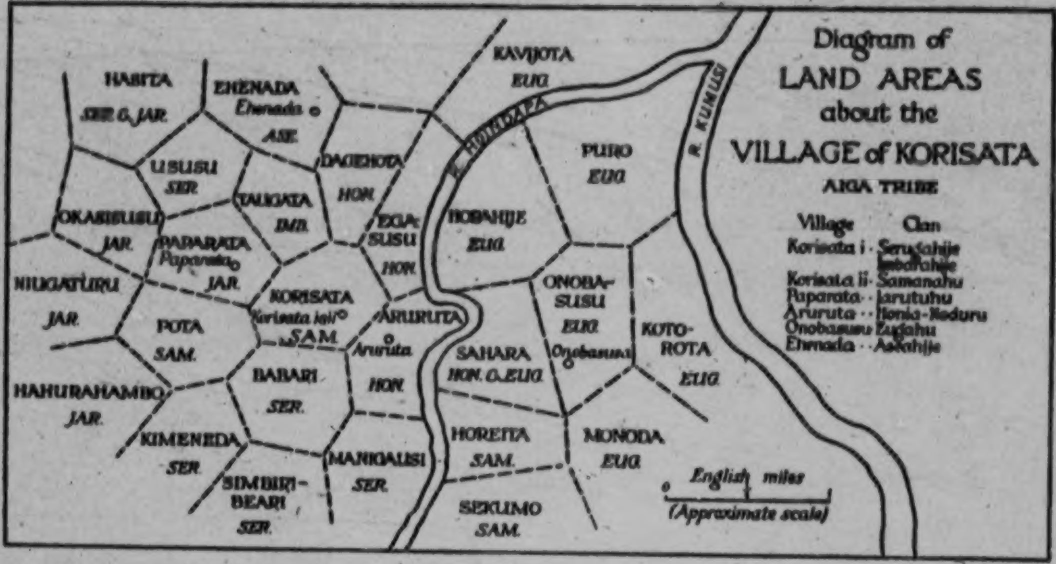
Diagram of
LAND AREAS
about the
VILLAGE of KORISATA
AIGA TRIBE
Village Clan
Korisata i · Serufahije
Isoafahije
Korisata ii · Samanahu
Paparata · · Jarutuhu
Aruruta · · Honia-Noduru
Onobasusu Eufahu
Ehenada · · Asefahije
R. KUMUSI
R. HOMBARA
HABITA
SER & JAR
EHENADA
Ehenada
ASE
KAVIJOTA
EUG
USUSU
SER
DAGEHOTA
HON
TAUGATA
IMB
OKASISUSU
JAR
PAPARATA
Paparata
JAR
EGA-SUSU
HON
HOBAHIJE
EUG
PURO
EUG
NIUGATURU
JAR
KORISATA
Korisata i&ii
SAM
ARURUTA
Aruruta
HON
POTA
SAM
ONOBA-SUSU
EUG
Onobasusu
KOTO-ROTA
EUG
SAHARA
HON & EUG
HAHURAHAMBO
JAR
BABARI
SER
KIMENEDA
SER
MANIGAUSI
SER
HOREITA
SAM
MONODA
EUG
SIMBIRI-BEARI
SER
SEKUMO
SAM
English miles
(Approximate scale)

423
618

311 area; when this is in turn used up, on a third, and so on.
By the time all the cultivable areas have been utilized in
241 succession, and a return is made to the first, it is not
unlikely that fifteen or twenty years have elapsed. Sometimes, indeed, this intervening period is still longer: I have talked to a man, of say thirty-five years, felling timber along the edge of an existent clearing, at no great distance from the village. He was virtually the headman of his clan and a more than usually reliable informant. He told me that within his time the clan had never before used that particular ground for gardens. His elder brother, however, remembered when the gardens had been there: he was rather decrepit and perhaps fifty.

311 By way of definitely illustrating this system I may refer
241 to the areas belonging to the Clan Serugahije (which
numbers thirteen men, supporting ten women and twenty
618 children). The areas are:

1. Manigausi.
2. Babari.
3. Simbiri Beari.
4. Kimeneda.
5. Ususu.
6. Hasita.

The last to be abandoned was Manigausi, which, when I made a note of it, was already thickly covered with low scrub; all the present gardens were in the area Babari, which was still unexhausted; and the one marked down for the next attack was Simbiri Beari.

621 One of the larger villages (in which at least two clans
were represented) enumerated seventeen areas, ten of
311 which were apparently under virgin forest and used for
241 hunting and fishing alone.

When the gardener finds himself clearing once more
241 on the familiar ground which was used perhaps many
423 years before, he does not necessarily plant on the precise
spot which was his previously. There is, as a rule, so much ground to spare that he is welcome to begin where he pleases, and without the risk of offending a fellow clansman. It does sometimes happen, however, that a man acquires a sort of prescriptive right to the imme-

diate locality where he has worked, and accordingly we 241
sometimes find an easy-going division of an area between 423
families or branches of the clan. No doubt this becomes
a stricter division where the available land is circumscribed;
for individual ownership of land probably has
its origin in scarcity of land.

The examples I have given come from the Aiga tribe, 311
between the middle Opi and Kumusi rivers, where there 241
is no practical limit to cultivable soil, and where, indeed,
there still remains a good deal of apparently virgin
forest. On the foot-hill country in the south of the
Division, where the population is often denser, and in
particular on the Buna plains, where the *kurokuro* grass
has encroached on the bush to so serious an extent, the
same system indeed prevails, but the intervening periods
must be shortened.

As will readily be imagined, this system tends to bring 311
about a shifting, almost nomadic, style of horticulture. 241
Sometimes the area is at no small distance from the permanent 361
village. Then we shall find families living for
weeks at a time in their garden houses, while their more 618
regular but scarcely superior dwellings in the village 621
stand deserted, with a mat fastened across the doorway.
The gardener may plant coco-nuts and betel on the site
of his temporary lodging: this is the first step towards
the establishment of a new village. By the time that
ground comes to be cleared and planted again, these
palms will have grown to a good size, and it is very
natural, with a people so perpetually given to clan disintegration,
that some families should settle permanently
on the site of their distant gardens. This, in my opinion,
is the ordinary reason for the simultaneous birth of a
new village and a new clan.

5. *Clearing and Deforestation*

One was at first tempted to believe that this Rotation 241
of Areas, with such long intervening periods, was 311
devised like the fallow in the interest of fertility. The

241 311 [412] true reason is so obvious to the native that he seldom thinks of explaining it. The Rotation of Areas is, in fact, a labour-saving device. With the implements at his disposal—formerly his finger-nails, a stick, and a stone axe, nowadays his finger-nails, a stick, a tomahawk, and an 18-inch trade-knife—it is infinitely more difficult to overcome the dense mass of vigorous weeds and bushes which spring up in the wake of the taro, than to clear away the bush of ten years' standing, with its somewhat meagre trees and straggling underwood. It is the primary growth which the native gardener cannot cope with. What he does is to leave the matter to nature. After a few years the saplings have sprung up and overshadowed the weeds and shrubs, and in due course as the bush develops these latter are replaced by a much thinner and less formidable array of trailers and forest undergrowth. Even in bygone days, when a tree had to be brought down with a stone axe, this light bush was an easier problem than the primary growth; now that stone has been replaced by steel, it is easier beyond all comparison.

241 313 461 [533] Sometimes the village will be almost deserted, while its population—men, women, and children—are together engaged in clearing. The work proceeds with a leisurely persistence, continual conversation, and occasional spells, when the woodman sits on a fallen tree and rattles his lime-stick and chews his betel. Now and again some cheerful worker will burst into song as he wields his axe, a mere bar or two of melody, sung at the top of his resonant Orokaiva voice. In beginning and ending it is strangely abrupt, more like a musical shout or a yodel than a song, and altogether a very good-humoured sound.

241 313 Tree felling is for the men; the cutting and dragging aside of undergrowth for the women and children. The heavier trees are suffered to lie where they fall, and will remain till long after the garden has been used and deserted. The lighter timber is stacked in high pyramids to dry for firewood, or else used, end for end, as borders for individual plots. Only the branches, leaves, and

undergrowth are burned in the clearing. It is the custom 241/313 to cut trees at a height of three or four feet from the ground, no doubt because this is easier. The resultant forest of stumps may look somewhat untidy, but they are regarded less as obstacles than as conveniences—pillars for the trailing yams, props for the sugar-cane, hat-stands and clothes-horses on which a man may hang his knitted bag in order to keep an eye on it, or a woman her sole garment, the bark-cloth skirt, for greater freedom when working alone at her weeding. The roots are not grubbed, and the soil, though superficially clean, is full of potential rivals for the vegetables which are soon to be planted.

There is a matter associated with clearing and the 137 Rotation of Areas which has long been a cause for some anxiety. This is the spread of the grass plains[1] and the consequent deforestation of certain parts of the Division. It may be worth while putting down the result of my own observations in this matter, though they are not those of a botanist or a forester.

The grass lands are particularly noticeable in the Dobodura district, and to a less extent around Ambasi; but farther inland they are again very prevalent along certain parts of the river Kumusi and here and there along the Mamba and Gira. I have always assumed that some at least of the wide tracts of *kurokuro* are natural. The fact that they are frequently met with along the river banks, where there are here and there distinct evidences of terracing, suggested that in some cases a newly deposited river-flat might happen to be clothed with long grass rather than with bush. However, the question whether the grass is natural or no need not really concern us.

The practical issues are whether the grass country is extending, and, given that it is, what are the causes for its extension. From native informants—whose word may certainly be accepted in such a matter—I have definite instances in which the bush has encroached upon

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[1] Vide p. 111, note.

137 and finally enveloped former grass patches, and definite instances on the other hand in which the grass has ousted the bush. The Resident Magistrate's observations, however, extending over a good many years, compel us to conclude that the latter process is unfortunately by far the stronger.

The fact seems to be that, if they are left entirely to themselves, the surrounding bush does slowly overcome the grass. But owing to two kinds of human agency, the grass not only holds its own but actually makes headway through the forest. The first agency is fire. At the annual burning of a grass tract by the hunters, the fire sweeps across the open and breaks upon the barrier of trees like a huge wave upon the rocks. After the burning the forest trees are scorched and withered; they have probably received a set-back, while the grass springs up again as green and stubborn and useless as ever.[1]

137 241 The other agency is that of the garden. In the proper sequence of events the taro crop should be succeeded by a vigorous growth of weeds, bushes, and young saplings. This is simply left to itself and presently changes into light bush, which is eventually cleared and planted again. But, as the natives will say, the grass is sometimes 'too strong'; it conquers the young growth, and instead of bush we find in the end a grass patch.

The work of weeding is not done thoroughly. Too often one may see a garden fairly bristling with stalks of self-sown *kurokuro*, their beautiful pale plumes swaying gently in the breeze and scattering seeds among the taro. Not the method of clearing in itself, but this subsequent carelessness, is what brings the grass patch into the forest. The fault is with the native: as Job would have told him, he has 'let thistles grow instead of wheat and cockle instead of barley'. It will need another Job, per-

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[1] Sometimes I have seen a small fire in the primary growth which ensues after the taro is taken up and the garden abandoned. This is either merely purposeless or else to drive out game; never with the idea of immediate recultivation. Happily it is rarely seen, though it may well be an additional influence in favour of the long grass.

sonified perhaps in the Agricultural Expert, and with the 137
patience as well as the invective powers of the original, 241
to arrest this gradual spread of the long grass.

While we may absolve the land system, viz. the Rotation of Areas, from direct responsibility for the deforestation of the northern plains, it will be obvious that it is in other respects a very wasteful one, especially in that it requires so great an extent of land to support the individual. Perhaps a more serious objection to the system is its unsettling influence on the social life of the natives. These questions will be referred to again. In the meantime I may proceed to describe the routine of the native garden.

6. *The Horticultural Routine*

(*a*) *Preparation of Ground and Fertilizing.* The ideal 241
ground for planting is, in native estimation, absolutely bare. The debris of undergrowth and dried leaves is brought together in heaps and burned. The ash is ordinarily left where it stands in little piles; but a more than usually neat gardener would gather it up and throw it away into the bush.

I have come upon a whole village preparing ground for
rice on the river Eia. The rice was a Government experi- [177]
ment; the village constable was a smart man and conscientious, and the whole community was with him in desiring to do its best to make the rice a success and to earn the approbation of the magistrate. Consequently they had taken somewhat unusual pains in preparation for the planting. When I saw it the earth was almost as bare, brown, and vegetationless as a State School playground. The litter of dry leaves, grass, and so forth was being meticulously removed, and, where some had been burnt, even the ashes were scraped together into wooden pig-dishes, carried off, and, with exemplary tidiness, thrown into the river.

This practice of removing all waste vegetable material from the ground may mean that there is less weeding to

241 do while the crops are growing, and therefore has sufficient justification in native eyes. To utilize it as a kind of green manure is, under purely native conditions, hardly feasible, since there is no means of digging it into the soil; and to leave a tangle of leaves and twigs on the surface would serve rather to obstruct the gardener than to benefit the garden.

The only real fertilizer which the native might be expected to use under the present system, viz. a lax culture of wide areas, is the ash from the burnt debris of clearing. As far as I am aware, however, he has no genuine conception of the value of ash as a manure, though one thoroughly typical instance came to my notice in which the ash had got into the place of a fertilizer under false pretences. Of the many varieties of taro, distinguishable by the colour or form of their stalks, leaves, &c., there is one named *Punduga* whose stem is almost black. In Koropata, while, as elsewhere, there was a tendency to sweep the ashes together to keep them out of the way, it was the custom to plant the black-stalked *Punduga* right in the black heap of ashes, because of the affinity which would be so obvious to a native. This practice, my informant said, was attended with good results: if that particular black-stemmed taro were not planted on the ashes it would not do so well. There are many other magical fertilizers which will be referred to later on: this is simply a case of magic stumbling upon the truth.

241 312 (*b*) *Draining, Irrigation, &c.* Considering the almost level gradient at which the plain slopes down to the sea and the general absence of contours, the drainage is far better than might be expected. Furthermore, there is, as a rule, such a superfluity of land that the native has simply to avoid the over-wet localities. He is never called upon to drain his swamps. On the lower reaches of the rivers, however—particularly the Mambare—there is less available land and, owing to the flatness, draining would be more difficult. Nevertheless I do not know that garden-

ing is hampered to any extent in these localities. Owing 241
to natural drainage the flood-waters subside quietly and 3/2
fairly rapidly, and, as I have said before, the flood as a rule does little harm and is not regarded very seriously by the natives.

It has been pointed out to me that one of the principal 3/2
difficulties in the drainage of the plains is the tendency for smaller streams to pile up a mass of drift-wood, so as eventually to block their own progress. In the majority of cases this drift-wood seems to have been brought down by floods, but it may be that the case is rendered worse by the natives' habit of throwing felled timber into a convenient river instead of firing it. At any rate the effect is sometimes to cause local inundations, to deflect streams, and to create sour stagnant back-waters.

The native knows well enough the principle of draining, though he has no need to use it for horticulture. In
the creek fishing of the inland peoples draining is con- [226]
stantly practised in order to make the water shallow enough for the use of 'New Guinea Dynamite' and scoop-nets. The water is commonly bailed out with sago-branch scoops, but one may also see long gutters (*andere*), elaborate undertakings when we consider that
the implements for their construction are a spatulate [412]
stick and a knife.

The small engineering feats of the fisherman might be 241
adapted to irrigation as well as drainage, though, I 3/2
believe, the idea has never suggested itself to the Orokaiva. He knows how to build a rudimentary dam and how to construct a race, but the latter is a loop rejoining the stream and has never been turned into an irrigation channel. The drought, as was observed before, may sometimes be serious, and some simple kind of irrigation would be a blessing to the native at the height of the South-East season. The thought of carrying water is for obvious reasons abhorrent to him; he would rather go hungry. What he actually does is to plant out the *bere* or offsets of his taro in the damp swampy places and so

241 3/2 ensure their survival. In the Wedau country about Bartle Bay irrigation has become a necessity because the strip of cultivable land between the steep grass hills and the coast is of limited area and subject to a yearly dry spell of some severity. The same necessity is not often felt in the Northern Division, though in the foot-hill country, at any rate, the Wedauan methods could have been adopted with advantage.

241 The paucity of good land and the steepness of the hills about Bartle Bay—to continue the comparison—have necessitated another improvement, viz. terracing. There are few localities in the Northern Division where the same conditions prevail. Between the mouths of the Mambare and Opi rivers, however, the coastal belt is a mixture of grass-land, swamp, and hills, and here the gardener is often compelled to assail the steepest acclivities—so steep at times that climbing them is hard enough, to say nothing of cultivating them. In this country, as in the rest of the Division, the heavier timber is allowed for the most part to lie where it falls. But here, whether by intent or not, it serves a purpose. For those trees which fall across the slope or diagonally become paths and standing-places for the gardeners, and as detritus falls and builds up against them, they become virtually terraces. It is true they are not regular and level like those of Bartle Bay, and, as far as I have observed, they are prevented from giving way not by driven stakes, but only by the stumps of the felled trees or by other obstacles on the hill-side. However these points may be only refinements, and it is easy enough to imagine that the idea of terracing might originate independently in the way I have suggested.

244 (*c*) *Planting*. The Orokaiva is no tiller of the soil. He loosens it with a digging-stick in order to plant the taro shoot, and his wife loosens it again when she pulls the taro. Otherwise it is left to look after itself.

Taro is propagated principally by offsets, but also by replanting tops of used tubers. When rain has fallen

244 overnight and the ground is tolerably soft, a man and his wife will go out together in the morning, he with his spears and his knife, she with a bagful of taro-tops—the accumulation of several days. The man may carry a digging-stick or he may make one on the spot with a few strokes of his knife. They go to a bare plot in their garden, he takes a handful of taro-tops from his wife, and they begin work. With his right hand he drives the stick into the ground, with a grunt and an exclamation, levering it back and forth to loosen the earth and enlarge the hole: then without stooping he shoots one of the taro-tops with his left hand into its place, as if he were a schoolboy playing eye-drop; if his aim happen to be a bad one, he simply grasps the taro-top between his toes and thrusts it into the hole. With a light touch of his foot he presses it home and plunges his stick into the ground for the next. The earth is not packed tightly round the stem, but left rather loose and open.

The *bere* or offsets of the taro are planted in the same nonchalant manner. The work is done rapidly and effectively, although it is harder than it looks. As a personal trial soon shows, the digging-stick requires no small amount of punch behind it. The taro are planted irregularly, but usually as much as 1 foot 6 inches apart. They begin to thrive immediately, and the gardener has another of his progressive plots under way.

[343] Yams, which propagate by shoots, are kept in the yam-houses until the shoots have made their appearance and are fairly advanced; then they are planted against the tree-stumps, which will stand in lieu of trellises for them. [249] Sugar-cane and *Ina* are planted as cuttings, once more against the tree-stumps for support. Several kinds of garden 'cabbage' are propagated by seeds, as is of course native tobacco. It is a common thing to see a number of tobacco plants in the village itself, where they have sprung from seeds falling through the floors of the houses. With the garden 'cabbages' *Ombi* and *Taramu* a seeding flower will be set up on a stump so that the seeds may fall round about.

000 245 round about. Natives will ask you politely for an orange-pip when oranges come down from Kokoda with the mail, but I have never yet heard of an orange-tree successfully grown by a native.

Sometimes you may meet a man returning from a journey with a bundle of rooted saplings on his shoulder —bread-fruit or *Ajimo*, the bark-cloth tree—which he means to plant in his garden. Near Dobodura I have seen a plantation of young *Ajimo* trees—perhaps 500—about 10 feet high and somewhat densely planted. The native is prone to plant his trees too closely, especially coco-nut and betel palms. The latter may sometimes be seen in soldierly rows, so close together that a big man could scarcely pass between. On the site of a new village an energetic village constable had made his own plantation of coco-nuts, lined, spaced, and each protected by a little fence against the pigs. Everything reflected credit upon his observation of white men's methods except that his coco-nuts were not more than 12 feet apart.

244 (*d*) *Tending and Protecting*. While the taro are young they are kept fairly clear of weeds, but once they are fully established work grows slack and they are left to fight their own battle. [462] Weeding, like most drudgery, is mainly woman's work. It is done principally by hand or by trade-knife, and the weeds are thrown aside or hung untidily on the tree-stumps. As there is no implement resembling a hoe, the soil loses the advantage of being tilled and weeded at one and the same time.

244 461 538 There are many degrees of tidiness and untidiness in native horticulture, and, as we have observed, the neglect of *kurokuro* grass is the most serious offence. But a weed-grown garden and its owner are objects of contempt. There is a tale (not wholly relevant but not to be spoiled by omitting the irrelevant) of a young bride, wooed by a ne'er-do-well youth and won by his false account of the large and well-kept garden which is to be hers. She consents to accompany him home and become his wife. Nearing his village they pass through broad expanses of

flourishing taro with hardly a weed to be seen, and he 244
points to this side and that, telling her that the gardens 441
are his. Very well pleased with her prospects the girl
goes out with her husband next morning to help him at 538
his work. This time he takes her to his real garden,
an overgrown neglected patch. Sadly disillusioned the
poor girl says nothing but sits down to her weeding
while her husband at a little distance does the same. Presently
she pulls up a weed with a sound which causes her
husband to think she has broken wind. He bursts into
a loud guffaw, and the girl hangs her head in shame,
thinking to herself, 'This new husband of mine is a brute
as well as a liar.' After a moment's silence, while the
man's back is turned, she takes a stone and flings it into
the bush, crying excitedly, 'Look, a wallaby!' He
notices the disturbance in the brushwood caused by the
falling stone, seizes his spear and dashes off in pursuit,
while the girl, taking advantage of his preoccupation,
dashes off in the opposite direction to her village, where,
to point the moral and make a happy ending, she subsequently
marries another.

The native realizes that too great a proportion of the 244
plant's vitality may go into its leaves, and sometimes he
will trim them. Before planting the offset the young
leaves are invariably snipped off except for one or two.
So also with the taro-top. The cook holds a large flat [412]
piece of oyster shell or coco-nut shell in the palm of her
hand, and with a pushing motion neatly severs the taro-top
at its base before proceeding to peel the taro. The
stalk is trimmed to a length of six or seven inches, and A
the taro-top put aside for replanting. The edge of this
peeling instrument is dangerously sharp in clumsy hands.
The cuscus was once an old woman who sat peeling taro 538
while a dance was in progress. But she kept her old eye
fixed in admiration upon her son-in-law, the barnyard
rooster, who with his splendid feathers made such a
figure among the dancers; and thus, while her attention
strayed, the taro-peeler slipped, and she became aware

538 that she had cut her thumb off. At that she said, 'Now I am a cuscus,' and ever since the animal has been remarkable for the queer little member which so resembles a truncated human thumb.

244 Sometimes dying leaves are snipped off the growing plant. In a ceremony of the new 'Taro cult' a band of
794 excited men were pushing their way through the taro
789 gardens, headed by one or two leaders who continually sprayed the plants with medicine from their mouths, and here and there as they passed snapped off large leaves. The reason for this, as the leaders themselves explained the matter, was that, as with a fully grown taro the outer leaves fall, it would expedite this development to anticipate it, and make the leaves fall now.

244 I do not know of any other kind of trimming or pruning, save sometimes in the interests of tidiness. On the whole garden plants, large and small, are left very much to themselves. Some exception, however, is made in the
[249] case of sugar-cane, the long stalks being bound together and supported by poles, lest they fall and so become a prey to rot and rat.

There seem, however, to be few recognized pests in
241 the ordinary sense of the word; the principal enemies
136 of the native horticulturist are not microbes but animals, bats, and birds. He must be constantly on guard against the bush-pig and minor foes—the flying fox, the rat, the wallaby, and the cockatoo, not to mention his fellow man. Formerly, in a kind of native Paradise where work
[173] was at a minimum, the bush-pig was content with bush food—roots and herbs and such-like. But exchanging confidences with the rat, he learnt that the latter's food was taro and succulent sugar-cane. After that he invaded the gardens, and it has been necessary ever since to build a fence.

The garden fence should properly surround the whole
417 group of clan gardens. It is built in sections, each man
241 being responsible for the part nearest his own garden. But the work is rather laborious, and the gardens are

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often well advanced before the circle is complete. The 417
actual building of the fence is men's work, though [462]
women carry timber. The reason why women do not
build is, I am told, that the fence would be no good.[1]

The several varieties of pig-trap have been mentioned 241
before (pp. 113–14). They are commonly built just within 224
the garden fence so that the raiders are not only frustrated but captured. Until the fence is completed some people must live in the garden houses to scare away the pigs with their voices. It is said also that the smell of smoke will make them suspicious and keep them off, and one may sometimes see a large fire piled with green leaves and kindled towards evening. On moonlight nights men will wait with spears on the garden platforms and attack the pig among the taro—a really hazardous undertaking, and one which is responsible for many terrible casualties. Nowadays the villagers will often beseech the loan of one's shot-gun and shooting boy on a moonlight evening.

Some well-advanced gardens become infested with [136]
rat-like marsupials. There are miniature traps for them—constructed on the principle of the pig-trap with a falling weight—and another ingenious kind of pitfall, which, like the former, is rather a plaything of little boys than a serious business of the gardener. The pitfall is a round hole with steep or shelving sides; from the edge towards the centre there projects a piece of wood, with what may be called a green-stick fracture; on the tip of this little platform is placed the bait. The rat climbs out

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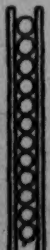
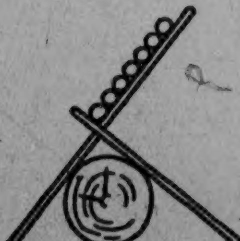
[1] The ordinary fence (*Huga*) consists of a series of horizontal rails laid one atop of the other and between uprights at frequent intervals. There is another kind, *Huga-Embo-pemi* (possibly the 'big man' or 'elder man' fence), where advantage is taken of a large tree-trunk, and the fence made to slope across it. Two cross-sections are shown:



HUGA



HUGA EMBO-PEMI

241 towards the bait, passes the fatal point of weakness, and,
224 as the stick breaks under his weight, falls into the abysm.

A more serious nuisance to the gardener is the flying
241 fox (*dipere*), a very destructive creature whose favourite
224 foods are bananas, papaw, and bread-fruit. In certain
136 parts, their daylight camping grounds, one may see
flocks of them hanging in dense clusters from the high
branches, or circling slowly round to settle again and
renew their slumbers. In the Isivita district may be found
a kind of snare for the flying foxes suspended in a high
tree. It takes the form of a roughly knitted bag, just
large enough to hold a bread-fruit. To this bag are
attached a number of running nooses, say six or seven
inches long, which form a confused tangle all around it.
The bat attacks the bread-fruit in its clumsy fashion; to
reach the fruit it can hardly avoid slipping its head into
a noose, and then, trying to get clear, hangs itself.
Another contrivance, somewhat devilish, was seen at
Wasida. The cane palms have trailing branches with
cruel recurved thorns which have a way of tearing your
shirt or sweeping your hat off as you pass by in the bush.
A cluster of these slender trailers is tied in a bunch to
a stick, much after the manner of a witch's broom, and
the villager stands in the darkness by his banana tree, the
witch's broom or *asora* held close to the bunch of fruit.
When the flying fox settles, flapping noisily on the bananas,
one swift jerk of the *asora* brings him down, with the
grappling hooks in the delicate membranes of his wings.

The only bird which does much harm to the natives
241 is the white cockatoo, who plays havoc with young
223 coco-nuts. In some villages long cables of rattan cane
136 are attached to the tops of the coco-nut palms, sometimes
with hollow shells of the cycad *Puga* for rattles. Sometimes
the native will aim a stone with his sling. But as
the cockatoo is a bold bird and the native an easy-going
man, the young coco-nuts for the most part continue to
be gnawed.

241
674 There is yet another garden pest—the dishonest neigh-

bour. Theft is not altogether uncommon and in former 241
times may have led to serious reprisals. An old man tells 674
how he found a woman stealing his taro, and imme-
diately dealt her a blow on the back with his pineapple
club, with corrective but happily not fatal results. So
also we find tales of ravaged gardens, tale-bearing,
accusations, and the indeterminate duels in which the 674
Orokaiva rejoices to find a vent for his anger. As pre- 241
vention is better than cure, however, the garden is often 784
guarded by some taboo sign—a few wisps of grass
laid across the path, a thin tape of bark tied to sticks and
encircling the garden, or some coco-nut leaflets knotted
about the trunk of the palm. These are nearly always
respected, partly through mere law-abidingness, partly
because of the veiled threat of sorcery which they imply.

Besides these frail but effective safeguards, the gar- 241
dener used occasionally to resort to practical measures 674
more after the manner of spring-guns and man-traps.
The *oivo* is a miniature pitfall, lined with sharp little
spikes, which, I was assured, are sometimes tipped with
inja, or sorcerer's medicine. Concealed with leaves they
were placed in gardens, or more usually on tracks leading
into the village, so that any sorcerer who came prowling
after dark might make a false step and betray his pres-
ence by a yell. Nowadays, I am told, the practice has
been abandoned, and the only cases in which I heard of
the *oivo*'s actual effectiveness were those in which the
wrong man had been caught—perhaps naturally, as
a guilty trespasser would lie low and conceal his injuries.
A certain well-known character, ex-Corporal Bia, at the
Mambare mouth, went, as he says, to inspect his brother's
pineapples; but the inspection was cut short, just at
the stage, perhaps when the sampling might have begun,
by a step into the *oivo*.

(*c*) *Harvesting, Storing, &c.* The taro is planted from 244
time to time, and used as it matures. Almost daily the 482
wife will go out to her garden, do a little weeding, and
fill her *eti*, or string bag, with freshly pulled taro. If she

244 482 be accompanied by her husband they will probably return together about noon, he with his axe, knife, and spears over his shoulders, she, a few paces behind, bending forward under a weight of taro, greens, and firewood, her immensely distended string bag hanging over her back from a band across her sweating forehead, while the counter-balance of a sleeping baby in another string bag may hang before her. A small prick-eared [231] dog trots alongside, and as the larger and more aggressive animal that accompanies the white man comes into view, she will (to avoid the possibility of conflict) contrive in some manner to sink down and gather the extra burden of a dog into her arms.

244 Replanting goes on from time to time, and the successive plots may be marked off by log boundaries (*tasu*). The period of greatest activity is perhaps about the beginning of the North-West season, when more abundant rain can be counted on, and when the whole clan may be engaged in planting out the offsets, or *bere*. But there is no seasonable rule, and *bere* may be transplanted into damp localities in the middle of a dry spell. Indeed, one man complained that a term of three months in the district jail had coincided with such a dry spell, and he had actually lost all his offsets for lack of transplanting.

251 [131] The fact that there is never real famine and that scarcity is a rare thing, brings about an attitude of mind which we might call improvidence. Yams are stored where they are grown; so also are *Tauga* nuts and *Paga*. But the two former are not common except in the south of the Division. Beyond these, and of course the coconut, the native puts by no vegetable food. When a feast 251 754 is preparing, the taro will be gathered in great quantities and stacked on platforms. Some is eaten at the feast, some distributed with a great display of cordiality to the guests, who take it home. There is no method of preserving taro, and sometimes, when a feast is for any reason delayed, a great deal of food may deteriorate and become inedible.

251 343 The storing of yams is in the *barau* or yam-houses, seen commonly in many of the southern villages of the division. The *barau* usually takes the form of a small platform sheltered by a gabled roof in which there is a sort of attic. The platform is simply a place of social intercourse; the attic is the storehouse for yams. It is closed at either end, and thus dry and dark. When the yams are sprouting it is time for replanting.

251 *Tauga* (or *Okari*) are a very valuable asset, though I believe they are rare among the Aiga and the river people. In Wasida one may commonly see horizontal poles upon which are tied the large nuts, closely packed together. These poles are suspended across the fires, where they acquire a glossy blackness in the continual smoke. The shell is hard and has to be broken with one stone upon another. When one sees a stone embedded in the ground with a small hollow worn on the top, it is probably no more than a *Tauga*-breaking stone.

252 The fruit of the cycad *Puga* has to be immersed in running water for several months before it is edible. A man will take you down to some dark overgrown little stream, remove a stone from the bed, and reveal a nest of *Puga* nuts, from which the poison is slowly soaking away. When ready for eating the shell contains a brown pulpy material, strong flavoured, and highly appreciated in cookery.

251 Coco-nuts are accumulated, under strict taboo, for a feast. The huge coco-nut-laden tripod in the centre of the village, or the long lines of dry nuts on the ground, indicate that there is some entertainment pending towards which all the villagers will contribute. Sometimes one may see the tragedy of a feast over-long delayed and the nuts sprouting head high, too far gone to eat and perhaps too far gone to plant.

Certain other products might well enough lend themselves to storing or preservative treatment, though we need not be surprised that the native has made few essays in this direction. There is no dried sago; no banana

251 flour; no pounded maize; no tapioca. The two latter products, maize and maniota, are very recent introductions; the two former are, in most places, so regular and abundant as not to need preserving.

7. *Garden Magic*

241 189 It would be possible to digress too widely upon the subject of garden magic, but no description of the gardener's methods would be complete without a reference to those processes which in our eyes are magic, but in his are common sense.

We have seen that he has no real knowledge of fertilizing, but nevertheless he makes continual use of magical fertilizers. Into the hole prepared for the taro he may drop a fragment of some leaf before planting. Such leaves, called *ba sivo*, 'taro medicine', are of many and various kinds. There is in fact a particular plant which goes by the name of *Ba-sivo*, but any other leaf which will promote a vigorous growth of the taro is, *ipso facto*, *ba sivo*. The knowledge of some is common property, others are secret; all are of course magical and useless.

The justification for their use, so far as it is made explicit, appears to have resided originally in a point of resemblance. Thus, for instance, one reliable *ba sivo* was said to be *Iori babina*. This is in fact a strong flourishing plant that grows by the water, much larger and ranker than the taro, but possessing a sufficient resemblance to it in leaf and stalk. It is felt that a fragment of *Iori babina*, planted together with the taro, will make the latter grow like the former, which the gardener, with more of hope than of reasoned confidence, has set it for a model. So we find the leaf of a large tree like *Borugu* used for *ba sivo*. The idea is not exactly that the taro will 'wax a great tree', but simply that it will grow strongly. A *kai-sivo*, or yam medicine, was, on the same principle—if we can use that word for such a hazy mental association—a certain vigorous trailing plant called *Hupe*.

There is a more elementary form of magic than this

of the fertilizer. The first component of the magical 241
complex is simply wishing; the second, perhaps, is 789
expressing the wish in speech. Thus we hear the gardener using strange exclamations, imitative and hortatory, as he plants. First, as he drives his pointed digging-stick into the sodden earth he ejaculates or simply mutters, '*sigigigi* . . . !' with a rapid following on of the syllables which completely baffles the European who tries to imitate. As the same meaningless word is used when the spear sinks into the flank of the pig, it is presumably a sort of onomatope, and meant by the gardener to make easier the sinking of his stick into the ground. When he sometimes says 'Brrrr . . .' it is perhaps with the same vague idea.

As he plants the taro he may apostrophize it: *O ba erejo*, 'Taro arise!' by which he means that the leaves should sprout up quickly; or, *O ba beji*, 'Taro be hungry!' i.e. be greedy and take nourishment from the soil; or *O ba anumbejo*, 'Taro sit!' i.e. let the tuber sit comfortably and firmly in the ground. He will also *Aja ba*, 'Mother taro!' by which he may mean that the plant should be prolific and put forth many offsets, or perhaps simply, as some explain it, 'What a whopper!'

Similarly as he plants sugar-cane he will mutter, '*Poruporuporu* . . . !' with the same inimitable rapidity. This is a conventional exclamation and was never explained to me; but as the large bamboo is called *Poru*, it may well enough have meant originally that the stalks of the sugar-cane should grow up like those of the much larger bamboo which they resemble. Again, as he thrusts the cutting into the ground he may be heard making luscious sucking noises between his teeth, 'Sip, sip', and coughing, as if he were already enjoying the sweet juice of the sugar-cane in his own unutterably noisy manner, and half choking himself in his eagerness.

In the old life of the Orokaiva there seem to be no 241
large ceremonies in which the direct idea is that of 789
fertility. There is, however, a strong conviction that 769

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

241 789 769 the spirits of the dead can influence the crops for good or ill. Hence to some extent come the practices of placating the dead with offerings (especially on small platforms, or *barau*, set up in the actual gardens) and of exhorting the dead man just before burial to depart to a good place where there are pigs in plenty and taro in plenty, whence he may send pigs and taro to his surviving friends. Again, for some reason which remains obscure, the garden of the dead man is tabooed to his immediate friends, though it may be used by others. In general it is felt that the spirits of the dead can prosper the gardens or blast them, and it is worth while using all possible tact to avoid the latter alternative.

241 794 769 Within the last few years, however, a movement popularly known as the 'Taro cult' has swept through the whole of the Orokaiva country. As I have dealt with this movement in another report, it will not be necessary to make more than a passing reference to it here. Near the home of the cult, viz. about the mouth of the Mambare, it would seem that the original idea has held its ground: it is a cult of the spirit of the taro. But over the greater part of the Division the new movement has adapted itself in a very significant way to old belief. It is no longer a cult of the taro itself, but of the spirits of the dead who make the taro grow. The ceremonial, although constantly altered in some minor point by local Taro men, who desire merely to go one better than those from whom they have acquired it, has remained substantially the same. It consists especially of the *kasamba* (the singing, to the accompaniment of drums and conches, of songs which are meant to make the taro prosper); of feasting and entertaining with certain formalities and the use of special utensils; of treating the plants with certain medicines; of observing certain food taboos; sometimes of dancing; and always of simulating or surrendering to various kinds of bodily seizures. All these things are supposed to make the taro grow. In the whole cult, which with rare exceptions has been

adopted by all the Orokaiva, there appears to be hardly 241
any special practice that could in any way benefit the 794
taro crop. Nevertheless, despite certain very undesirable
features, the Taro cult does no serious amount of harm 769
to those who practise it in moderation, and may perhaps
actually benefit the taro in so far as it causes, if possible,
more attention to be paid to the plant and its cultivation.

As there are magical methods used for the benefit of 241
the gardens there are others which may be used, clandes- 538
tinely, to its detriment. There is a tale of a village whose
gardens failed again and again, despite all the industry
of the villagers. Discouraged and mystified they decide
to leave a small boy to watch for the putative sorcerer.
Concealed under a pile of firewood the little spy observes
a *sovai*—a devil-devil—decked with leaves and grass
come dancing into the garden. He is hideously skinny
and ugly, and as he performs his ungainly dance he sings
Utu nauko, kobo nauko, ehu tungako, 'Like my leg, like my
arm, like the neck of a drum', meaning that the taro will
be poor and shrivelled, like his own scrawny limbs, or
the slender grip of the drum which he beats. This, like
most native stories, has a happy ending. The villagers
lie in wait, and on his next appearance the *sovai* is seized,
dispatched, and cast into a deep water, after which the
gardens prosper as they should.

Whenever things go wrong unexplicably the native is 241
prone to impute his misfortunes to a sorcerer. No doubt 789
sorcery is supposed to be practised a hundred times more
often than it is really practised. But there is one rather
cunning method which may serve as an example of black
magic at work in the garden. When a man finds that
a thief has been making free with his taro, sugar-cane,
or whatever it may be, he will look about for some
remains of the stolen food, and then setting upright in
the ground a length of springy stick, he will hold this
fragment of food against the upper end, and, bending the
stick back, shoot it out of the garden as if by means of a
catapult. The effect of this is to make the thief a waster,

244 789 a neglector of gardens, to drive him away not only from your garden but from his own. The process is called *hatutekari*, 'throwing away the taro', and the word is used not only in the literal sense but for other kinds of sorcery.

8. *Garden Labour*

461 241 The Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same—*pure*.[1] It has been frequently pointed out that the garden provides the mainstay of the native's life, and requires the greatest share of what hard work he has to do. A rough compilation made in an Aiga village showed that 48 per cent. of a man's work, 43 per cent. of a woman's, were in the garden. But in this compilation the term 'work' was allowed a very wide connotation, and covered a good deal of what the native would himself hardly call by that name. A stricter definition would have made the proportion much higher.

241 462 Part of the work is in the nature of routine—the weeding, the replanting of small batches as the taro is used, the felling of a little extra bush, and so on; part is initial work—the felling of a large area and the planting out of all available *bere*, and the construction of the fence. The larger share of the routine falls to the women; the hardest of the initial work to the men. The rough percentages given above do not indicate of course that women do less work in the gardens than men do. Rather the contrary is the case: the wife's working hours are longer both in the village and out of it.

241 592 In native horticulture, as we might expect, the immediate family—a man, his wife or wives, and their children—is a self-sufficing unit. When there are two wives it will be usual for them to work on separate plots of the husband's garden. Girls accompany their mothers to 857 work, from the time when they are carried, as small somnolent balls only visible through the meshes of a string bag, until they are buxom damsels who expect to see admirers peeping at them from the bush. Boys may

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[1] Aiga, *pure*; Binandele, *bere*.

be somewhat later in starting work, but they do their 241
share. There are very few slackers in an Orokaiva 592
village. As has been indicated, there is no effective
division of labour in the garden save that between the
sexes, and, to a less extent, that between old and young.
There are incipient traces of trades and special vocations [463
among the Orokaiva, but in gardening there is virtually]
no such differentiation. Every man, unless he be aged or
a cripple, has his own garden, and he and his wife and
children support themselves.

Sometimes the whole clan will co-operate. This is 241
seen especially when a move is made and work begun 476
on a new area. Sometimes by invitation another village
will come to assist in these initial operations. This is the 618
nearest approach that the Orokaiva makes to the African
working bee. Passing at noon through the village of
Ohoraburari—so named because the 'dance of the
rooster' was once performed there—we see the women
already busy, and a great array of black pots on the fires.
A little farther and we come to the new garden clearing,
where we find at work the whole population, men and
women, of a neighbouring village, Totoimaburari, 'the
dance of Totoima', the legendary mankiller. Working
with them are a few of the Ohoraburari people—such as
are not more interested in helping prepare the feast for
their paying guests.

The work proceeds steadily, but with little system.
There is nothing like a drive, or a rank of men moving 241
forward and working abreast; but rather a number of 476
scattered individuals, engaged in a somewhat aimless and
leisurely kind of dibbling. On the edge of the garden
is a platform, shoulder high, with a miniature ladder from [778
the ground. This is the *barau*, or *ba gaga*, the platform 769]
on which offerings are set for the spirits of the dead,
who govern the taro crop; and the ladder is intended in
some manner to facilitate their access to the offerings.
On this occasion the *barau* is hung about with tufts of
the brilliant feathers which make up the Orokaiva head-

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476 dresses, and with ornaments of shell, pig-tusks, and dogs' teeth, mock offerings to the spirits which are meant to win their goodwill without costing anything. No doubt there would be more enthusiasm about the working bee if these people only had a brew of African beer awaiting them instead of the too sober pleasures of a dish of taro. 241 476 461 The working bee, with its easy-going sociability and slow but cheerful progress, is an excellent custom but not a very striking one: it takes place comparatively seldom and seems on the whole an institution which is not developed to the full extent of its possibilities.[1] Such enthusiasm as does prevail at the beginning has a native way of petering out. Tasks well begun are often unfinished, for the Papuan seems to lack that proper desire to carry his work to the neat, logical, square finish, in which we take so much satisfaction. He works, not for the pleasure of working (as why should he ?) but to ensure his food-supply from day to day and a periodical surplus for a feast.

9. *An Improved Horticulture*

241 Having completed a survey of Orokaiva horticulture, I may attempt now to offer some criticisms and suggest some improvements. If this last section should appear to be outbalanced by the rather discursive description which has preceded it, I make the same excuse here as in other reports. The observations of one who is admittedly no gardener, but who has seen many taro gardens, and has, at any rate, eaten a lot of taro, may be worth setting down in full, so that others with an expert knowledge of horticulture may find them useful to build upon, irrespective of the suggestions which follow.

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[1] Mr. G. H. Murray, Controller of Native Plantations, has drawn my attention to the concerted methods of tilling practised by many natives on the south coast of Papua, where a number of men will work forward in line with their digging-sticks, and each line of broken ground 'looks as if it had been carefully ploughed'. Descriptions of the same sort of work are given in H. Newton's *In Far New Guinea*, p. 123, and Jennes and Ballantyne's *Northern D'Entrecasteaux*, p. 123. It is not necessary, therefore, to go to Africa for a contrast to Orokaiva methods.

(*a*) *Defects of the Present System.* We have seen the Orokaiva gardener at work in his forest clearing, and it is perhaps doubtful whether we should admire the simple skill which has met his simple requirements so effectively, or deplore the primitiveness which seems to give such small promise of development. 241

We have seen that he has hardly a tool to his hand; that he does not till the soil; that having planted his plant he leaves it for the most part to the mercies of the elements, trusting as much to a muttered spell as to a back-bending diligence in the tending of it. We have seen the untidiness of his garden plot, the absence of any regularity in his planting; a certain methodical persistence in his labour, but no developed system of co-operation and no effective division of tasks. We have seen that, despite the tropical abundance in which he lives, he is reduced to hunger by a whim of the weather, for he does not lay by overmuch except towards an engorgement with his friends. And we have seen that he is restricted to, and apparently content with, a general monotony of diet.

Worse than all these is the prodigal system which I have called the Rotation of Areas. This is, of course, no new thing, but a method common to all primitive forest gardeners. It is in effect the same system as the *jhuming* of India, the *chena* of Ceylon, and the *ladang* of Malaya, and on one count or another has everywhere met with severe condemnation. Willis states that 'Vast areas of good forest land have been ruined in southern Asia by this destructive practice, and in most countries *chena* permits for crown land are only issued now under stress of very hard times and failure of the regular crops'.[1] 241
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The view that it is primarily a labour-saving device is endorsed by Ling Roth,[2] who says,

'it is probably rare that cultivated land is deserted on account of its

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[1] Vide J. C. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[2] H. Ling Roth (*J. A. I.* xvi, pp. 109-22). Quoted from Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 102, 103.

241 311

> arriving at the state described as "exhausted", i.e. when crops can no longer be grown in consequence of the withdrawal, through too much cultivation, of their food constituents, for savages do not cultivate on such an intense system as to bring about that state of the soil'.

The same author remarks of the Dyak rice-growers, that they 'do not desert their farms because the land is exhausted, but because it is less trouble to cut down fresh jungle than to eradicate the weeds which have sprung up after the padi has been gathered'.

There are two arguments against this system of land utilization in the Northern Division; first, that it is economically wasteful; second, that it is unsettling and makes for social instability.

With regard to the first question there can be no doubt that, although under present conditions the Rotation of Areas is a labour-saving system, yet it involves a great expenditure of time and energy which might be avoided, or more profitably turned to account, under a system of more intensive cultivation. It will be the thesis of this section to advocate such a system. In the meantime it is enough to point out that the gardener not only spends a good deal of time on the track between his house and his garden (which may be literally miles away), but is continually employed on what is an unprofitable task—because it could be an unnecessary one—viz. the felling of forest timber.

This loss of time and this unnecessary increase of work may be trivial points, because the native generally has too much of the one and too little of the other. In two other respects, however, the Rotation of Areas is more obviously wasteful. In most parts of Papua the population is sparse, but it is well known that the native is reluctant to sell the land which his people have used for cultivation. The system we are discussing necessarily makes the area *per capita* very large. It must be admitted that the land problem, i.e. the acquisition of land by the European capitalist, has not been a very serious one in Papua. But if or when this problem arises, the difficulty

of it will reside in the present system of an *extensive* and 241
extravagant use of the land by its native owners. Apart 311
from the other advantages which should attend a more *intensive* cultivation, it should make available great areas of land (if they are required) for European enterprise. Lastly, the Rotation of Areas is indirectly responsible for the deforestation of the north. This question has been discussed already (pp. 131–3). We have seen that the spread of the grass lands is due proximately to the negligence of the natives, but it is the fact that the scene of their labours is constantly changing that makes the expansion of the grass plains a serious problem.

Apart from these economic drawbacks the system 241
which I have described exercises a moral or social influence 311
which seems directly inimical to progress. The 361
tendency of the Orokaiva (and of many other peoples in Papua) to subdivide and scatter has caused the magistrate continual anxiety and trouble; and the undesirability of this habit has long been recognized. As the Native Regulation expresses it,

> 'The practice of people abandoning their old homes in settled villages and scattering themselves in small groups over the face of the country is growing in the land. Experience proves that this isolated way of living tends to breed animosities, and increase superstitious fears and to debase those that follow it.'[1]

In pre-Government days, if the natives are to be 241
believed, the villages were very commonly larger than 311
they are at present. Tribal enmities and the constant 361
fear of raiders made it necessary for the members of the 618
clan to cluster together for mutual protection. But with the advent of Government control this fear has passed away. The individual clan or even family feels secure from attack however isolated it may be. Consequently we find a growing tendency for the small group to form an independent settlement. I have already referred to this matter (p. 129) but a repetition may be pardoned.

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[1] Native Regulations, 1922, No. 90.

241 My own observations lead me to believe that the com-
311 monest way for such an independent settlement to come
361 into being is for a few related families, or sometimes a
618 single family, to form a temporary settlement or camp
on the distant site of the garden. In the very simple organization of the Orokaiva the family group is self-sufficing. There is no economic necessity for cohesion between family groups, and to avoid the trouble of coming and going the temporary settlement is easily converted into a permanent one on the spot where its supplies are found. Thus it will appear that the habit of making gardens on distant sites, and of changing these sites from time to time, tends to encourage a shifting, semi-nomadic kind of horticulture. There can be little doubt that the Rotation of Areas system is one of the most potent causes of village and clan disintegration.

880 (*b*) *Intensive Culture and Closer Settlement.* The remedy for these negative and positive evils lies, I believe, in a more intensive culture and in the closer settlement which would accompany it. Instead of a wide area of forest with here and there a patch titillated into temporary productiveness and then overwhelmed by the tropical bush or sometimes subjugated by the ever-advancing long grass, we might hope to see a continuous tract of land, a garden settlement, which, if not kept under continuous cultivation, might still be kept under human control. Such may be a very distant ideal, but I believe the advantages which would come of its realization may be expressed in more general terms than those of mere gardening.

It has been affirmed often enough that various civilizations have been based upon various kinds of agriculture, or even upon the cultivation of particular products; as for instance those of Egypt upon corn, of Mexico and Peru upon maize, even that of Uganda upon the banana. Such statements are perhaps more plausible than really demonstrable: they are usually backed up less by facts than by inferences. However, it may well be that

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agriculture—or horticulture—where it becomes an absorbing interest, and an interest of prime importance, will bring about far-reaching developments in other departments of life. The economic results involve social and even religious results.

The Northern Division, indeed, supplies at this moment a case in point. The 'Taro cult', originating ten years ago and still flourishing, is a compound of gardening and religion which has met with almost universal acceptance, and to-day is probably the most absorbing interest in the life of the Orokaiva. But this is no more than an illustration. It is a new system, that of closer settlement and intensive culture, that especially offers the prospect of social and moral advance. I may quote the generalization of Ratzel: '. . . in the yearly repetition of labour on the same soil creative force is concentrated and tradition secured; and thus the fundamental conditions of civilization come to birth.'[1] It is when the lax, *extensive* culture of the soil gives place to concentration that new methods, new knowledge, and new habits are required. Semple has stated that 'every advance to a higher state of civilization has meant a progressive decrease in the amount of land necessary for the support of the individual, and a progressive increase in the relations between man and his habitat'.[2] No one need maintain that this closer relation with the soil is the one and only cause of the advance from savagery to civilization, but nevertheless it is not putting the cart before the horse to say that a limitation of land area, by necessitating a more intense culture, may actually be the cause of an advance to a higher state of civilization. Concentration of area necessitates concentration of effort.

Let us for a moment picture a garden settlement, perhaps a single village in the centre of a wide area of arable

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[1] Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, vol. i, p. 27 (Macmillan).

[2] Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, p. 64 (Henry Holt & Co.).

080 land, or else a series of such villages; or else again a number of not too scattered houses. The tract of arable land might be subdivided between its various owners—clan or individual. Instead of the track winding through bush and swamp to some distant, hidden clearing, we might see well-kept paths or roads; and, almost at a glance, might take in the whole area of cultivable land which belonged to the village. There would be no constant shifting of scene, but a permanent establishment of the owners upon their own land. The carelessness which matters so little when the garden is soon to be abandoned might be replaced by a desire to make durable improvements. The best available land might be selected. Drainage and even irrigation might become profitable. General gardening methods might be improved by the pride taken in a successful garden, even by some spirit of competition. If we must rely upon instruction and supervision by Europeans or native experts, then these would be immensely facilitated if the gardens were in one continuous block.

But it is not so much for the purely material advantages, viz. a betterment of horticultural methods, that I would advocate closer settlement. It is easier perhaps to associate in one's mind a well-cultivated stretch of land with a well-cultivated group of people than to prove that there is any causal connexion between the two conditions. But one may claim that if the land is to be kept under continuous control there will be a demand for greater industry and application than is required at present. If the village area were laid out according to some orderly scheme, this would itself assist in developing that sense of order and tidiness in which the native is so patently deficient; and orderliness in one thing leads to orderliness in others. Where the gardens were more or less permanent, and where they were contiguous, there might spring up a spirit of competition, and much might result from the pride which an owner would take in a progressive and well-kept property. The spirit of competition, indeed, is something we would do well to stimulate among the natives. Whereas under existing conditions the award of a prize for the best-kept garden in the Division is hardly feasible, simply because of the difficulty of judging, it would be easy work for a magistrate to select the best garden in a village settlement of the sort I am trying to picture. Further, where continual comparison is made by the natives themselves between their own gardens, the stimulating effect of a periodical prize-giving must be far more real; it is of little value among villages whose inhabitants never see one another's gardens. It has been advocated that something in the nature of 'agricultural shows' should be held from time to time, with prizes for the best exhibits. Such an innovation may be for the present unnecessary, but any measure which would promote a spirit of mutual emulation may be kept in view as an instrument of progress.

Another result which might come of closer settlement is a development of the idea of property. We have seen that land is owned communally by the Orokaiva clan, but that the garden, while it lasts, is virtually private property. If garden land were kept under continuous control we might well expect to see a transition to private land-ownership, and this, in my opinion, would be a step in the direction of progress. Well-defined boundaries and the rights and responsibilities of proprietorship have a further effect: they combine to produce a general law-abidingness.

Lastly, there is the effect—already touched upon—of *settling* the people more firmly than is possible under the present system. Once again it is difficult to set down more than a somewhat vague *a priori* impression, but it will be recognized that social advancement is more compatible with truly sedentary habits than with the hitherto somewhat uncertain kind of livelihood of the Orokaiva gardener.

A truly sedentary mode of life may lead to larger aggregations of people, and these to a greater social and

000 economic complexity. We have noted the absence of any developed division of labour or co-operation among the Orokaiva; and not only economically, but socially as well, there is too much of an even tone or a dead level among them. Such a condition is not progressive. If we would wish to see a home-grown development of native civilization, it must lie in the direction of differentiation of labour and the evolution of social grades. These are somewhat beyond our immediate scope, but the intermediate or preparatory stage is, I believe, the more intensive culture of the soil by a firmly established rural settlement.

(*c*) *Practical Suggestions.* It is futile to dwell upon the hypothetical results of intensive culture and closer settlement without considering how these latter may be brought into being. There are several subjects of obvious importance, viz.:

1. Tools.
2. Rotation of crops.
3. Instruction.

I propose to deal with these rather shortly.

241 412 (1) *Tools.* The horticulture of Papua has not even reached the stage of *Hackbau.* It is incomparably inferior to that of Africa or the East, and principally, no doubt, for the reason that our natives have never used a hoe. 'Imperfect tools tend to perpetuate the lower stage.'[1] Our first business, if we would educate the native gardener, is to place an implement in his hand. At present [177] he is indebted to us for a knife and a steel axe. These have made the work of clearing easier, and have left him with more time on his hands. His gardening tool proper is still the digging-stick. It is true that certain tools are provided for native plantations, but it is understood that what this report endeavours to advocate is an improved village horticulture, irrespective of the native plantations,

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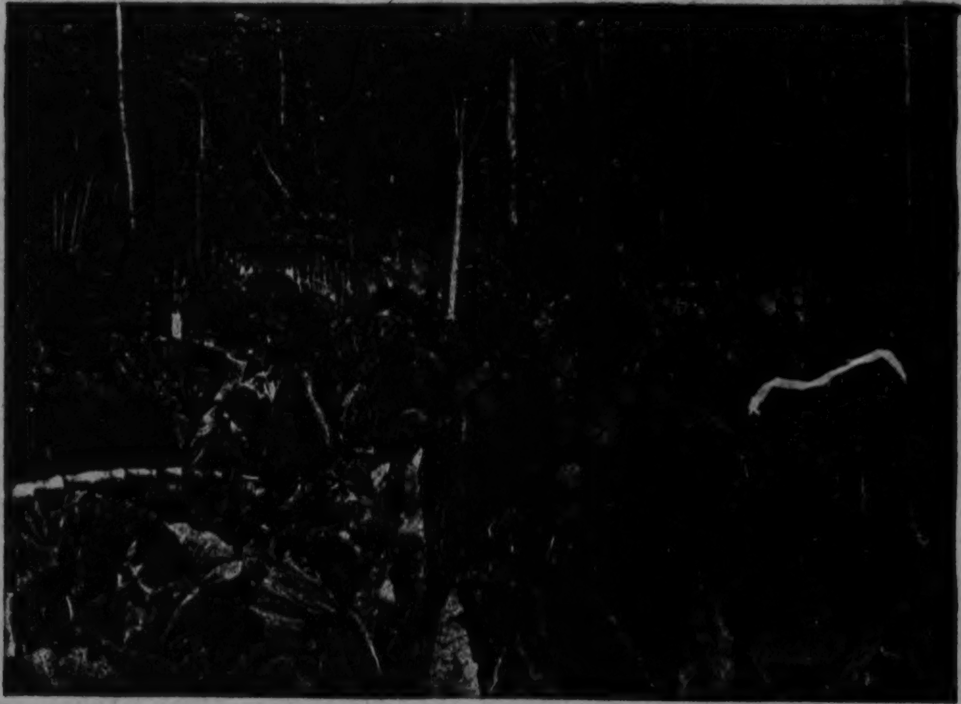
[1] Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, vol. i, p. 91 (Macmillan). Quoted in Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 96.

[facing P.160]



A TARO MAN AT WORK IN THE GARDEN

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412 and such horticulture cannot improve on a mere digging-stick.

000 We all know, however, that it is not enough merely to present the native with a tool and the appropriate instructions. He must be taught to use it, not how to use it. But I shall return to that question after a few pages more. In the meantime there is one consideration that calls for notice. It is a mistake to expect any swift, revolutionary advance. One need not quarrel with the use of machinery on native plantations, where the main object is perhaps a large output, and where there is expert supervision always available. But—as it is perhaps unnecessary to note—such measures are in themselves of little educative value to the native gardener. Willis may be quoted at length on this subject:

> 'The mistake has been to try to make too large a step at once. The most modern machinery has been introduced directly. Of course the villager does not understand it properly, he cannot repair it if anything goes wrong, he cannot afford to buy it, and in many other ways it is unsuited to local conditions. The proper way of progress is the scientific one. The local tool should be carefully studied and compared with other tools of similar nature or used for similar purposes, and then when the principle of the whole subject is understood, the local tool should be modified slightly in the desired direction, so slightly that the villager need not have his prejudices offended, nor find anything that he cannot understand or repair in the new instrument.'[1]

A missionary in Africa tells how a merchant brought a number of English-made hoe-blades to Zululand. They were superior in every way to the native article, but of a different shape. 'The Kaffirs would not tolerate the innovation, and the improved hoes were unsaleable.' The disconsolate merchant then thought of ordering another consignment to be made strictly after the Zulu pattern. The results were all that he hoped for, and now the iron hoe-blade is almost always purchased from European traders.[2] Apart from the deplorable fact that a native industry was pressed out by cheap 'wholesale',

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[1] C. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[2] Rev. J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal* (p. 17).

000 this incident might stand as an allegory, indeed as a case in point. Necessary innovations must be presented in a familiar guise before they are acceptable. The new wine must here be put into tolerably old bottles.

In Papuan horticulture it might be said that we have no implement to improve, no model to modify. Starting off scratch, therefore, we must introduce only the simplest of novelties. It is not necessary to think ambitiously of a plough, but only of an iron mattock. To make a concrete suggestion, the most useful all-round tool, the cheapest, and the most acceptable to a haunch-squatting native, would be the short-handled army entrenching tool.

(2) *Rotation of Crops.* It will be obvious that the whole success of this project depends on the continued fertility of the soil. Hitherto, without direct forethought of the gardener, this has been assured by the Rotation of Areas, a practice which has already been described and condemned. If the gardens were in one continuous block of more limited extent, and kept under continuous working control, the present long recuperative periods between crops would be unfeasible. The use of fertilizers is presumably out of the question for many years to come; therefore the solution of the problem would seem to be in a suitable rotation of crops. I hesitate to make definite suggestions upon a matter so far beyond my province. But, apart from cover crops yielding no food return, there are many food products which might be planted in rotation with the staple taro. Among the legumes, ground-nuts, so important a product in negro Africa, have hitherto been only the subject of successful experiment in Papua; and it remains to be seen whether peas and the various beans will commend themselves to the native's peculiarly stubborn palate. But I am indebted to Mr. Dawson, of the Native Plantations staff, for the suggestion that gram, an important food throughout India, would be the most successful leguminous crop in the Northern Division, both because it is suited to

existing conditions, and because it should be an acceptable diet to the natives.

Of the cereals maize has already established itself in public favour and has demonstrated its suitability to the soil. It might, however, be planted far more widely and systematically than at present; and, further, it might be consumed in other ways than merely *au naturel*. There is no reason why eventually Orokaiva natives should not convert their corn into meal.

The question of introducing new products has of course been under the constant consideration of more than one department. From the aspect of health, viz. as one of diet, it is sufficiently important, but it is hardly less so in that it should simply develop and improve the natives' gardening, and help to make this gardening a more engrossing interest to him than it is at present.

(3) *Instruction.* Having considered various methods by which native horticulture may be improved, it remains for us to consider the further question of how we may induce the native to adopt these methods. We are all too well acquainted with his conservatism and his complacency. He was brought up on taro, and taro, he says, is good enough for him. It is not sufficient simply to show him new appliances, new methods, or new products. Sir Hugh Clifford writes with regard to the plantations and model farms in Nigeria: 'Eight years' residence in West Africa has convinced me that the notion that agricultural stations under European management serve any really practical purpose as "object lessons" to the native farmers represents the triumph of hope over experience'; and again: 'the example set by the most scientific agricultural methods adopted on our plantations is lost upon him because he can rarely be induced to examine these methods.'[1]

There are, I believe, two very essential points to be observed if we are ever to induce him to adopt these methods. First, he must be taught them *young*; second, he must be *habituated* in the use of them.

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[1] Nigerian Council, Address by the Governor, 1920, p. 178.

000 When we so often complain of the apathy, the conservatism, or the unwillingness to learn of the native, it is all the more unreasonable that we should attempt to teach him new methods when he has passed the plasticity of childhood and has settled down to the indolent self-satisfaction of his adult life. In another report I hope to elaborate an education scheme in which agriculture would play a leading part; therefore I need only treat the subject lightly here. However, in so far as this scheme involves agricultural or horticultural training, it would mean that boys (and girls) should live for a period on a school farm and be brought up during that period in the daily practice of certain improved gardening methods. The improvements should not be so far removed from native custom but that the native could, on returning to his village, put them easily into practice. During his stay in the school he should be given a taste, so to speak, of the advantages which improved methods should ensure him, living, in fact, in a state of mild luxury which he did not know before entering the school, and which he should not forget on leaving it. The novelties of his boarding-school existence might be many and various—foretastes indeed of the amenities which we think should belong to some future state of native civilization—but in so far as they are directly horticultural they would be mainly the cultivation of new products and the enjoying of them. One general aim of native education should be to elevate the standard of living, and there is no more essential aspect of this subject than that of the food quest. Not only in the raising of a greater variety of vegetable foods, but very importantly in the storage, treatment, and preparation of them, may the food quest be complicated and developed. Far be it from our policy to neglect entirely the mental and spiritual pabulum of the native while we think about a purely material pabulum. There must be room in an education scheme for the encouragement and development of his crafts and industries, and above all of his art; room also for some mental and

spiritual pabulum that is entirely new—provided it be not entirely indigestible. But these considerations are not likely to be ousted by an improvement of his methods in the garden. Indeed, while the material benefits of such improvement must be obvious enough, it is not really on these that we should base our advocacy of native agriculture. 000

Maybe we should find among diligent peasant proprietors not only material prosperity, but the contentment and the interest in life which are the things our natives really need.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

[P. 167]
[P. 166 contains no text]

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OROKAIVA MAGIC

[P.169]
[P.168 contains no text]

OROKAIVA MAGIC

1. *Magic and Common Sense*

121 THE definition of magic has proved a highly unmanageable subject, and no attempt need be made here to answer a question upon which so many doctors have differed. All that is required is a fair delimitation of the subject of this report, i.e. of those practices and observances to which the name 'magic', a slippery word, is applied without a necessarily strict regard for its anthropological fitness.

I will not essay to deal at length with the time-honoured distinction, or lack of it, between magic and religion, but would prefer if possible to skip the subject, or at least dispense with it as quickly as may be. In the first place the observances we are to discuss will not be such as implicate higher personal powers. It is true they will often resort to the supernatural, but not to the spiritual. In the second place, and one may say as a corollary, they will not be such as employ methods of conciliation or propitiation. In the third place they will be regarded as including both good and bad. For the purposes of the present report they will be susceptible of the same treatment, whether they be directed toward social or antisocial ends. The division into good and bad is an important one which has been made the basis of a definition of magic, but for the present it may be regarded as a division *within* our subject.

It is proposed to look at these phenomena of the Stone Age from the standpoint of the twentieth century, i.e. to discuss any or all of those practices of the Orokaiva which we call magic, not only those which he would call magic himself. There is a large number of primitive practices, very simple and elementary, which in common speech may be called magical, but which are both in intent and effect entirely harmless. If a gardener, for

(21 instance, deposit a fragment of a certain leaf in the hole prepared for his taro shoot in order to make the plant grow well, we may be justified in using the word magic although the observance is without any anti-social intention. Furthermore, in such a simple example as this the word ‘ rite ’ seems over-pretentious, and as many of the examples we have to examine are not a whit more complicated or impressive, the word rite will as a rule be avoided in favour of the more colourless expressions ‘ practice ’ or ‘ observance ’.

In passing it need hardly be said that these observances may be negative as well as positive, i.e. that they may take the form of taboo as well as of actual practice. The same sort of motives will account for an avoidance as well as a practical observance, so that no distinction is necessary.

In all the observances we must insist on their futility. It is only in an indirect and unintended manner that magic attains the result it aims at. When it succeeds in a direct manner it is *ipso facto* not magic but common sense. It will thus appear that magic, in the sense in which the word will be used here, is almost as wide a category as superstition, or at least as practical superstition, i.e. the acts, practices, and taboos which are based upon it. Yet it will be obvious that not all the futile practices of primitive folk are to be classed as magical. An action may be futile and yet (even from our point of view) thoroughly sensible. The cause of the futility may be that it is based on wrong information, incorrect observation, &c., which are sources of error to which the best of men are subject.

It will be found in the main that those observances with which we are concerned will admit of an explanation by the hypothesis of Sympathetic Magic. It would not mean that one subscribed to this hypothesis if one elected to use the phrase Sympathetic Magic, which has come into general use and which would at least cover the subject. To this large class of processes, however, there seems to belong this common feature, viz. that they aim at results in a certain indirect manner, and in all of them we may detect what appear to be more or less remote symbols, either symbolic acts or symbolic objects. In fact, instead of the term sympathetic (in which there might be a false commitment) we may adopt the term symbolic. The word magic, then, will be used in this report for those obviously futile observances of primitive society which aim at results in an apparently symbolic manner.

There is one important point which should be made at an early stage. If the hypothesis on which the present report will proceed be correct, viz. that magic of the sort specified has its origin in impulse, then it follows that such magic may be spontaneous, i.e. any man's impulse may at any time and in regard to any circumstance take a form which constitutes in embryo a magical process. But such spontaneous magical processes are for one reason or another repeated, they are passed on from man to man, they lose their spontaneity and become customary. If they are pretentious enough they will then deserve the name of rites. Thus is created a large body of regular magical practice or ritual which, in contradistinction to the spontaneous kind, may be called conventional magic. It is thus seen that spontaneous magic becomes conventional magic. The former is impulsive; the latter is not practised on impulse, but is impulsive only in origin.

It may well be that the magic-maker has no belief in his magic unless it has already reached the second stage, viz. when it is sanctioned by custom and when he has learnt it by rote. It will remain to be seen or conjectured how this belief comes into being. The philosophy of it will be a still later stage. There are in fact three theoretical stages: (1) magic is in origin spontaneous and unthinking; (2) it becomes customary and is believed to be effective; (3) the reason for its effectiveness may call for some explanation from those who practise it.

It has been given as a premiss that we are to discuss

121 those observances which we ourselves regard as magic, not simply those which the native would regard as such. It remains by way of introduction to compare these two categories more fully and to analyse the magical process into headings for subsequent discussion.

The scope of magic depends upon the education of those who practise it. We, who have a wide and fairly reliable knowledge of cause and effect, have also our idea of what is magic; and of course we do not condescend to practise it willingly and wittingly. We usually believe ourselves to be standing on solid ground. We know the people and things we are dealing with, and how they will react under given conditions. We fulfil the conditions and the expected result follows. This we call common sense; or, if it be a little more strictly demonstrable, science. Everything is above-board; we are not only confident of the result, but we think we understand how it comes about.

When we turn our attention to the native we find him engaged in a hundred practices which to our more advanced knowledge are obviously futile. From actions, words, and indeed imaginations, he is expecting results which are unfortunately quite independent of them. But he commonly feels the same confidence in them that we feel in our common-sense actions, and sometimes at any rate he thinks he understands how the results come about. It is plain that our category of magic does not coincide with his. What is magic in our eyes is often in his the plainest of common sense. And as his education advances, as his knowledge of causes and effects grows sounder and wider, he will come to see that some of the things he took for common sense are nothing more than magic.

Though there can be no doubt that we ourselves are sometimes guilty of magical practices, it is seldom that we admit it or even realize it. We can detect it easily enough in the conduct of those who are much more ignorant than ourselves; but it is not fair to expect that these more ignorant people can so easily detect it in their 121 own conduct. This point is obvious but not without importance, because one sometimes finds a tendency to regard native magic (whether well or ill intentioned) as in itself reprehensible.

It is not easy to define the native's own category of the magical. But if we examine those of his practices which we ourselves regard as magic, we will often be able to discover in them two more or less distinct elements—a routine or procedure, and a medicine or magical substance. The former is overt, the latter is occult. The former may indeed include the use of substances or objects, but there is no secrecy or mystery about them. The magical substance *par excellence* is something not understood.

This magical substance might be called a charm or even a talisman; but these words have acquired a connotation which seems out of keeping with the unpretentious methods of native magic. The word 'medicine', which is commonly used in regard to native magic, is avoided because it may so easily be applied to any substance which enters into the magical routine, and about which there is no suggestion of mystery or the supernatural. For the little extra, however, the primitive elixir, I propose to use the word 'specific', because, while the substances are of great variety, each is regarded as efficacious for some more or less special purpose. The word, however, must in this paper be given an extra meaning, viz. that of mystery or incomprehensibility.

An example will make the distinction clear. A man 121 named Baravandari has been held responsible for the death of one Gogova. He is supposed to have extracted 754 from Gogova's bag the remains of a betel-nut which his intended victim has bitten. This he wraps up in a small parcel of leaves *together with some saruka* (or sorcerer's specific). He puts it under a flat stone upon which he seats himself, heaving his body to and fro so as to give the betel-nut and the medicine a thorough crushing. Mean-

121 754 while he imitates *sotto voce* the blasts of the shell trumpet and the thin wailing of women. These sounds are meant to represent the trumpet which, with distinctive rhythm, will summon the mourners to Gogova's funeral, and the weeping of Gogova's womenfolk. Then he leaves the parcel under the flat stone till the victim shall sicken and die.

This case was recounted to me by an old man—himself a likely sorcerer—in the presence of a number of spectators. There was no secrecy regarding the procedure, but regarding the *saruka*, or magical substance, all the spectators and the old man himself professed complete ignorance. They were all capable of enacting the routine, but none were capable (so they professed) of killing the victim, because they did not know of the necessary specific.

121 789 The above case is one of black magic or sorcery, but the same applies to the innocent magic of everyday life. When the hunter has set up his pig-trap he throws into it some leaf or other—a pig-medicine—and cries, '*Ma, ma!*' (the conventional way of calling pigs in the village), and utters a grunting noise in his throat. These latter, the call and the grunt, are the procedure; the leaf (a more or less close secret) is the specific.

The use of a specific, however, is not invariable. Many of the minor practices which we should call magical are, so to speak, straight-forward magic. There is with them no necessity for any accessory power; no all-important but mysterious ingredient need be added. The magic works of itself. Successful or not it is simply an effort in the direction of the desired result. Such are spells, ejaculations, and gestures. The man who would drive off the rain cries *Wa doio!*'—'Cease rain!'—utters a long-drawn inarticulate cry, and sweeps back the clouds with a wave of his arm. A pig-hunter whispers *Engepu, engepu!*—'Come hither, come hither!'—as he waits in the garden by moonlight; and the little boy, visiting his bird-traps and finding one of them collapsed, says

Teb, teb!—'Kill, kill!'—in the hopes of finding a dead 121
bird under the wreckage. The villagers hoard their pig-jaws 789
partly as mementoes and trophies, but also, as they
sometimes explain, to ensure subsequent success in the
hunt. To throw away the jaws where they would be lost
to sight in the bush would be in some manner to throw
away the hunter's chance of catching pigs. A pregnant 121
woman who desires a male child conceals a mangrove 843
stamen under her bark-cloth skirt. The stamen is said to
resemble a penis, and so its influence in the matter of sex-determination
is obvious enough. As far as I know the
woman uses no other medicine, i.e. no specific, to help
the mangrove stamen in its work. A pregnant woman 121
who desires no child at all will slash the skin of a cucumber 847
about its middle, and then slash herself about the
middle: the cucumber rots and the woman has a miscarriage.
This is only one of the many methods of
abortion—old wives' remedies which are really made
effective by pummelling and violence. It is not a secret,
and in this case, as far as I know, there is no mysterious
medicine.

Now it is hard to come by an explanation, a rationale, 121
of his own magic from a native. In so far as set methods have replaced originality in magic the native learns these methods without troubling as to their why and wherefore. Where there is originality the magic is, as we shall see, more impulsive than rational. In either case he does not think the methods out. But sometimes a rather exceptional informant can explain them or give their reasons. And, indeed, to one who sees much of native magic, these methods take on a sort of obviousness. The obviousness, however, the why and wherefore, appertain to the procedure, not to the specific. They stop short at what is really the unknown factor. The man who goes through the whole magical practice may feel tolerably clear as to the significance of the procedure, but he can have only a blind faith in the specific.

Given, therefore, that in what we call native magic

121 there is always a procedure and sometimes a specific, it would seem that the only factor which the native allows really to puzzle him is the latter. As to the procedure he usually accepts and adopts it on authority; but he sometimes improvises it; and sometimes if he thinks hard he can give a plausible reason for it. At any rate it is to him a natural thing. As to the specific, however, he can probably give no explanation at all; he accepts it as a secret and guards it as one; and as for its powers, they are not natural but supernatural. It would appear, indeed, that originally the same magical explanations might apply to the specific as to the more obvious procedure. But the discovery or the patenting of the specific may have happened long back in the past, and in the course of its transmission from one to another the explanation, such as it was, has been forgotten, and the specific becomes simply an agent of inexplicable powers.

If the native has his own clear-cut category of the magical, it will, I believe, have to be limited to those practices in which the specific plays a part. The others, where the specific is absent, might still be magic to us, but to him they would be common sense. Indeed, it might be said that even where a specific is used the element of the practice which has been called procedure or routine is regarded as common sense, while the magic consists solely in the use of the mysterious medicine.

I know of no Orokaiva word which would cover our
121 whole idea of magic, but there are a number of general
789 terms for specific or magical substance, either good or bad, e.g. *sivo* or *kore* for good specifics, *kai*, *inja*, or *saruka* for bad. A sorcerer, *kaiembo* or *injambo*, is one who uses *kai* or *inja*. A merely benevolent magic-maker, a practitioner of white magic, has no distinctive name for the plain reason that the character is universal; every man possesses certain *sivo* and *kore* which are applicable to some department of life. When he uses them he is making magic of the harmless or innocent sort. But when he performs some futile rite without a specific it probably

seems to him very natural and sensible. There is no 121 appeal to any unknown power; his conduct is straight- 789 forward and aims direct at the result. Therefore, he would say, it is not magic.

It will be obvious that we can expect to learn little at 121 present from the specific. It is proposed, therefore, in the next section to examine the magical procedure.

2. *The Procedure of Magic*

One or two further examples will show that Orokaiva 789 magic has many features with which we are familiar. An old woman named Hojavo is reputed to be a rain-maker. At first she maintains her innocence of the charge, but finally yields to many assurances of indemnity and consents to show her magical recipe. First she takes a broad striated leaf of the tree *Gotomo*. (My interpreter points out a resemblance between this leaf and a certain kind of cloud, which I confess myself unable to see with him.) The *Gotomo* leaf is thoroughly crushed and deposited in an earthenware saucepan. Now the old woman takes a section of banana stalk of the kind called *Andoga*. This is especially succulent, and as she breaks and squeezes it in her hands over the pot it sheds a copious rain of drops. Meanwhile she is muttering *Ga bejo, ga bejo!*—'Rain come, rain come!' Then, when she has squeezed the *Andoga* stalk dry, she places it on top of the first leaf and the watery fluid in the pot, and leaves them in her house. For some reason the rain-maker must skulk indoors, not venturing out nor ever looking at the sky until she relents and is ready to unmake her magic. To do this she empties the earthenware pot; she lays out the saturated *Andoga* to dry; she looks into the sky and puffs her breath at it; she blows into her closed fist and then sweeps her open hand across the heavens, crying, *Ga tojo, ga tojo!*—'Rain be finished!'

A group of informants describe a method of causing 754 that enormous distension of the scrotum, known as *bau peni*, which is sometimes seen among the Orokaiva and

754 is always an object of dread to them. The procedure is evidently well enough known, for there is no attempt at secrecy and the group of informants and onlookers is a large one. But it must be understood that the specific (in this case called *inja*) is professedly unknown. Not one of the group will admit that he is able to inflict this dreadful deformity on any other man; he knows how to go about the nefarious work, but he does not know the specific which would make the work really effective.

By way of demonstration an old man, taking some leaf at random to represent the *bau peni* specific, scrapes fragments of it into another leaf. As he does so he groans and writhes, muttering audible complaints of the pain in his testicles and declaring that he is a dying man. This is in imitation of the victim when he begins to feel the pain of the attack. Having wrapped up the leaf which contains the scrapings into a little parcel, the sorcerer saves some of the remaining *inja* and takes his opportunity of rubbing it on the mat where his prospective victim is sure to sit. Then he goes off and conceals the small package in one of those nests of termites called *siribo*. This *siribo*, usually found in the fork of a tree, takes the form of an irregular ball of woody substance and may be in size equal to a football. It bears sufficient resemblance, even in point of cubic capacity, to the swollen scrotum with which the unhappy victim is to be burdened.

Now the work of the sorcerer is for the time being complete. The victim will have sat on his mat, and thus, so to speak, the circuit is made complete and the *inja* may be relied upon to do its work unaided. Only one thing can arrest the hypertrophy to which the victim is now doomed, and that is for the sorcerer to relent, to abstract the parcel of *inja* from the *siribo* and cast it into the water. After that he may himself treat the patient by the ordinary methods of blowing and massage, and recovery is assured.

754 A process somewhat similar could bring about the
164 elephantiasis of the lower limbs which is seen fairly

commonly in the north. A medicine (professedly, and 754
I have no doubt really, unknown to my informants) is 164
set on the track where the doomed man is expected to pass. He simply steps over it: that is enough. Then it is stuffed into the pulpy interior of a large banana-like plant called *Supi*. The characteristic of *Supi* is its tremendously swollen trunk, which is not only clumsy and bulging, but for some reason curiously ugly. The similarity to the terribly deformed limbs of elephantiasis is rather gruesomely apparent.

In such practices as these we see a more or less incom- 000
plete representation of the desired result. There seems to be a sort of fantastic reasonableness about them. But it may be argued that any native explanation of this reasonableness is a secondary development, and it is doubtful if the native explanation, such as it is, would bring us very near the truth. The actual origin of the practices is impulsive and unthinking. By repetition they may become set, and so in the mere performance of them there will be thought to exist some taken-for-granted efficacy. But the rationale is an afterthought. Indeed, the rationale is often conspicuous by its absence. We should be wrong in assuming that there is a reason in logic for all magical processes; and to search overmuch for it is to merit the disappointment of the alchemist, or perhaps to discover only some counterfeit theory of our own making, some product of the 'psychologist's fallacy'.

As originally impulsive and truly spontaneous it may be said that the fundamental element in magic consists just in desiring the result, but desiring it in the particular way (viz. without any solid, matter-of-fact basis) which we call *wishing* or *hoping*. One might go so far as to say that whoever hopes against hope, whoever dreams by day or builds castles in the air, has already made magic in his heart. Any emotion or blend of emotions may enter into the hope—hunger, anger, lust, revenge, or whatever other. When we are indulging a wish or a false hope and are enjoying a premature imaginary satisfaction

000 of such emotions, we are in spirit guilty of magic. We do not go so far, perhaps, as to engage in the actual practice of make-believe; we are aware of the folly of the magic of words and deeds, and for the most part avoid them; but, while we may be equally aware of the folly of this incipient magic of thoughts, some of us at least are very prone to indulge in it.

789 154 The mere hope or wish is in itself regarded as magically potent by the native: you have reason to fear an ill-disposed neighbour simply because he wishes you ill success. When a man has two wives it is, I am told, not uncommon for the less favoured to practise *gose*, or the 'evil wish' against him. If he returns from the hunt with a wallaby and gives it all to his favourite, the fury of the scorned woman finds satisfaction in *gose*. She says to herself, 'Very well, next time he hunts he will waste his time'. When the unlucky bigamist returns empty-handed and angry he is prone to suspect one or other of his wives, and they are likewise prone to mutual accusations, true or trumped-up, so that the affair may end in high words or even blows.

154 The evil wish may be transmitted by a look—the 'evil eye'. It is said that *Baigona* men had simply to fix an eye on their intended victims and the sickness would follow.[1] An enemy need only cast a malicious glance at one who was going out to hunt and there would be no catch that day. This is the reason why it is advisable to sneak out of the village quietly when you mean to hunt alone.

789 Another stage in the indulgence of this false hope or wish comes when we utter it aloud in the spell or the apostrophe. When a man wants rain he cries, 'Rain come!'; when he wants it to cease he cries, 'Rain, rain, go away!' As he plants the taro he cries, *O ba anumbe jo!*—'Taro, sit tight!' (i.e. take root), or *Ba erejo!*—'Taro

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[1] There may be in this more than elementary magic, for these *Baigona* sorcerers employed snake-spirits, or perhaps the spirits of the dead in snake-form to do their mischief.

arise!' Such exhortations are numberless. With the 789
Orokaiva, I believe, they are mainly spontaneous; set magical formulae, if they exist, are uncommon. It is simply a matter of putting what you wish into words, though you may have no good reason to expect a fulfilment of the wish. To see how common is this elementary form of magic among ourselves we need only observe the barrackers at a football match or the punters on a race-course.

I know of very few *set* or conventional spells among the Orokaiva, although they may exist in greater number than I am aware of. However, I have often enough heard a man saying aloud what he wants, and it may fairly be maintained that all spells are originally rather straightforward statements of some desire. By putting your wish into words you bring it nearer, give yourself a false confidence by adopting a confident tone, and give your hope a premature realization by stating it as a fact. The unintelligible spell (which I believe to be rare among the Orokaiva) may develop or rather degenerate from the intelligible spell, i.e. from the statement of a wish
or hope. Primitives are so prone to accept the form 789
of any practice and neglect its meaning that they might 533
readily take over the actual words of the spell while 198
they failed to grasp the content. The words, repeated without regard to their meaning, become meaningless, the spell is misapplied, and so we get gibberish and abracadabra.

The best example of such a process which the Orokaiva can supply is that of the songs of the Taro cult. It seems probable that these were in the first instance addressed to the taro plant itself, or the spirit (*atiti*) of the plant, and were in the nature of apostrophes or exhortations. This character is still recognizable in them, and one may hear the singers repeating again and again the names of various taro varieties. But they are commonly incapable of interpreting the other words of the songs. These have become little more than nonsense syllables, though the function

789

533 198 of the Taro songs remains unchanged; they are still meant to make the taro grow.[1]

789 [The transition from spell to prayer has hardly shown itself among the Orokaiva. It occurs when some higher personal power is called upon to aid in effecting the desire of which the spell is primarily no more than a statement. Still, one might say that the spell and the prayer have the same justification in psychology. By putting our hope into words they strengthen it, though the prayer does so far more effectively by virtue of its appeal to a higher power in which we repose a very comfortable faith. It would be necessary to devote more attention to this subject if we had to discuss how a belief in superior personal powers may influence Orokaiva conduct. For the present, however, it may be dismissed with the remark that Orokaiva magic makes a relatively small appeal to any such powers.]

789 154 Another stage is reached when we begin to play-act the desired result. Either by voice, by gesture, or by some symbolic action or contrivance, we are now giving a presentation of the effect we have in mind. We have seen the sorcerer imitating the funeral conch and the wailing of the women, or groaning and exclaiming, writhing and shivering, as he hopes his victim may. We have seen the owner of the pig-trap grunting when he visits it. We might hear the gardener as he plants the slip of sugar-cane make sucking noises and cough as if he were already choking with the sweet juice of the matured plant.

154 Such procedures do seem to be commended by a certain reasonableness. While remaining unconvinced one does not need to be a leech or a necromancer to see the point. There are, however, certain set forms of procedure in which the point is less obvious. I may refer to three which have frequently come to my notice: they are all methods of black magic.

First there is the use of heat. This is perhaps the commonest method employed by the sorcerer for the in-

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[1] Vide Taro Cult, p. 39.

direct affliction of his victim. When he has prepared the 754
magical concoction with its various ingredients—representative of the victim and of the kind of suffering which is destined for him—he will ram them into a bamboo internode, stopper it with beeswax or a plug of leaves, and leave it suspended from his roof-tree over the fire. Here in the dark privacy of his house it will slowly bake and wither in the ascending smoke, just as the large *Okari* nuts or a joint of wallaby are dried for preserving. By now the victim is 'become like a bottle in the smoke'. As the heat increases by the occasional brightening-up of the fire, so his discomfort will increase with it. Should the fastening give way and the bamboo fall into the flames, the sufferer would, I have been told, incontinently die. But the sorcerer wishes rather to keep his victim on the rack, to prolong his suffering until his friends are ready to make representations to the oppressor. Then if he be not utterly implacable he will relent, remove the bamboo from over the fire, and throw it into the cooling and neutralizing stream of water.

The supposed efficacy of this heating method rests, one may suggest, on the ordinary symptoms of bodily heat or fever in the patient. Whether he complains of such heat or no, the burning skin of a native who is really feverish is sufficient indication of his condition to an outside observer; and to heat the magical substances which are in some way or other associated with him has the obvious effect of raising his temperature.

However, this use of heat has become a recognized 789
magical method, and in some instances it is not easy to detect even a semblance of reason in it. Indeed, I have a case of cold-magic, in which a certain old man was accused of bringing on a spell of disagreeably chilly weather, and it transpires that he adopted the apparently illogical procedure of suspending his cold-making mixture over the heat of the fire. It seems somewhat out of keeping with magical principles (if such a word is permissible) to make cold-magic by means of heat. In the

789 more usual cases of sun-magic, where a man is charged with causing a drought, it seems natural enough to employ this agency. We may suppose that it has become a set method and may therefore be employed without any thought as to its fitness for any special branch of activity.

754 A second agency regularly used by the sorcerer is that of weight or pressure. In the example given on pp. 173–4 we saw that the magician, after preparing his mixture, sat on it and even rocked his body to and fro in order to squash it the more effectively. Another method is to bury the mixture under a heavy stone which will exert just that gradual and unremitting pressure which suits the mood of the torturer. When a magical mixture is first concocted and stowed perhaps in the favourite receptacle, an internode of bamboo, the sorcerer will allow it to fall from his hand to the ground, or may throw it aloft and see it drop. If it meets the ground with a satisfactory thud, then it is assumed to have the requisite quality of weightiness ; if it fall lightly he may bind it to a stone in order to make good the deficiency. Then, perhaps, he will bury it beneath his own mat, so that as he sits in his accustomed place he does so in the comfortable enjoyment of crushing his enemy.

The explanation of this method is similar, I believe, to that of the one just described, in which the agency of heat is employed. It is very common for an ailing native to say that he feels 'heavy' in part or the whole of his anatomy. The word, indeed, describes well enough the weakness or lassitude and the absence of sensations of energy which are common symptoms of tropical illness.
[784] It is just the weight of certain creatures, such as the crocodile, which constitutes the stated reason why they are sometimes tabooed to the doctor. If, I have been asked, the physician eats anything so heavy, how can he expect to banish the heaviness of the sick? Examining
754 the varied contents of a man's *betava*—the string bag in
751 which he carries the small indispensables of life—I once came upon a lump of very light pulpy wood, resembling

cork, but even lighter. Its owner professed, whether 754
truly or not, that he was in the habit of nibbling it, and 751
made it clear that its very quality of lightness guarded him against possible sorcery. It was in fact an antidote or prophylactic. It seems feasible then that the original motive for weighing heavily upon the magical mixture was to induce the leaden feelings of illness in the destined victim.

The third of these set methods to which I am referring
is that of throwing away the magical mixture. This is 754
apparently not so common as the two above described. 789
It is practised typically in the minor kind of sorcery called *ba-tetekari*, or 'throwing away the taro'. This expression, which has acquired a wider application, originally belongs to a particular kind of magic practised in the garden. It is unfortunately a common experience of the Orokaiva gardener to find that the fruits of his cultivation have been devoured in his absence by a thieving stranger. The only traces of the theft are the remains of the stolen goods—a few coco-nut husks, taro leaves, or the mangled stalks of sugar-cane. There is no clue to the identity of the thief, so the indignant owner must forgo the satisfaction of knowing upon whom his vengeance is to fall. However, he takes some left-over fragment—perhaps a piece of chewed sugar-cane which the marauder has unwarily failed to conceal. Then planting a strong resilient stick upright in the ground, he holds the fragment against the upper end, bends the stick back, and lets go. The chewed sugar-cane is catapulted out of the garden into the bush, and the man who chewed it becomes a *pure-bambo*, literally a non-worker, one who neglects his own garden. The effect of *ba-tetekari* would appear to be psychological. The victim of it becomes a waster and a ne'er-do-well, not only in his garden but in all his other activities. As a hunter, for example, he is unobservant and a laggard. I am not clear as to the scope of the phrase *ba-tetekari*. Its literal meaning—said to be 'throwing away the taro'—has been explained; but it appears to stand for any black magic of a minor or less deadly

784 character, and is applicable to many processes besides the
789 one described above.

While I have dealt at some length with these three set methods of heat, pressure, and throwing away, it is not to be supposed that one or other of them is invariably employed in the black-magical procedure. There is some originality and much variety. For summary it may be said that at the stage in which magic is truly original and spontaneous the essence of it would appear to be that the hoped-for result is anticipated, that it is represented as already happening in the imagination. It has been suggested that the ground-work of magic is the wish or the groundless hope. When we begin to indulge this wish or hope we are in the mood to practise magic. From hoping in silence we pass on to another stage and express our hope in words; we utter spells and adjurations. If we call upon some higher personal power, we pray—which some will affirm and many deny is magic-making. From merely saying what we want to happen, we come to acting as if it were happening. We make everything pan out according to our desires. But this panning-out is so far only in imagination, and to give it a semblance of reality we play-act the desired result. Thus our hopes are for the time-being fulfilled, and whatever emotions are driving us on find temporary satisfaction, albeit only imaginary. This is the reason why the hunter grunts when he visits his pig-trap, and why the sorcerer writhes as if in agony while he prepares his medicines against his enemy.

Be it understood, by the way, that this sequence—from mere hoping to expressing the hope in words, and thence to a mock fulfilment of the hope in action—is not intended for an evolutionary series, but is only adopted for convenience of exposition. It would be impossible to prove that the spell was always and everywhere antecedent to the action of magic. Nor is this of any consequence to the argument. It might well enough be the other way about. Certain it is, at any rate, that the verbal

has survived the manual kind of magic with ourselves; 754
though that is perhaps merely because the former is more 789
insidious.

It will, I think, be necessary for an understanding of 000
native magic to admit freely that, if we do not practise magic ourselves, we at least feel the temptation to do so. If magic be founded on emotion it is impulsive before it can affect to be rational. The rational aspect of it we shall have to discuss later. In the meantime we may admit that in so far as it is impulsive it is natural, and most of us, wittingly or unwittingly, yield sometimes to the impulse. Reason and education exert an inhibitory influence upon us in this respect. They have apparently suppressed most of the manual rites and many of the spoken words of magic, and have left us with little more than its fond hopes and fantasies. But a little more twentieth-century education and some of the everyday actions which we perform with so much intellectual self-righteousness may turn into magic before our eyes, and one after another we shall have to banish from the category of common sense all those practices and theories in which the wish is father to the thought.

3. *The Magical Symbol*

In so far as it is impulsive and not yet rational the magical procedure is a premature fulfilment of hope and satisfaction of emotion. These ends are secured by a representation of the desired result, and we may next inquire how this representation is given sufficient of reality to satisfy. It will be obvious that a sorcerer would find the real thorough-going satisfaction of his wish if he could with impunity roast his victim actually over the fire or crush his life out under a stone. But there are many reasons why he cannot do this in actuality. Such a proceeding is impossible under the social system even of the Orokaiva or of any equally primitive people. He therefore roasts or squashes his enemy in imagination, and to add a touch of realism will go through the form

000 of roasting or squashing him in some symbolic guise. It is not necessary to burn him like Guy Fawkes in a life-size effigy. Anything, however small and insignificant, that will serve to typify the victim will serve also as an object upon which the emotion of the sorcerer may spend itself. In the manual procedure of magic, which is in origin a representation of the hoped-for result, the importance of such symbols will be evident, and we may devote some attention to them. In fact the concept of spontaneous magic which we have so far formed may be more clearly expressed as ‘the *symbolic* representation of a hoped-for result’. The real subjects and objects which would participate in the hoped-for result are represented by symbols in the imaginary forecast. And this forecast may appear very fragmentary, simply reproducing one or two salient factors. Furthermore, the association which justifies the symbol may be astonishingly remote.

811 An example will show how flimsy may be the structure
of the magical representation. There was a youth of
789 Wasida who paid court to a girl of the neighbourhood
845 but was rejected in favour of a rival. The young man did not accept his disappointment as a philosopher should, but determined to bide his time and be revenged. Now there is a certain blue berry in the bush which is remarkable for the fact that it grows always two by two together. The disappointed suitor secretly obtained a pair of these twin berries, crushed them together with some lime, and decorated his face with the resultant pigment—a stripe on either cheek. Now he makes it his business to encounter the girl (who is by this time securely married to the other party). All unsuspecting she looks at his face and observes the two streaks of paint. Nothing is said, but the young man, satisfied with the mere glance, retires to the seclusion of the bush, scrapes the berry pigment off his cheeks, wraps it in a leaf, and stuffs it into a hole in one of the large bulging ants' nests called *siribo*. Now secure of his revenge he watches the young wife. He observes with satisfaction the gradual and finally

tremendous swelling of her figure. Her time comes, and, 789
to her untold chagrin and his untold gratification, she is 845
delivered of twins. His vengeance is complete. 811

In this case we may recognize at least two symbols, the twin berries standing for the twins, and the bulging *siribo* for the aggravated tumescence of the woman's pregnancy. In both of them, it would appear, their symbolic character rests upon a point of resemblance. The association is one of similarity, and the symbol might be called for short a Similarity Symbol. This is by no means to assume that the native attaches any causal value to the association, or that he is even conscious of it. Least of all can he be conscious of 'association' in the abstract. Indeed, it is only when he is taxed for an explanation that he may fall back on the Law of Similarity. In the case just cited it may well be that the whole process is an *ex post facto* fabrication. (This is more likely than the other possibility, viz. that it was a marvellous fluke.) But whether the process was ever really tried or not, it will serve to illustrate the nature of the Similarity Symbol.

Of such association there are innumerable examples. 789
The hibiscus was a component of a mixture used in 811
hunting-magic because, I was told, its scarlet was like the fresh blood of the pig. The root of a variety of bread-fruit was used in sun-magic because it resembled the sun simply in its red-yellow colour. The crab's claw was a suitable receptacle for the sorcerer's mixture in that it would cause the victim to crawl and grovel like a crab. Mere size is itself sufficient to make a symbol of any object where size is the quality aimed at in the desired result. This, according to native explanation, is the reason why the leaf of a towering *Boruga* tree may be planted in the same hole with the taro shoot: the taro will become a big plant because the *Boruga* is a big tree. The same reason was given for the use of *Jijuma* and *Buru* as medicines for the growing pig. A woman may be seen washing a squealing piglet with an infusion of the leaves of these

789 811 two trees. It would seem that it is no more than the quality of bigness which they possess in common with the gigantic pig of the woman's fancy that justifies their use. Whether it was merely their size which in the first place recommended the trees *Boruga*, *Jijuma*, and *Buru* for their various magical uses I am unable to say. There may well enough have been some other more recondite quality which occurred to the man who first used them, and which has been forgotten since they became, so to speak, stock medicines. However, it is sufficient that informants should make this suggestion, viz. as to size, to show how their thoughts run. With some of the magical fertilizers of which I have spoken in Report No. 7, the resemblance is patent enough to require no explanation: instance the use of a vigorous vine as a yam medicine, or a rank river-bank plant with a somewhat elongated heart-shaped leaf as a medicine for taro.

789 754 811 Another association by virtue of which an object may assume the role of a symbol is that, generally speaking, of contact. As we have used the expression Similarity Symbol for those symbols which are based on association by similarity, so we might use the expression Contact Symbol for those which are based on association by contact or contiguity. If the magician can come by a part of the object or person upon whom he has designs, he will derive an anticipatory satisfaction from putting those designs into effect upon the part in lieu of the whole. If he cannot obtain an actual part of such object or person he will make do with something which has been closely associated. In the case of a human victim, e.g., it will be sufficient to obtain a piece of his hair, or one of those red-dyed streamers of areca spathe that the Orokaiva fastens to the tags of his greasy coiffure. It will be sufficient to obtain a tattered fragment of his bark-cloth perineal band, or a scraping of the dirt and sweat which is sometimes present in very available quantity on his skin. A most satisfactory medium is the victim's semen, which, it is said, can commonly be obtained from a

female betrayer. Any such object or substance which has 789
been in close association with or has belonged to the 754
victim will serve to personify him, as it were, when the 811
sorcerer wishes to work off his feelings.

Anything, indeed, which he has merely touched will 789
suffice. A very common example of the magician's symbol
consists of a morsel of food left over by his prospective 754
victim—the remains of a betel-nut, for instance, or even 811
the husk. It is for this reason that native travellers will 264
always dispose so carefully of the remnants of their food. In their own village it does not matter over-much, because it is inhabited by familiar friends from whom they have little to fear; but in a strange village who knows how many sorcerers there may be awaiting their chance? I have watched a party of coastal carriers after a midday meal in an inland village. They had roasted some yams in the open fire and in the usual way scraped off the charred surface before eating them. Before leaving they went so far as to stamp these minute black scrapings thoroughly into the dust, and when questioned about it made no secret of their apprehensions. It is the same motive—not that of tidiness, as one was tempted to think—which sometimes makes carriers in a strange village throw their coco-nut husks into the surrounding bush for concealment, or better still into the running water for neutralization. Again, when working in his garden a man will keep a watchful eye on his *betava*, or string bag, for fear that while his back is turned an enemy should abstract some small belonging on which to work magic against him.

There is a somewhat different style of magic in which 789
the necessity for contact is still apparent, but which it is 754
not easy to include in the same category with the above.
In this style the magical mixture is prepared first independently of the victim, and is then brought into contact with him. Sometimes such a mixture may be kept in a bamboo 'bottle'. When it is called into use the sorcerer creeps on his victim in his sleep, dips a

feather in the mixture, and lightly touches the sleeper's skin or moistens his lips with it. It might seem as if actual poisons were used in this manner; but this very doubtful subject will be discussed later. The somewhat far-fetched methods of effecting the necessary contact may well throw a doubt upon it. It is, for instance, only necessary in some cases to set the magically potent stuff on the track where the victim is sure to walk over it. Another trick is to make up some medicine together with tobacco in a cigarette. If a youth were exasperated with the coyness of a maiden he might take some *Ese* leaf (why this should be specially efficacious was not made clear), dry it in the sun and then roll it together with some native tobacco in a cigarette. According to the native fashion he would offer this to the girl, who after a sociable puff or two would hand it back. The boy is careful to keep the butt of the cigarette, for he now has what is virtually a symbol upon which to work further magic. The further magic is incidentally worth recording. He ties the cigarette butt to a stick, pokes it into a nest of black ants—a lively and ferocious kind—and leaves it there. If she does not yield readily to his importunity he will go to the ants' nest and worry them with the stick. The ants bite the stick and (if I may record the explanation) it is as if they were biting the girl's stomach. The resultant irritation soon brings her round to the boy's way of thinking.

In this example we may see both styles of contact magic. First the potent medicine *Ese* (whatever may be the basis of its potency) is brought into contact with the girl; second, the cigarette, a contact symbol, is subjected to further treatment of a purely symbolic nature. In those cases where a magical mixture is brought into contact with the person upon whom magic is to be made, such person is being dealt with, not symbolically, but in a sense directly. Where we obtain some object closely associated with this person and make magic upon that, then we are using a symbol. In the latter case (which

represents the more usual Orokaiva fashion) it is as if 789
we should pour a dose of cough medicine into a man's 754
hat in the hopes of curing him. In the former and less usual case it is as if we should pour it down his throat, or with equal assurance down his back.

It is perhaps possible that all the symbols of magical procedure should be comprised in these two categories without stretching them too widely, i.e. they might be classified as Similarity Symbols and Contact Symbols, which correspond with Frazer's laws of Homoeopathic Magic and Contagious Magic. But it must be remembered that any kind of association, sometimes a strangely remote one, may invest an object with a symbolic character. I may give a few final examples to show how faint the association may be.

The use of tree-leaves is very characteristic of Orokaiva 789
magic. They very often play the part of the specific, i.e.
the medicine proper, the really potent but still inscrutable 824
factor; but very often too their symbolic properties can be explained. A witness drew my attention to the damp, cold feel of a certain leaf used in the making of wet weather. Another leaf was used by a magician who had power to calm the seas. He would cry out to the waves to die down and cast into the water a leaf of the *Ombi* tree. The efficacy of that particular leaf lay in the fact that it wilted within a few moments of being plucked. There were two cold-weather medicines (not, I believe, widely known). One was called *Ino-etu*, or 'Dog-tail', and the virtue of *Ino-etu* was merely in its name. For is not the dog, with its shivering and crouching by the fire, peculiarly sensible of the cold? The other was the delicate leaf *Kigira* which partly closes toward sunset as if it were shrinking or huddling itself up from the cold of evening. *Kigira*, by the way, was used elsewhere for
quite another purpose. The same trait, viz. of closing at 789
dusk, travelling in another associative channel, made the 824
plant a useful soporific for babies, because it appeared to 278
sleep as babies should sleep. The plant picturesquely

789

824 named *Sovai-gapu*, or ' Ghost-wings ', was recommended
278 by the same property for the same purpose.

Perhaps the best example is provided by the ill-defined
846 Orokaiva custom which resembles the *couvade*. Very
811 often a husband, after the birth of his child, will avoid
789 working in the garden. The reason is perhaps his fear of a misadventure which might in some vicarious manner affect the child ; and two independent informants have given me the same curious explanation. In clearing the gardener would lay hold of the tender sapling and, as he raised his sharp axe to strike a severing blow, there would flash through his mind a horrifying simile—the neck of his new-born child. No wonder a solicitous father should stay at home !

So much for the symbols in magical procedure. They
789 have been classified, after the laws laid down by Frazer, into Similarity Symbols and Contact Symbols. A much more detailed classification would be possible but perhaps unnecessary. The essential fact is that any association, even the remotest, may be sufficient to turn an object into a symbol, to make it personify or represent some person or object or, generally speaking, some factor in the result at which the magic-maker aims.

4. *The Logic of Magic*

000 It has been assumed throughout the foregoing pages that magic is in the beginning a matter of impulse. But it is a fact beyond dispute that the native practitioner does to some extent at any rate believe in his magic. It may not be correct to say that there is a universal primitive belief that ' like produces like ', or that ' things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed '. However, it is at least true that the magic-maker commonly feels that his procedure, an anticipatory representation of the result he aims at, does in some way conduce toward the realization of that result.

Indeed, until we add this element of theory to the behaviour which has so far been considered as merely impulsive, it is doubtful whether the word 'magic' would be justified. The definition therefore requires this further qualification. Magic is the symbolic representation of a hoped-for result which is felt to assist the realization of that result.

It has been maintained that magic is impulsive only in its origin. It becomes logical, or rather pseudo-logical, when it is considered to be a *cause*. We have now to consider in what ways the magical procedure comes to be viewed as really effective, as a means to the end which it represents. The suggestions which follow are hardly more than hypothetical: there is little in the way of direct evidence to substantiate them.

It is conceivable that the magic-maker should acquire some entirely unconstrained confidence in his own work. In the first place this might happen merely through the delusion of hope. It was the principal thesis of section 2, which dealt with the Procedure, that magic in its impulsive stage was founded on mere wishing or hoping. It was represented as a natural kind of make-believe. There is so much satisfaction in dwelling on the future realization of our hopes that we may come to take them for granted. Make-believe becomes true belief. By a kind of auto-suggestion we might convince ourselves of the efficacy of those anticipatory rites which had at first no more than an impulsive motive. We give free rein to our imagination and it finally runs away with us. We suffer ourselves to be self-convinced. We promise ourselves that 'everything will turn out all right', like the man who rises from his knees with the inward assurance that his prayer is answered. If any such rites afford the satisfaction of confidence it is conceivable that they should take on a causal character.

In the second place there is the verification which the magical process derives from its occasional seeming success. Magic is always really unsuccessful; but in a

088 certain percentage of cases it is apparently successful, and again in a certain percentage it meets with obvious failure. What is the effect on the mind of the magic-maker of these favourable and unfavourable results? If it be true that magic is originally impulsive, we may assume that the primitive will continue to make magic, at least in its spontaneous and incipient form, whether it be successful or otherwise. He will not cease hoping for what he wants, he will not cease indulging his hope, and he will not cease giving some kind of practical representation to his hope. It is conceivable that one striking fulfilment (albeit necessarily a fluke) may impress him more than a number of failures. Indeed, like a man with a pet hypothesis in his head, he may unconsciously disregard the negative and contradictory instances. In the event of such a happy realization of his hopes he might associate the success with the magical practices which preceded it, and so acquire a sincere belief in their effectiveness, as if they had some empirical justification.

The two suggestions made above, however, cannot contain more than a small part of the truth of the matter. It is more by an indirect method that the belief in magic comes into existence. Men believe in the magic of others before they believe in their own. Indeed, it may be confidently stated that the belief in magic as objective is vastly stronger than the belief in magic as subjective. That is to say, a native believes fully that others are making magic and that their magic is effective; he does not by any means place the same confidence in his own magic, if or when he puts it into practice. And it is this objective belief which serves in no small degree to build up the subjective belief, i.e. that of the magician in himself. The belief in magic rebounds, so to speak, from those upon whom it is supposedly made to him who supposedly makes it. We have found that the procedure of magic (i.e. its general method) is virtually common knowledge. Misfortunes are so frequently ascribed to evil magic in common talk that a man who constantly hears such talk might well believe that he had the weapons of evil magic ready to hand whenever he felt the need to use them. He would only require to put into practice the commonly recognized methods, and with such a body of public belief to back them up he could hardly fail to have some faith in their efficacy. The practitioner, in fact, believes in his rites largely by virtue of the suggestion which the suspicious and credulous public forces upon him. If you give a dog a bad name he will live up to it.

Further, whatever may be the effect of the apparent success of his own magic upon the magic-maker, it is certain that the *pretended* successes of impostors must make an important impression upon those who witness them or hear of them. It has not been necessary hitherto to deal with the chicanery, the conscious trickery, of magic. But such chicanery does exist and is responsible for the spread of a genuine belief. Very often the magical process is retrospective: after some more or less striking event the pretending magician declares he has brought it about by some occult means of his own. Many years ago a number of Aiga villages combined for a surprise attack on a distant settlement. The weather was surprisingly cold and called for some discussion. The reason became plain when one of the raiders said he had himself brought about the cold with the idea of making the people of the devoted village lie abed in the morning so that the surprise of the attack might be complete. As it turned out the cold was so great as seriously to impair the valour and enthusiasm of the attackers, and the success of his magic earned the magician no thanks. But his reputation stood, nevertheless, and, as I was told, his secret died with him. It may not be known whether the individual believed any more firmly in the efficacy of cold magic after this incident of the raid, but one may be sure the others did. The Orokaiva magician has devised a regular excuse for failure; perhaps it may be a common one among other magicians. When he has carried out the correct observances to no avail he says that some one else is making

000 counter magic. Magic, at any rate of the dangerous kind, is irresistible. It is only by the relenting of the sorcerer himself that the evil can be averted. So we may find the doctor explaining away his failure with a stubborn case: he has tried his usual methods without success, so he diagnoses sorcery, and gives up altogether. Or we may see the exasperated weather-magician wave branches and howl against the approaching storm up to the very moment of the downpour: if it were a natural storm he would be able to avert it; but as he cannot avert it then it is not a natural storm but has been brought on by a sorcerer. Such an explanation must create as well as confirm the belief in magic among the rank and file.

The most important of the factors, however, which help to bridge the gap between purely impulsive magic and the pseudo-logical magic which poses as causally effective, is nothing more than the conventionalizing of the procedure. At the impulsive stage magic is spontaneous, and the procedure may take any form suitable to or suggested by the end which the native has in view. But when the same end reappears, when the native experiences the same hope or seeks satisfaction of the same desire, he will be likely to adopt the same procedure a second time. If he tell a friend or if there be an onlooker who is acquainted with the object toward which the procedure is directed, or above all if he admit his son or 'brother' to the secret, as he is so likely to do, then the procedure is already on its way toward becoming a set method. It will be repeated with strengthened hope of a satisfactory issue and will come to be regarded as, under given circumstances, the proper thing to do. The mere procedure, unintelligently repeated and finally perpetuated, will be regarded as itself possessing some power to bring about the end to which it has been specially adapted. By this time it will have acquired the character of a cause and will be ready to receive a veneer of logic. For the logical or pseudo-logical explanation is a later stage than that of mere belief. We may assume that the native believes in his magic for the most part without debating why he should. He has sufficient reason in that it is vouched for by custom. Magic has in course of time developed a vast and various array of set methods, and the man who practises them does so in more or less complete ignorance of any meaning or aptness they may once have possessed. Spontaneous magic, though ever-recurrent, is overshadowed by the unwieldy bulk of conventional magic. The one is impulsive, the other has passed the impulsive stage and is practised of set intent. Yet there is no more of logic about the latter than about the former, save the old *ad verecundiam* argument, the appeal to 'our fathers'.

It is only, perhaps, when the native is taxed for the why and wherefore that he troubles about it. Then, as many instances show, it is to such principles as the Law of Similarity and the Law of Contact that he appeals. As far as my own inquiries go among the Orokaiva I believe these laws are just those which Frazer has formulated. If asked, for instance, why such and such a symbol is used the magic-maker will point to its resemblance to an element in the desired result. It is nothing more nor less than a Similarity Symbol. As for the Contact Symbol I confess I have never heard from a native any deeper theory which might account for its use, i.e. it is not asked or explained *why* anything which has been part of, or in contact with, a certain subject should be made to represent it in the magical process. I have no evidence, for instance, of any such theory as that of a divisible soul-substance among the Orokaiva. This is of course not to question the existence of any such theory among other peoples.[1] But in the first place, one ventures to suggest, such a theory is a subsequent invention to explain the practices rather than a definite basis for them. In this paper it is maintained that the symbols used in the routine are in the first instance just those which spring into the mind of the magic-maker by virtue of some chance association.

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[1] Vide Rivers, *Medicine Magic and Religion* (Kegan Paul), pp. 18 et seqq.

5. *The Magical Specific*

789 So far we have discussed the more or less straightforward routine or procedure of magic, and in the last few pages the ways in which such procedure may pass from purely impulsive to pseudo-rational. In section 1 a distinction was drawn between the procedure and the specific, i.e. the mysterious substance which in some way made the procedure effective. While it was pointed out that in many of the practices which we call magical there was no apparent trace of such specific, yet in others it played an essential part. In these latter practices, it would appear, the procedure itself is not sufficient to satisfy; it does not give adequate guarantee of success. Therefore the practitioner has recourse to a supernatural factor; he calls in the specific, a substance or object possessing a potency which he does not understand, but on which he sets his faith. When he has introduced this factor the whole magical practice takes on a definitely causal character. The specific may be said to reinforce the procedure, to put some kick into it, in fact to turn it from what is half play into what is real earnest. This, then, is the last and perhaps the most important means by which the practitioner comes to believe in his own magic. Several examples have already been given in which the procedure and the specific are readily distinguishable. I may give one or two more to show how definite is the distinction in the native mind.

It is a very common experience in questioning natives on these matters to find that all, whether young or old, are thoroughly acquainted with the procedure, i.e. the actual methods which should be employed for any particular purpose of magic. But it is equally common to find them all declare that they are unable to effect that purpose. The reason is, as they will explain, that they do not know the real secret of the matter: they do not know the specific.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928

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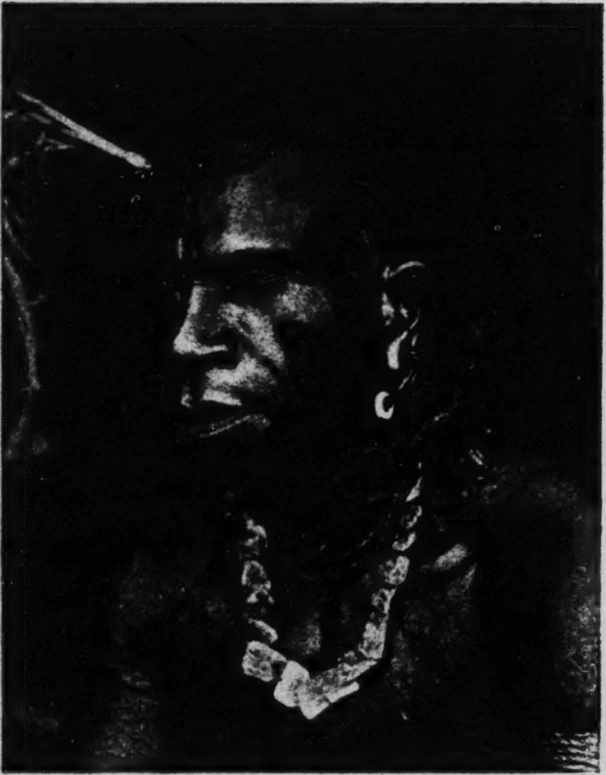

BIA OF MANAU

See page 74

[facing p. 200]

789 A certain old man named Mendeambo has the reputation of a rain-maker. Although such reputation is what we should call a shady one, Mendeambo does not deny it. Indeed, he accepts and acts up to the part which is often, perhaps, thrust upon him. However, he possesses the knowledge of a specific which he is careful to keep secret from all save a favoured few. This, if we may believe him, he received from his father. He agrees to show it to me only on condition that the rest of the villagers remain behind. Then he sets off down the track, peering into the bush on either side, and has walked half a mile before he discovers what he requires, viz. a certain creeper with a broad, somewhat fleshy leaf. The procedure is quite intelligible. He folds the leaf into a cup-shape or cone, and, holding it up to the sun, makes a tweeting noise between his lips and teeth which is meant figuratively to entice the sun into the receptacle. Then he folds it up, binds it tightly about, and hides it in a damp place under an old moss-grown log. To annul his magic he simply brings out the leaf and spreads it in some exposed place where it will be open to wind and sunshine, and cries,

Ga beau-tojo, Iji puvoroi!
'Rain be finished, Sun come forth!'

But this procedure is not the secret. It is the sort of thing that to a native mind would be obvious. The secret is the leaf. Only this leaf, according to Mendeambo, will do the trick.

Another obliging magician agreed to show me his specifics for cold-weather magic. The demonstration took place on the track some distance out of the village. The requisite leaves do not need much looking for, since most of the countless varieties in the tropical bush are near at hand, but the point of importance is that the uninitiated do not know which variety has specific value for cold weather. When any passers-by appeared the leaves were hastily thrust out of view.

789 A hunting magician on the river Gira, one of the class known as *wo-embo*, or 'animal men' (simply because their profession is to hunt animals, or ensure the successful hunting of animals), demonstrated his methods and revealed his specific. The demonstration took place before a large and interested audience of villagers, who were all, however, familiar with what they saw. But the revelation of the specific was a private matter, made under pledge of the strictest secrecy. The *wo-embo* retired into the bush alone, whence he shortly reappeared with the magic leaves done up in a parcel of larger leaves, the latter of entirely neutral quality and intended only for concealment. It was necessary to resist the importunity of an inquisitive shooting-boy who was anxious to obtain the specific for his own future use in shooting pigeons, and finally to lock it in a box for security against the examination which he evidently meant to make if the opportunity offered.

In such specifics—which very commonly take the simple form of leaves—there is an unknown, and in fact a supernatural potency. The plain routine of magic is sometimes not sufficient. The magic-maker, intent on his purpose and secretly feeding his hopes, calls in some assistance, a final factor on which he can fix his trust although he cannot tell how it works. It is comparable with the elixir, the charm, the talisman, the magic ring; it may be some meaningless spell or Open Sesame. With the Orokaiva it is not so often a word, but usually a substance; and it is most commonly a mere leaf or herb.

As in certain chemical experiments everything may be set in readiness but nothing happen until that mysterious agent, the catalytic, be introduced, so in the magical process the plain routine may go forward without effect unless some super-normal substance, the specific, be brought to bear upon it. Every essential element in the hoped-for result may be represented, the victim may be identified beyond error, the form of his suffering may be unmistakably symbolized. But the effect may not follow until the potent substance, the specific, is added. Then, like the catalytic which mysteriously sets in motion the chemical action, the specific sets in motion the magical process. From mere half-playful representation the procedure turns into a certainty.

For these specifics we have several general names which have been mentioned already. *Sivo* (or *sivo*) and *kore* stand for those specifics which are used for reputable purposes—for curing, for fishing, for hunting, for love-making and so forth. *Kai*, *inja*, and *saruka* are evil specifics used in black magic, i.e. for any illicit or anti-social end. There are few who would ever reveal a knowledge of these latter substances; few, I believe, who would even admit such a knowledge. They are essentially secrets belonging to individuals, families, or small cliques, and are handed on by one man to another, to some close friend who is probably also a close relative. But it is not so much their secret character as their mysterious character which is the matter of real importance. The essential feature of the specific is that it is inscrutable, that its potency is a matter of mystery to the man who employs it. It is not only as if the patient should swallow his physic in trusting ignorance of the way it worked; it is as if the physician himself should throw some extra ingredient into his prescription with the same ignorance and the same merely implicit confidence.

The specific usually has nothing either logical or empirical to recommend it. It is taken on trust from some previous practitioner. It is in the nature of a 'good tip'. And yet it seems probable that the specific, which now is accepted without inquiry, would in the first place have admitted of the same rationale as any of the symbols used in the procedure of magic. It was probably itself a symbol which some associative link, some point of resemblance or the mere virtue of contiguity, rendered suitable as a factor in the magical procedure. In course of time, however, as the use of this particular symbol is transmitted from one to another, all trace of explanation is

789 lost: the specific retains its power, but none can tell how. If any one is able to offer an explanation it is probably, as so often with natives, merely some extempore flash of imagination, which may be wholly different from the original explanation and wholly different from what another bright native might suggest.

An incident will show how easily such a change from
789 symbol to specific (whether we call it degeneration or
773 sublimation) might come about. On the upper Gira
811 is a large mass of rocks scored with curious grooves.
These grooves are ascribed to the man-monster Totoima,
who used to sharpen his teeth on the rocks as a
man sharpens his axe on a stone. Totoima was famous
as a hunter of men, and accordingly any medicine
obtained from the neighbourhood of one of his many
teeth-sharpening places will be recommended, by association
with the hunter, as a medicine for dogs: it will
improve their pig-hunting. This association was made
789 explicit by more than one informant. Now there grows
along the upper margin of these rocks a rare profusion of
811 ground-orchids, among them one with a dark purple
flower and (what is the significant attribute) a pale-coloured
and peculiarly furry leaf. This orchid was the
secret of an old man of the district who was conducting
us over the historic ground. When I collected a handful
of flowers which happened to show his particular variety
too prominently on the outside, the old man shook his
head in protest and requested me to rearrange the bouquet
and make his dog-medicine rather less conspicuous.
But he went so far as to confide the secret to my interpreter
and factotum, one Ihipa. One should crush the
leaves and make an infusion; wash the young dog and
pull its limbs to make it grow quickly. He pointed to
those minute white hairs with which the leaf is covered.
Did they not call to mind the coat of a dog? This feature,
combined with the locality association, was sufficient to
make that little orchid leaf a strong dog-medicine.

Having become acquainted with the secret of the plant

Ihipa took care to provide himself with a number of 789
bulbs, intending to plant them in his own distant country.
Presuming the plant flourishes it will be used by Ihipa 811
according to his instructions. He will impart the secret to his nearest friends. The leaves will retain their supposed power, but it will be readily imagined that the explanation will in time be forgotten. The hairy coat of the leaf will not suggest the hairy coat of the dog unless there is always some one to point out the resemblance. And the association with the man-hunter Totoima will probably be lost sight of when once the plant has been removed from the site of Totoima's activities.

It is impossible to be sure of the reason for the use of any particular specific in the first instance; but it is equally impossible to believe that specifics originated in a causeless or haphazard manner. We can only suggest some original association or analogy which may or may not be the true one. However, it seems probable that some such associative link did in the first instance give a pseudological justification for the use of the leaf (or other object). The object was in the first instance really a symbol. In course of time the symbolism was obliterated from memory and the symbol became a specific.

While the hypothesis may cover most instances it does 789
not necessarily cover all. We may discuss the two words
inja and *saruka*, both of them standing for any kind of 192
evil specific. Of the third familiar word with the same 924
meaning, viz. *kai*, I have never heard any explanation, 754
but it appears that *inja* is the name of a particular kind of bush vine, and *saruka* that of a tree with a highly odoriferous bark. They were both apparently typical specifics and their names have been applied to the general category of evil specifics. If a man were done to death by the use of the actual vine *inja* this fact would be recognizable from the fact that at death he would be speechless. His entrails would be strangled or tied up (*tigari*) within him as if by the strands of creeper, and it appears that he would die in a kind of intestinal cramp. This is probably

789 one of those extemporized explanations which, however
192 far from the original truth of the matter, are nevertheless
824 illustrative of native habits of thought. It squares well
enough with our hypothesis that the specific is originally
754 a symbol. The creeper—a native's ever-ready twine or
rope—is the very thing to tie the victim's entrails in a knot.

Regarding the *saruka* there was no adequate explanation forthcoming, the only point being that the victim would be able to speak as he was about to draw his final breath and would therefore be able to name the sorcerer who had brought him to that unhappy pass. But the fact that the *saruka* has a stinking bark suggests that a substance might be used originally as an evil specific simply by reason of its unpleasant properties, and with none but the very slightest trace of symbolism. There may be some substances regarded as inherently noxious which it is only necessary to bring into contact with the intended victim in order to do him an injury. We have already seen how this can be done (pp. 191–3). It is quite another question whether from our point of view such substances are really harmful, that is to say, whether the native knows and makes use of any real poisons, and this may be deferred until the next section.

789 Dismissing this minor question we may consider the psychological justification for the use of the specific, i.e. for the agent of inexplicable powers which makes the mere procedure effective. If the procedure be based on hope, if it be in its merely impulsive stage no more than an imaginary fulfilment of a desire, then any assistance will be welcomed. If the assistance be that of an unknown quantity, possessing a fund of power or *mana* of an unknown extent, then it is all the more likely to be made an object of confidence. The confidence is essentially implicit, both in the sense that it is unreasoned and in the sense that it is complete. The magic-maker, who may have small faith in his more or less elaborate procedure, thrusts the responsibility on to the unknown and rests secure in his confidence of the outcome.

The specific may be in itself a very harmless ordinary 789
object, but it has a supernatural potency. In discussing the reliance of the magic-maker upon the unknown and the supernatural we find ourselves approaching a somewhat different region of magic, viz. the kind of magic which acts through the medium of supernatural agencies of a personal character. It is only for strict definition to decide whether we have already stepped over the borderline which separates magical from religious phenomena,—or whether we must wait till we detect a supplicatory attitude before we are entitled to use the latter term. At any rate this kind of magic, in which supernatural agencies of a personal nature are employed, is of comparatively rare occurrence among the Orokaiva.

Where it does occur it seems that we might almost bring it into line with the sort of magic we have been discussing, save that for the implicit appeal to the specific there is substituted a direct appeal to some supernatural agent of a personal, i.e. a spiritual, character. In some cases the procedure may be perfected and over and above it all the magic-maker may appeal to some spirit as an extra safeguard of success, just as he employs the impersonal but mysteriously potent specific. Thus we hear of a man who has made cold-weather magic with the customary symbolism and has the mixture ready in a bamboo 'bottle'. But then he would shake the bottle and say, 'Go on, go on, burn down the house of my enemy!' The predestined victim piles on fuel incautiously against the cold, the fire flares up, his house catches light and is burnt to the ground. The exhortations of the sorcerer were addressed, as I was told, not to his mixture in the 'bottle', but to the *sovai*, or ghost, of the man whom he was avenging. And this man, who had been speared by the owner of the burnt house, was thus enlisted to compass his own revenge.

Magic through the medium of spiritual agency seems 789
to be the special province of the *Baigona* men and the 754
Taro men, i.e. the exponents of the two cults which have 775

789 754 775 at different times acquired a great vogue among the Orokaiva. The *Baigona* men were visited by the spirits of the dead, and had dealings with them particularly in that reptilian form which the dead frequently take in Orokaiva theory. It was only necessary for the *Baigona* man to look at or name his victim, and the spirit who was in league with him would in some hardly understood manner effect the damage. Similarly the Taro men could punish any who gave them offence by means of the spirit of the dead (or in some cases the spirit of the taro itself) by which they were possessed. The followers of *Diroga*, a variant of the Taro cult, could figuratively 'spear' their enemies. The spears were emblems or personifications of slain warriors, and it was only necessary for the *Diroga* man to adjure his spear to go forth and strike, and the victim would be down with an illness.

Such cases as these represent a phase of occult practice which is somewhat apart from the subject under debate. I have no very definite information upon it, and this is in no small degree due to the fact that native ideas are themselves more than a little vague. The spirits of the dead are made the objects of many emotions, but perhaps predominantly of fear. Of themselves they can prosper their surviving relatives or they can visit them with sickness and death. They are constantly placated in public rites, so what wonder if the individual sorcerer should call upon or be supposed to call upon them to further his own private designs?

6. *Good and Bad Magic*

789 754 It has not hitherto been necessary to draw any distinction between the two classes of magic which may be called black and white. In face of the difficulty of defining the term 'magic' one of the most satisfactory solutions is to limit it to the nefarious and disreputable category. However, for the purposes of the present report this solution has not been adopted, and 'magic' has been made to stand for all those primitive practices, good or

bad, which aim at results in a symbolic manner such as we, 789
from our standpoint of more advanced education, see to be 754
futile and mistaken. The methods and assumptions, however, are generally speaking the same, no matter whether they are in the interests of a good purpose or an evil one.

But there is no doubt that in the native mind there exists a fairly clear and very important distinction, viz. that which depends on the intention of the magic-maker. If his purpose be entirely innocent of harm to others he is welcome to practise his magic as he pleases. He is not known by any special name *qua* magician. Indeed, the character is universal: every man is continually making magic, whether he recognize it as such or whether it appear to him as common sense. But if his purpose be malicious he is known as *kaiembo* or *injambo.* These words may best be rendered by 'sorcerer', and the word sorcery (a synonym for black magic) applied to those varieties of magical practice which are intended to harm the individual or the public.

It is hardly worth making a point which arises from the different aspects in which magic will appear respectively to ourselves and to the native. To the native these are either maleficent or beneficent; to us they are merely malevolent or benevolent. This implies, however, that we might discuss the good and bad in magic from two points of view, viz. in regard to its intent and in regard to its actual effect.

It will be unnecessary to say much more under the first of these two headings. The distinction is clear enough. The best word to characterize black magic is 'anti-social'. This must not be held to imply, however, that the sorcerer belongs to a class of social outcasts and reprobates. My own impressions lead me to think that sorcerers—or at least imputed sorcerers—constitute a large class of the Orokaiva population. Any old man of character and parts, however respectable his general intentions, is likely to figure somewhere or other as a sorcerer. He may be guilty of the charge or he may be

789 innocent. If he be innocent he may deny the charge or he may accept it and play up to it. In any event his power 154 and reputation are enhanced, and he probably lives on undisturbed, fearing nothing more than a magical reprisal.

The processes we are dealing with are sometimes secret and sometimes open. These two classes, however, cannot be absolutely correlated with those of black magic and white. Many of the most harmless of processes are strictly individual and private, especially for the reason that they so often make use of some specific which is the more or less close secret of its owner. On the other hand we find accusations of sorcery levelled at whole villages. It was said to be the practice of the *Diroga* men, for instance, to act in concert when they 'speared' their victims, and it is certain that they made no secret of their powers. It is only possible, then, to say that the practices of black magic are for the most part performed in secret, or are at least assumed to be in secret.

We may now discuss the actual effect of magic and decide in what respects it is either good, bad, or harmless—not from the native's point of view but from our own, which is more remote and comparatively elevated. We do not, of course, believe in the manner in which it affects to achieve its results, as if a sorcerer could lay up his enemy merely by making play with a fragment of his loin-cloth, or as if he could make a taro grow by planting a leaf of a large tree in the ground with it. We might, indeed, condemn the whole body of practice and belief out of hand as bad, simply because it is mistaken, superstitious, and unprogressive. But a more lenient view would be perhaps ready to class many of these practices as merely harmless, even if we fail to find any actual good in them. The washing of a young pig with some magical infusion to make it grow, the stroking of a fretting child with a handful of herbs to soothe it to sleep, the calming of troubled waters with a tree-leaf and a spell—in such processes, however wide of the causal mark, there is little to deserve our condemnation.

However, it is possible that the magic-maker, particu- 789
larly the sorcerer, may sometimes succeed in bringing
about the result he aims at. This might happen in either 754
of two ways—directly, by the use of really harmful substances, or indirectly, by suggestion. If he use any harmful substance which has a demonstrable effect on the victim, it may fairly be argued that from our point of view he has abandoned the role of sorcerer for that of poisoner; but we may proceed to discuss this aspect even if by strict definition it should be excluded from the subject.

It is often maintained that natives hold the secret of 754
many genuine poisons, and sometimes that the sorcerer
is an out-and-out poisoner. The principal drawback to 278
this view is that those who hold it are commonly unable
to produce or identify the poisons which the sorcerer is
supposed to use. The same is true of those abortifacient [847
and contraceptive drugs which in the opinion of some
observers *must* belong to a native pharmacology which 842]
is kept strictly secret from the prying European. One would be disposed to place some credence in this latter opinion if only its exponents could bring to light one really efficacious example. With regard to the poisons which are supposed to be used in sorcery one is tempted to be almost equally sceptical.

There is little doubt that the bush could furnish a 278
number of vegetable poisons of a more or less dangerous
nature, and no doubt that the native knows how to avoid 824
some kinds of food which are injurious. But if we are to suppose that any of these substances are used in poisoning it will be necessary to assume that they are of a sufficiently deadly character to be effective in small and unnoticeable quantity. One may mention several of the better-known products which are recognized as poisons
by the Orokaiva. First and foremost there is the vine
Anjsi (which belongs to the genus *Derris*), known as [226]
'New Guinea Dynamite' because it is used for killing or stunning fish just as real dynamite is sometimes used by those who care little for the law of the land and less for the ethics of angling.

824 the ethics of angling. The roots of this plant (and in less
278 degree the leaves and stem) yield a white sap which has
[762] strong poisonous properties, and which in many known
cases has been made a means of suicide. The suggestion,
however, that this might be added to the food of an
enemy has been laughed to scorn whenever I have made
it. The intended victim, I have been assured, would
immediately notice the taste and smell—slight but distinctive—of
the plant, and would refuse to eat the food.[1]

754 The native evidence as to the vine *Anisi* has been somewhat
278 conflicting. Some have classed it outright as *kai*,
i.e. they have included it among those evil specifics which
824 have been dealt with in section 5; others have said it is
not *kai* because its fatal or morbific properties are perfectly
obvious and above board. I have one instance in
which *Anisi* was supposed to be added to the victim's
food. In this case the root was crushed up and first entrusted
[841] to a woman during her menses, who was to sit on
it. Being contaminated with menstrual blood it was dried
and burnt to ashes in a fragment of pottery. The resultant
powder was sprinkled like *aso*, i.e. ash salt, over the
food of the victim. My note does not record whether
the victim died, and I have no explanation of the part
which the menstrual blood was to perform. It remains
somewhat doubtful whether the *Anisi* was present in the
right form or quantity to be fatal. I have another instance
in which *Anisi* was used in sorcery, but this time
it was not introduced into the victim's stomach but
merely into the bamboo 'bottle', where maybe its
deadly qualities worked just as well. In fact one might
tell when *Anisi* had been used against a man in this way:
his dead eyes had a way of bulging out of his head like
those of a poisoned fish.

278 Another recognized poison is the cycad called *Puga*.
824 The fruit must be allowed to remain in running water for

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[1] Derris root, i.e. of *Derris elliptica* Bentham (Leguminosae), is, however, said to 'kill fish in a dilution of 1 to 25,000 of water'. Vide Castellani and Chalmers, *Manual of Tropical Medicine*, p. 188.

a considerable time until its toxic properties are purged 278
away, when it becomes a favourite food. I have never 824
heard, however, of the young cycad fruit being used as
a poison. The same is the case regarding the bark *Tangiri*,
in which the presence of what I take to be Prussic
acid is discernible by its smell. The only use of *Tangiri* [515]
within my knowledge is that of fumigating a man's head
of hair. The bark is heated, and when it is emitting a
cloud of pungent smoke is clamped upon the infested
head of the patient.

Lastly, there is the *Pekamba*. This closely resembles
the plant known in the Northern Division as *Punjaru*,
remarkable for the gigantic flower which, when it passes
maturity, breaks up in horrible and vile-smelling decomposition.
It is not this decomposing substance, however,
but the root of the related plant *Pekamba* (possibly also
of *Punjaru* itself) which acts as a very strong corrosive
poison. This again has been used in suicides, and further [762]
it provides one of the conventional means of self-castigation
in time of great grief. A mourner on his way [152]
to a funeral will pluck up a *Pekamba* by the roots, and as
he enters the wailing village will put his teeth into it
and gnaw it until some less distracted or perhaps less
theatrical mourner snatches it away. Should any be
swallowed the result, I am assured, would be fatal. One
old man of my acquaintance had chewed the *Pekamba*
too freely in the forgetfulness of his grief and was in
consequence ill and hardly able to eat for a period which
he estimated at ' six weeks '.

There are no doubt other poisons of which I have no 754
knowledge. But with those that have been mentioned
it is possible that the plea advanced by the natives themselves 278
regarding *Anisi* is equally applicable, i.e. they are 824
not used because in fatal quantity they would be detected
by the suspicious nostrils or palate of the victim. In
fine, however, when we consider the countless variety
of specifics which are supposed to possess deadly properties
and which in known cases prove to be utterly

754 devoid of any real efficacy, and when we consider the
278 devious modes of application (so seldom through the
mouth) which in our eyes rob them of any chance of
824 being effective, we may be justified in regarding the imputed use of poisons in native sorcery with the greatest scepticism. One's faith in native medicines, good or evil, is likely to diminish as example after example comes to light in which the efficacy turns upon some more or less fantastic association. My own opinion—which merely awaits some tangible evidence to alter it—is that the use of really effective poisons by Orokaiva sorcerers is negligible.[1]

754 Having dealt with the subject of direct harm in native sorcery we may discuss the more serious possibility of the indirect harm of suggestion. While the ritual, the spells, and the specifics of the sorcerer, such as they are, may be intrinsically harmless, the mere impression on the victim that they are being operated against him may have a genuinely grievous effect. The impression may be almost groundless, and the imputed sorcerer entirely innocent; but it will be greatly strengthened by the possible pretences or actual threats of the sorcerer. Cases in which a man has faded away and actually died under the fear of sorcery are well authenticated in anthropological literature. While one has seen nothing of the kind among the Orokaiva, one is ready to give these accounts due credence. However, it would be possible to set too much store by this phenomenon, which has been called *thanatomania*. It must be extremely uncommon for a healthy man to fade away and die under the mere suggestion of sorcery. The usual way of the matter, I believe, is this. A man falls ill from some natural cause. He casts about him for the reason of his sickness, and straightway thinks of evil magic; his thoughts fly to some enemy; his friends endorse his

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[1] R. Lister Turner (in *Man*, August 1924, No. 88) mentions several poisons which, he suggests, may be used in the kind of sorcery called *Vada* in the Central Division of Papua. The above-mentioned *Pekambe* is perhaps identical with Matoa of the Central Division, which he suggests is Dracunculus.

suspicions until they become almost certainty. Maybe the imputed sorcerer is taxed with his guilt, and, maybe, scenting the possibility of extortion, he rather welcomes the accusation and plays up to it. By now the psychological atmosphere is as unfavourable as possible to the patient's recovery. If the alleged sorcerer yield to the importunity of the sick man's friends (adequately backed by presents of shell, feathers, and boars' tusks), the suggestion may be removed by his mere consent to withdraw his magic, perhaps with some formality of cancellation such as casting the mixture into running water. Without such reassurance the patient might think himself doomed, and would at any rate be in no good mood for recovery.

There can be little doubt that primitive people are characterized by exaggerated suggestibility. The prevalent native theory that many sicknesses are due to sorcery is responsible for an immediate self-diagnosis which is confirmed by the sick man's friends. Further, the belief (which has been already mentioned) that sorcery-sickness is incurable save through the relenting and intervention of the sorcerer himself will impress on the patient the idea that his condition is otherwise hopeless.

On the whole we may admit that the indirect harm in sorcery is very considerable. The harm is wrought upon the body through the mind. It follows that in the main it is not the practice of sorcery which does the harm, but rather the belief in it, and especially the fear of it.

7. *The Fear of Magic*

Cases of imputed sorcery often come before the magistrate, but not a few of them, I believe, have to be dismissed as unproven. Some of these are deliberately trumped up, but many more are the outcome of mere groundless suspicion. It is probably true, moreover, that but a small proportion of the 'cases' are ever referred to the magistrate, for unless the evidence is very strong the native feels there is little hope of securing an indict-

754 ment. Sorcery and magic, indeed, are often regarded as something a little beyond the ken of the matter-of-fact white man.

Among the natives themselves, however, there is a 754 rife impression that disease, illness, death, and everyday 753 misfortunes are due to black magic. Although it would be seriously incorrect to say that misfortunes are invariably ascribed to black magic, the impression may nevertheless be very far-reaching. Typically, however, it is confined to those mishaps and illnesses of a more mysterious and inexplicable nature. An accident, a fall from a tree, anything so straight-forward and palpable is likely to pass without comment; so is the death of an old man: as they say picturesquely, *Iji ambu*, 'His sun is set', or 'His day is done'. But if a man be cut off in his prime, if he develop some mysterious complaint, if he break out in boils, or if he fall victim to elephantiasis, there is likely to be more than a suspicion of foul play.

It is sometimes averred of primitive people that they believe every death to be due to sorcery. It is desirable in passing to discuss how far this generalization is really true. It may well be true of some primitive peoples while it is untrue of others; for it is certain that the belief in sorcery varies among different societies. But it is not permissible to make the generalization sweep in the whole of Papua. An examination of the theories as to disease, sickness, and death among the Orokaiva reveals, generally speaking, three putative sources. First there are wind and weather. Natives are naturally susceptible to cold and feel keenly the discomfort of it. Colds, fever (presumably malarial), and mild epidemics are commonly endured without inquiry as to their origin, or else are said to come 'on the wind'—which is maybe not so far from the truth. If a man work too hard in the burning sun he may have headache and a fever. Such complaints are regarded as virtually natural. There is a second category of causes, which may account for mild visitations like those described above, but also for

more serious and often fatal illnesses. These are inflicted 754
by the malignant spirits of the dead. Lastly, there is the 753
category of illnesses brought about by the living sorcerer,
which must prove fatal unless the sorcerer himself
remove their cause.

The late W. N. Beaver wrote that 'the veriest tyro in 754
Papua will pronounce that no native is ever believed to 761
die naturally'.[1] Even if one include the second of the
above categories among the causes of death which are in
native belief not natural, Mr. Beaver's generalization
would still, I think, be an over-statement. At any rate it
would be an over-statement to say that 'when a death
occurs every one thinks it was due to sorcery'. The
truth is more nearly represented thus: 'when a death
occurs there is always some one who thinks it was due
to sorcery.' The majority of those who are not closely
affected by a man's death simply accept the fact without
question. They do not believe that a sorcerer has robbed
him of immortality. He died as every man has got to die.
But with the friends and relatives of the deceased the case
may be different. The grief of bereavement is likely to
turn into anger against things in general, and this comprehensive
anger is likely to be focused upon the object
of some previous enmity, one against whom the bereaved
or the deceased may have had a standing grudge. The
suspicion of foul play easily springs into the mind of one
who is ill used by fortune. He casts about for some one
to blame, and fixes upon his enemy. Evidently he did
not do the mischief openly; therefore he must have done
it covertly. He was in fact the guilty sorcerer. Even 754
some trifling misfortune may be enough to arouse the
suspicion of black magic. A man setting out on a long
journey is overtaken by bad weather and has to build
himself a bush shelter and wait for the rain to cease. No
doubt he has time to brood over the annoyance, for he
arrives at the conclusion that the untimely downpour
has been brought about by one of his neighbours who

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[1] *Papua Ann. Report*, 1914-15, p. 50.

754 bears him a personal grudge and merely wishes to vent his spite.

754 888 753 761 It is not always an enemy who receives the blame. Any piece of circumstantial evidence may be sufficient to implicate the innocent, and especially so if he be an old man; for there is apparently a kind of *mana* about old age which argues a special fitness for sorcery. To sum up, one may say that, while it is not true that misfortune, sickness, and death are invariably ascribed to sorcery, the suspicion of it is nevertheless extremely common; and one might go so far as to say that almost every death is ascribed to sorcery in the opinion of some one or other.

754 732 753 An example will show how baseless the suspicion may be. In the village of Aurida on the Opi was to be seen a miniature house, not much larger than that which commonly accommodates a pet cockatoo or hornbill. It contained as perpetual inmate a little girl whose limbs were so twisted as to be quite useless. Some years back, as she said herself, she used to play with the other children until this disease overtook her and slowly turned her into a cripple. As a very little child she had been the great pet of her old *nobo*, or maternal uncle, who had been in the habit of dandling her in his lap. The old man had died before I heard of this case. He had never hinted at making magic against the child, and maybe he was never openly accused of doing so, but there was no doubt in the village that he had been the cause of the terrible malady which eventually ended in her death. No real reason could be found, but the fact that she was so often in his arms was enough cause for suspicion which in time turned to certainty.

754 694 687 The same village provided a somewhat amusing incident which serves to show the ramifications of evil which may arise from a false accusation. One Josiva of a neighbouring village brought a charge of sorcery against an old man of Aurida. He evidently wished to make a court case of it, for he enlisted the aid of three village con-

stables who descended on Aurida to make an arrest. They 754
met with unforeseen resistance and found themselves en-
gaged in hand-to-hand combat with the alleged sorcerer 694
and two of his friends. The most formidable of the 687
policemen, a muscular man of somewhat truculent appearance, succeeded in overpowering the old sorcerer, but the other two did not meet with the same success. One of them, wrestling for possession of a stone club, received a blow in the stomach from the flat of his antagonist's foot, which compelled him to relinquish his hold and lie on the ground. The third was pitted against an ex-cook-boy who, as it was naïvely explained, had learnt from his employer how effective a weapon was the closed fist. In the face of this exotic knowledge the village constable was severely worsted. But now, although the honours rested indisputably with the alleged lawbreakers, the latter were overcome by the enormity of their last offence. They killed a dog for the outraged constables by way of conciliation, and quietly submitted to arrest. Once at the station they were punished for resisting the police but acquitted on an unfounded charge of sorcery; while the informer, one understands, was punished in a well-deserved if somewhat irregular manner for bringing about all the trouble.

The suspicion that death is due to sorcery is sufficiently 754
common to give rise to divinatory experiments by which 787
the identity of the sorcerer is to be discovered. Several methods are recognized, though it is not to be supposed that divination is practised in every case. In a method well known among the Orokaiva a burning brand is set up on the outskirts of a village in which a death has recently occurred. The relatives of the dead man observe it carefully and when it proceeds to fly away, carried by the ghost of the deceased, they endeavour to follow it, for it will come to rest on the house verandah of the guilty sorcerer. The process has certain variants. In the typical case the burning brand is set up on a stump and attached to a long string, the end of which is held in the hand of

754 one of the friends of the deceased. While the brand con-
787 tinues to burn, this man lightly jerks the string, uttering the names meanwhile of all those likely sorcerers who may have been guilty in the case under investigation. Suddenly the brand falls and is extinguished, and the name which was mentioned at the crucial moment is that of the culprit. It is not difficult to suppose that a little extra vigour in the pull, conscious or unconscious, might lead to the victimization of an innocent man who for some reason was in the bad books of the diviners. When, as is sometimes supposed, the brand takes flight through the bush in the hand of the ghost and is traced to the house of the guilty man, it is equally possible for the same sort of abuse to enter into the experiment. Nothing is commoner than a dead brand or a few lumps of charcoal on a man's verandah, and this kind of divination might find almost any one guilty. Indeed, there is a possibility of foul play on the part of the diviners. As Mr. Beaver observed, 'Unfortunately for the psychic value of the proceedings, I understand the imprint of a human hand may often be discovered on the charred wood'.[1]

754 An incident in my own experience illustrates another
787 well-known method and will serve to show how much of
suspicion, preconception, or even spite there may be in
775 what appears a sincere attempt at divination. Among the
824 Orokaiva's somewhat vague and ill-assorted ideas of the life after death there is this, that shortly after a man's decease his ghost may take the form of the bird *kombu*. The *kombu* is a bird of black plumage, seldom seen, and has for some reason acquired a character of uncanniness. Its usual cry is one of four syllables and is said to be *Kau, kau, kombu!* but evidently the bird has a way of varying its call, and one may expect by paying careful attention to hear it pronounce the name of the sorcerer who brought its human existence to an end. A number of different examples would argue a greater power of vocal expression than any untaught bird could well

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

possess, and they are hardly to be explained on any hypo- 754
thesis save that a man often hears just what he expects 787
to hear. In the instance of which I am speaking the 775
friends of the deceased, one Handau, had on several
recent occasions heard the early morning cry of the 824
kombu on the outskirts of the village. It had said unmistakably *Obusa!* and *Samberota!* sometimes the one, sometimes the other. Two of the mourning relatives approached me in the clandestine manner which the weirdness and gravity of the matter seemed to warrant, and suggested that I rise before daybreak on the next morning, when it would be possible, by hearing the *kombu* itself, to verify what they said.

At dawn of the following day the awakening birds were 754
uttering their various calls when I took a seat in the 787
centre of the village together with the two informants, who were listening in a state of highly strung expectancy for the ghostly bird to repeat its message. We had hardly composed ourselves for the event when the solitary rooster of a neighbour, not ten yards away, fairly split the welkin with a cry as nearly resembling *Samberota!* as any bird short of a parrot could have uttered. Yet this loud crowing of the cock did not seem to attract the attention of my companions, or if it did was looked on only as an annoying interruption. Their attention was focused on the voice of the *kombu*, discernible among the increasing babel of notes at perhaps one hundred yards' distance. It was uttering a cry of four syllables the last of which seemed occasionally to be cut off, so that I felt bound to say they framed the words *Samberota* and *Obusa* as well as any other.

Encouraged by this verification my informants explained that Handau, some time before his death, had visited a somewhat distant part and lived for a day or two in the house of Ohusa. The purpose of his visit to the place had been to set up a pig-trap of the kind called *samberota*. It was true, they admitted, that this kind of pig-trap was usually known as *bagi*. But Bagi happened

754 787 to be the name of one of Handau's relatives whom he was forbidden by etiquette to address or speak of save by a respectful synonym. Hence it was quite understandable, indeed necessary, that he should use the alternative word *samberota*.

The fact that Ohusa had entertained Handau so shortly before his death was enough to suggest that he might have made magic against him. The two significant cries of the *kombu* were enough to make the suspicion a certainty. And the friends of the dead man begged me to write a 'paper' and to have the suspect put under arrest and sent to the Government station for trial. It is important I should add that both these men were unmistakably in earnest and believed they heard correctly what the *kombu* said.

754 In view of such cases as these we may fairly conclude that the suspicion of sorcery is out of all proportion to the actual practice of it. For every man who of set intent practises the black art there are many—one cannot say how many—who are falsely accused of doing so. Of these some are sorcerers only by repute and perhaps seldom hear the charges which are secretly laid against them by the gossips. Others may hear the charges and even welcome them, play up to them, and perhaps be induced by experiment really to be guilty of them. We have already arrived at the conclusion in section 6 that even where black magic is actually practised the only serious effects are indirect or mental. In the present section we have seen that the actual practice is by no means equal to the alleged practice. The previous conclusion may therefore be repeated with more confidence. It is not the practice of sorcery which does the harm, but rather the belief in it, and especially the fear of it.

754 789 We have last to consider the attitude which is adopted toward the maker of magic, whether good or bad, first by his fellow villagers, and second by ourselves. Under both heads it will be necessary to bear continually in mind the distinction between black and white magic.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

It has already been pointed out that the Orokaiva has 754 no name for the good magic-maker, but only for him 789 who makes magic of the illicit and anti-social kind. The reason is that white magic is made by every one: it is a universal practice, and if the hypothesis of the earlier part of this report be a true one we may take it that magic, being based on impulse, is at bottom a natural thing. It is not possible, perhaps, to draw a perfectly clear line of definition between good and bad in magic, because there will always be some intermediate and doubtful cases; but it may be said that on the whole harmless magic is in native eyes entirely guiltless.

Black magic, on the other hand, as an anti-social 754 thing, whether it be directed against the individual or the mass, is frowned upon. But it is not as if the sorcerers constituted a criminal minority against which the body of public opinion maintained continual warfare. It cannot be said that Orokaiva sorcerers are a very distinctive class. There are no well-defined 'orders' such as are found among other peoples not quite so primitive. In fact any one and every one may be accused of sorcery, and (to repeat an earlier observation) of those older men who are in any way marked among their fellows as hard, shrewd, cunning, or cross-grained, I dare say there are few who escape the imputation.

The attitude of the public is one of fear and mistrust. Preventive measures are confined in the main either to conciliation (i.e. to the giving of presents) or to the making of retaliatory magic. We seldom hear of active measures, though instances are not altogether wanting, and sometimes an imputation of sorcery may be the direct cause of a village affray. But such affairs are mere acts of concerted vengeance: there is nothing of legal sanction about them. It is usually found that accusations of sorcery are made against men of other villages, not often against an individual of the village in which the effects of the alleged sorcery have been felt. Therefore, where there is such a marked absence of inter-village federation

754 or cohesion as among the Orokaiva, one cannot expect to see any central authority which could enforce the law, even supposing such a law could be said to exist.

A spell of dry weather about Wasida was long enough to warrant the suspicion of sun-making magic. The guilt was laid at the door of one Horova, who, it appears, accepted the challenge, admitted or pretended that he was making the magic, and averred that he was not afraid of the people of Wasida. It was said that once Horova bathed the drought would be broken; but it does not seem to have occurred to those who suffered from the drought that they might bring it to an end by ducking the magician. Yet even if they had thought of this measure it is doubtful whether they could have put it into effect without coming into conflict with Horova's friends, who would certainly have stood by him.

[692 625] There is no judicial procedure among the Orokaiva, and no 'police force'. In so far as sorcery is concerned, by the way, these deficiencies are perhaps not altogether deplorable. The suspicion of sorcery, where it is backed up by ignorant legal authority, may go to extraordinary lengths of oppression. No Papuan people has reached that stage of legal development which would have made possible such condemnations as those of West Africa, by which some populations are said to have been almost decimated.[1] Even in medieval Europe it was simply the fear of magic which led to the incredible abuses of the witch-trials. In these more advanced societies the belief in sorcery broke out in a new direction, and found another means of doing evil by assailing the imputed and frequently innocent sorcerers.

We may leave out of consideration the measures which the Government finds it necessary to adopt against magic, viz. those of conviction and punishment. While they serve their purpose in keeping the practice of magic in check, they cannot, I imagine, stamp out the belief in magic, and its really harmful corollary the fear of magic.

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[1] Vide Sir H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell*, p. 663.

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The only method by which these can be successfully eradicated is that of education, which however slow and laborious is none the less sure. One must admit that whoever tries to disabuse a native's mind of the belief in black magic is likely to meet with that well-known air of being politely unconvinced; or he may meet with a show of agreement which is just as shallow as it is cordial. The native is very prone to go away thinking that the white man is a trifle too blunt to understand the occult influences which have so long been at work among his people. Considering this stubborn, or perhaps one should say resilient, frame of mind, one might almost despair of effecting a change, and the process of abolishing magic and the evil variety of it called sorcery will therefore be at best dishearteningly slow. The process indeed is, so to speak, asymptotic and the actual end of it probably beyond attainment. Nevertheless as the work of education continues, as the native grows increasingly familiar with causes and effects as we see them, we may expect him little by little to find out and correct the falsity of his own ideas.

[P. 227]
[P. 226 contains no text]

GLOSSARY

104 *atiti* (*asisi*), shadow, spirit (p. 27).
ba, taro.
ba-embo, Taro man.
ba-sivo, taro medicine.
Baigona, the Snake cult which preceded the Taro cult.
ba-tetekari, 'throwing the taro'; minor black magic.
Bayoga, wild thyme, a taro medicine.
bere, taro offsets.
binei, ghost or spirit of dead; 'devil-devil'.
diroga, ghost or spirit of slain man.
Diroga, the cult associated with spears and *diroga*.
Eriri, rainbow; the Rainbow cult.
gose, the evil wish; minor black magic.
harau (*karau*), platform, especially a yam platform or yam house.
Hohora, domestic cock; a kind of yam; the Hohora cult.
inja, sorcery; the sorcerer's specific or medicine.
jipari, the shaking-fit of the Taro cult.
kai, sorcery; sorcerer's specific or medicine; a yam.
Kaiva, a variety of taro; one of the Taro sects.
karau, vide *harau*.
kasamba, singing and feasting of the Taro cult.
Kivere, a variety of taro; one of the Taro sects.
kore, a harmless or beneficent specific or medicine.
kurokuro, alangalang grass (p. 111).
Orokaiva, the Binandele-speaking people of the Northern Division.
Puga, fruit of a cycad.
saruka, sorcery; the sorcerer's specific or medicine.
sivo, a harmless or beneficent specific or medicine.
sovai, ghost or spirit of dead; 'devil-devil'.
Tauga, the nut of *Terminalia Okari*.
tinogu, the singing and feasting of the Taro cult.

[P.229]
[P.228 contains no text]

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2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928

OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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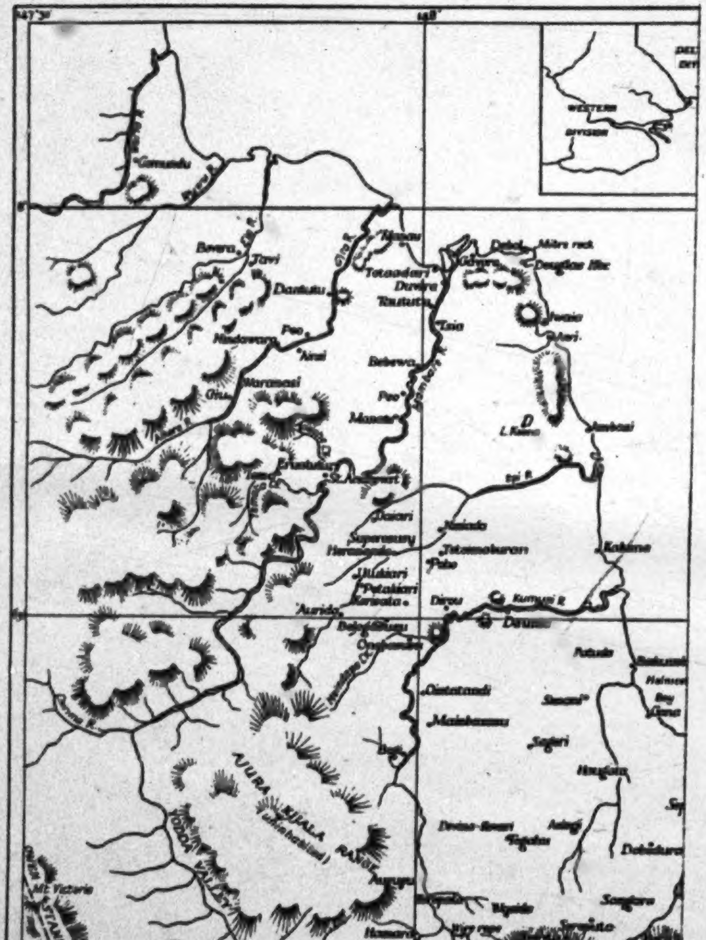

WESTERN DIVISION
Gira R.
Bawra
Jari
Dantutu
Poo
Kasau
Totaadari
Duvira
Tsia
Beberu
Mitre rock
Douglas Hbr
L. Kasu
Epi R.
St. Andrew's
Kumusi R.
Dirou
Mt. Victoria
OWEN STANLEY RANGE
Mt. Thumb
YODDA VALLEY
AJURA KIJALA RANGE
Kokoda
Mt. Lamington
HYDRO
Mt. Nisbet
NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION

[EndMapA]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

131
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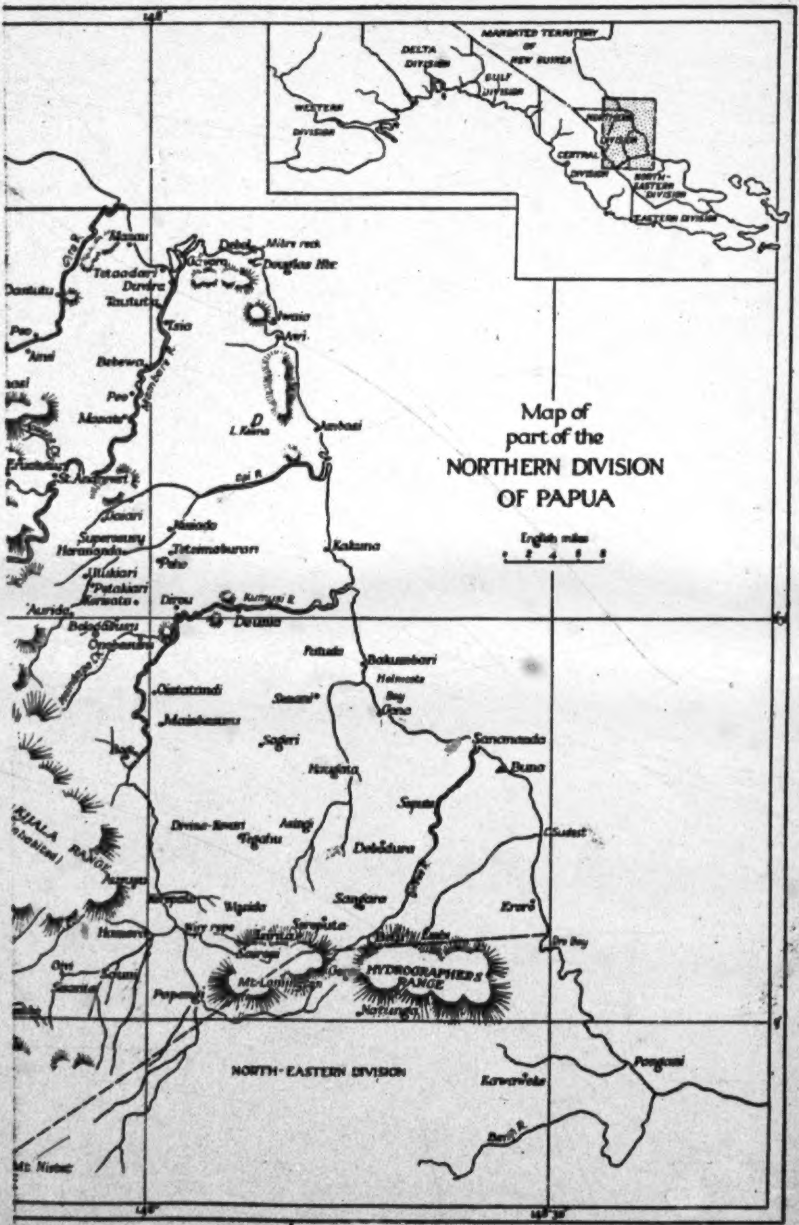
Map of
part of the
NORTHERN DIVISION
OF PAPUA
English miles
0 2 4 6 8
MANDATED TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA
DELTA DIVISION
GULF DIVISION
WESTERN DIVISION
NORTHERN DIVISION
CENTRAL DIVISION
NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION
EASTERN DIVISION
148°
148° 30'
Mamba R.
Dobodura
Tetaodari
Davira
Douglas Hbr
Tututu
Isio
Jwaia
Ari
Bebewa
Poo
Masoa
L. Kaena
Ambasi
St. Andrew's
Opi R.
Daiari
Jiaoda
Superiority
Harananda
Totaimaburan
Peto
Kokoda
Aurida
Kokoda
Kakuna
Dirou
Kumusi R.
Baifura
Onahaufo
Potuda
Bakumbari
Holnicote Bay
Gona
Sanananda
Buna
Ostatandi
Mainbauru
Sangara
Sagiri
Hiengiba
Saputa
Girua R.
Sudest
Dobodura
Sangara
Divina-Tosari
Tigabu
Asingi
Ioma
Wasida
Erereia
Oro Bay
HYDROGRAPHERS RANGE
Mt. Lamington
Popondetta
Natunga
Hamara
Saimbiri
NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION
Kawamete
Pongani
Barigi R.
Mt. Nisbet

[End Map, B]

/For information on the Taro Cult, see category 116, pp. 3-98. /